Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic

By

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PREFACE

I began to work on this dictionary in May 2004, after a visit to the University of Leiden, when Sasha Lubotsky kindly invited me to participate in the "New Pokorny" project by taking care of the Celtic inherited lexicon. Feeling honoured, but also quite uncertain if I was up to the task, I accepted because I felt such a reference work was quite badly needed. Stokes' *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* was published more than a century ago, and none of the other reference works on Celtic etymology provide an easy overview of the Proto-Celtic forms. I set to work when I returned to Zagreb, and within a year I produced a database of more than a thousand reconstructed Proto-Celtic words. At first my ambitions were not very high: I wanted to provide a list of reliable Celtic etymologies for Indo-Europeanists to use, largely by sifting through the various etymological proposals found in reference works published during the last half a century. The initial versions of the database thus contained almost only uncontroversial etymologies, and very few new proposals. However, it soon began apparent that adding more material and telling apart reliable etymologies from obviously false ones was impossible without a clear picture of what Proto-Celtic looked like, and so my attention was gradually shifted towards the problems of reconstruction of Proto-Celtic. This then required an in-depth study of the historical phonology of the Celtic languages and a substantial filling of the gaps in my education as a Celticist and Indo-Europeanist, so the final redaction of the dictionary was delayed for two years. Much of the work I had done previously had to be revised after I had finally decided which Proto-Celtic sound changes should be accepted. The list of the Proto-Celtic sound laws is explicitly adduced in the Introduction to the dictionary, and all etymologies in this dictionary are based on the assumption that those sound laws operated in Proto-Celtic. Although details of the list may be controversial – there simply is no consensus among scholars in all aspects of Celtic historical phonology – at least it provides a degree of consistency in the etymological treatment of words included in this dictionary.

The dictionary was finished in Leiden, where I was a guest in the summer semester of 2008. My stay in Leiden was made possible by a generous grant from the *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek* (NWO) and I would like to thank both the NWO and my hosts in the University of Leiden for their hospitality. I profited tremendously from the discussions I had with the members of the "New Pokorny" project, and I wish to express my gratitude to all of them, and in particular to Sasha

Lubotsky, Michiel de Vaan, and Tijmen Pronk. I would also like to thank Stefan Zimmer, who read the manuscript and sent me some valuable comments, as well as Kim McCone and Ruairí Ó hUiginn, who discussed some problems of Celtic etymology with me, during the Dubrovnik Summer School in Medieval Celtic Prose, in September 2008. Furthermore, I am grateful to my colleagues and students in the University of Zagreb for their understanding while I was working on my dictionary in Leiden, rather than teaching in Zagreb. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their love and support.

In Zagreb, October 10, 2008

GRAMMATICAL DATA AND TRANSLITTERATION PRINCIPLES

The abbreviations of grammatical categories generally follow the conventions of the "Leiden Pokorny" project. However, names of onomastic categories, except for personal names ([PN]) were spelled out in full: [Toponym], [Ethnonym], [Hydronym], [Theonym]. Attestations of Gaulish and Celtiberian forms are adduced, with the exception of proper names and toponyms. References to inscriptions on Celtiberian coins follow the conventions of MLH. For Old Irish verbs, several verbal stems are usually adduced, following the conventions of Schumacher's monograph (KPV). I have also generally provided information about the stem and gender of OIr. nouns according to DIL, and about the gender of Welsh and Breton nouns according to GPC and Deshayes 2003, respectively.

I have translitterated the Greek words, as well as the Gaulish words written in the Greek alphabed, according to the standard translitteration system. I have adduced the Celtiberian words written in the Iberian script as they occur in Jordán Cólera's manual (1998). Celtiberian forms written in Roman alphabet, as well as Primitive Irish forms written in Ogam alphabet, are translitterated in capital letters.

Abbreviations

A) Languages:

Alb.	Albanian	Fin.	Finnish
Arm.	Armenian	Fr.	French
Av.	Avestan	Gaul.	Gaulish
Brit.	Brittonic	Germ.	German
BSl.	Balto-Slavic	Goid.	Goidelic
Cat.	Catalan	Goth.	Gothic
Celtib.	Celtiberian	Gr.	Greek
Co.	Cornish	Hitt.	Hittite
CS	Church Slavonic	Hom.	Homeric
Croat.	(Standard) Croatian	It.	Italian
Cz.	Czech	Khot.	Khotanese (Saka)
Dan.	Danish	Lat.	Latin
Dor.	Doric	Latv.	Latvian
Eng.	English	Lep.	Lepontic
Falisc.	Faliscan	Lith.	Lithuanian

Luv. Luvian
MBret. Middle Breton
ME Middle English
MHG Middle High German
MIr. Middle Irish
MLat. Middle Latin
MLG Middle Low German
MoBret. Middle Breton
MoCo. Modern Cornish
MoIr. Modern Irish
MoLG Modern Low German
MW Middle Welsh
Myc. Mycenaean (Greek)
Norw. Norwegian
OBret. Old Breton
OCo. Old Cornish
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
OFr. Old French
OFris. Old Frisian
OHG Old High German
OIc. Old Icelandic
OInd. Old Indic
OIr. Old Irish
OLat. Old Latin
OLith. Old Lithuanian
ON Old Norse
OPers. Old Persian
OPr. Old Prussian
ORuss. Old Russian
Osc. Oscan
OSp. Old Spanish
Oss. Ossetic
OSw. Old Swedish
OW Old Welsh
Pal. Palaic
PCelt. Proto-Celtic
PGerm. Proto-Germanic
PIE Proto-Indo-European
Pol. Polish
PSl. Proto-Slavic
Pr. Provencal
RCsl. Russian Church Slavonic
Rum. Rumanian
Russ. Russian
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
Sp. Spanish
Skt. Sanskrit
ToA Tocharian A
ToB Tocharian B
Ukr. Ukrainian
ULus. Upper Lusatian
Umbr. Umbrian
Ved. Vedic
VLat. Vulgar Latin

B) Grammatical terms and symbols

Abl. ablative
Adj. Adjective
Acc. accusative
act. active
Aor. aorist
C consonant
D Dental
Dat. dative
f feminine
Fut. future
Gen. genitive
H laryngeal
Ind. indicative
Inst. instrumental
Ipf. imperfect
Ipv. imperative
L liquid
Loc. locative
m masculine
n neuter

N	nasal
Nom.	nominative
Num.	numeral
Opt.	optative
p(l)	plural
Part.	participle
PN	proper name
Pass.	passive
Perf.	perfect
Prep.	preposition
Pres.	present
Pret.	preterite
Pron.	pronoun
R	resonant
s(g)	singular
Subj.	subjunctive
V	vowel
Vb.	Verb
V:	long vowel
Voc.	vocative
[]	grammatical information
#	beginning of a word
*	reconstructed form
**	impossible form
>	develops into
<	develops from
>>	develops by analogy

INTRODUCTION

1. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DICTIONARY

This dictionary contains the lexical entries that can be more or less reliably reconstructed for Proto-Celtic. It is intended to contain Proto-Celtic *words* rather than roots, but in several cases, where the word formation of cognates in the attested Celtic languages differs, a rather speculative choice had to be made in order to decide on the Proto-Celtic form. In some cases the OIr. form was projected to Proto-Celtic, but in many instances the form with most parallels in other IE languages was postulated for Proto-Celtic as well. Whenever the exact Proto-Celtic form is underspecified, for one reason or another, this is clearly stated in the discussion following the lemma.

In this dictionary, a Proto-Celtic form is reconstructed whenever at least one of the following two conditions are met:

(1) Cognates are attested in at least two primary branches of Celtic. By primary branches I understand Goidelic (Irish, Scottish, and Manx), British (Welsh, Cornish, and Breton), Continental Celtic (Gaulish and Lepontic), and Celtiberian. Whether British was dialectally closer to Goidelic (the 'Insular Celtic' hypothesis) or to Continental Celtic (the 'P-Celtic' hypothesis) was considered irrelevant in deciding whether a given word was reconstructible for Proto-Celtic.

(2) Probable cognates of a word, attested in only one branch of Celtic, exist in at least one other IE language.

PCelt. words are given as bare stems, e.g. the n-stem *talamon 'earth' is adduced rather than the Nom. sg. *talamū. Where ablaut patterns within paradigms of PCelt. nouns can be reconstructed, this was done in the discussion of particular lemmas. If the etymologically related words within Celtic do not agree in word-formation, the simpler form was usually projected to Proto-Celtic. For example, PCelt. *barinā 'rocky ground' is reconstructed on the basis of OIr. *bairenn*; it is assumed that the Brittonic forms (W *brennigen,* Bret. and Co. *brennik*) represent derivatives thereof.The meaning of Proto-Celtic words is often rather difficult to reconstruct. Where meanings of cognates in various Celtic languages do not agree, either all of the attested meanings were projected to Proto-Celtic, or the meaning deemed most basic was reconstructed. Whenever the meaning of a particular PCelt. word remained the same in one or more of the attested languages, the meaning of the attested word was not adduced in the fields

containing these reflexes. For example, PCelt. *wiro- 'man' has reflexes with identical meanings in OIr. and MW, so the meanings of OIr. *fer* and MW *gwr* were not adduced separately. The same principle was followed in adducing the meanings of the PIE forms and their reflexes: since the meaning of PIE *wiHro- 'man' was preserved in its reflexes (e.g. Skt. *vīrá-*, Lith. *výras*, etc.), it was not adduced in the field containing the attested forms in IE languages. The list of the attested cognates of the Proto-Celtic lemmata is not meant to be exhaustive. For the sake of conciseness, I usually adduced only cognates from two or three IE branches, usually those that are most relevant for the PIE reconstruction, and added a reference to Pokorny's Dictionary (IEW), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (LIV), and/or *Encyclopedia of Indo-Eruopean Culture* (EIEC), where more detailed lists of cognates can be found.

Reflexes of the reconstructed PCelt. forms were given from all of the attested Celtic languages. However, since most of our knowledge about Gaulish, Celtiberian and Lepontic is derived from onomastic analyses, cognates in these languages are sometimes adduced although they are not established beyond reasonable doubt.

Every investigator of Celtic etymology must make a principled choice: one can argue that, since Celtic is a branch of Indo-European, it is *a priori* likely that words in Celtic languages have Indo-European etymologies. If one accepts this assumption, then finding any *possible* cognate in the IE lexicon is preferable to not giving an etymology at all. On the other hand, one could argue that we cannot possibly know the percentage of words that Celtic borrowed from non-Indo-European languages, so that any Celtic etymon may be equally likely to be inherited as it is to be borrowed from some unknown source. If this is the case, then one needs more than *possible* cognates in other IE languages in order to make an etymology plausible.

Let us take one example: OIr. *ail* (phonologically [al']) 'rock, cliff' is a very short form, consisting of only two segments. It could, in principle, represent a variety of Proto-Celtic forms (*ali-, *fali-, *yali-), and these could go back to an even larger number of possible PIE roots (*$h_2$el-, *$h_2$elH-, *ph$_2$el-, *pelH-, *(s)pel-, *ph$_2$el-, *yel-, *yeh$_2$l-, etc.). It is obvious that, with such a short and isolated form, the possibility of finding chance resemblances in other IE languages is considerable. Many linguists would therefore consider any etymology of such a word hypothetical, and leave open the possibility that it was borrowed from some non-IE language. On the other hand, if one *assumes* that this word is much more likely to have been inherited than borrowed from some unknown source, then finding a *possible* set of cognates from the PIE root *pel- 'rock' (OHG *feliza*, etc.) is enough to make a plausible etymology.

I am not sure which of these two methodological principles one should adopt, but I thought it would not be fair to the reader to be too critical with respect to possible, but uncertain Indo-European etymologies of Celtic etymons. To do so would mean to limit oneself to trivial and well-

established etymologies, and my feeling is that potential readers of this book do not expect it to contain just the information that, e.g., OIr. *athir* is related to Lat. *pater*. Etymological dictionaries are usually not best-sellers, but this does not mean that they have to be boring. This means that many lemmata in this dictionary should be understood as proposals to be evaluated, rather than as a collection of well-established scientific facts.

However, it was my intention to avoid too speculative etymologies, especially those that rely on alleged reflexes of PCelt. words in only one, poorly attested Celtic language. For example, the Gaul. month name *ELEMBIU* from the Coligny Calendar is usually[1] derived from the PIE word for 'deer' (PIE *$h_1$eln-b^ho- > Gr. *élaphos*). The Greek month name *elaphobolēion*, derived from the same PIE word, is often adduced in support of this etymology. However, I did not include it in my lexicon, since the meaning of *ELEMBIU* is far from being assured, and there are no traces of this word in other Celtic languages (but cf. PCelt. *elantī, a different formation arguably from the same root). The form found in Coligny is actually compatible with many other interpretations, and in order to relate it to PIE **$h_1$eln-b^ho- one would also have to explain the unexpected reflex of the syllabic nasal in Gaulish (*em* instead of *am). I have also tried to avoid all 'last resort' etymologies, which are often repeated in the handbooks simply because there do not seem to be any better Indo-European etymologies of particular words. A case in question is, e.g., OIr. *dúil* 'creation', which is commonly derived from PIE *d^huh_2li-, from the root *d^huh_2- 'smoke' (Lat. *fūmus*, etc.). Now, although it is possible to imagine a series of steps in semantic development that would lead from 'smoke' to 'creation', I find it difficult to believe this etymology: it seems to me that accepting it would be a sign of desperation, rather than the result of a sound consideration of probabilities.

In many similar cases, the fact that some often adduced etymology is not included in the lexicon means that I found it too incredible. On the other hand, I am sure that there are some good Celtic etymologies that were left out simply because I was unaware that they had been proposed.

2. THE SOURCES

In compiling the material for this lexicon, I have consulted all of the existing etymological dictionaries of Celtic languages published after 1950. I have not systematically used the older reference works, such as A. Holder's *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, or W. Stokes' *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, because the material they contain has been well analyzed in later etymological dictionaries. So far the largest collection of Celtic etymologies can be found in Vendryès' *Léxique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (LEIA); these are

[1] See, e.g., McCone 1996: 70, 74.

generally reliable, but often inconclusive and seldom very imaginative. Unfortunately, LEIA remains unfinished. Mac Bain's etymological dictionary of Scottish Gaelic is completely outdated and unreliable. Etymological notes in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC) are short, but often correct, and they remain the most valuable etymological resource for Welsh. A. Falileyev's dictionary of Old Welsh is useful mostly for its rich philological documentation. Another valuable etymological source is Xavier Delamarre's *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise,* although it contains the etymologies only of those Celtic words that are attested in Gaulish. Gaulish loanwords in French and other Romance languages can be gathered from the relevant etymological dictionaries (e.g. Gamillscheg and FEW for French), but they have also been the subject of several articles, e.g. Bolelli 1941-2, Corominas 1976, Campanile 1983, Fleuriot 1991). Latin words of Celtic origin have been treated quite exhaustively in a paper by M. L. Porzio Gernia (1981). Words attested in Celtiberian inscriptions have been gathered and subjected to a careful philological and etymological analysis by Dagmar Wodtko in her *Wörterbuch der keltiberischen Inschriften* (MLH V.1). For Breton, we have two etymological dictionaries. The dictionary by Guyonvarc'h was conceived very ambitiously, but only a few fascicles were published; the new dictionary by A. Deshayes (2003) is reasonably complete and generally reliable, but does not offer detailed Proto-Celtic reconstructions and any IE etymologies. Furthermore, for Old Breton, we have a very careful and exhaustive work by Léon Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton* (DGVB). Finally, for Cornish we have only one etymological dictionary by E. Campanile, who analyzed the lexicon of the Old Cornish glosses. I have also made good use of Stefan Schumacher's *Die keltischen Primärverben*, which contains a lot of detailed etymological analyses of Celtic verbs with an Indo-European pedigree.

Apart from the mentioned sources, I consulted the reference works on Indo-European etymology, most notably Pokorny's dictionary (IEW), EIEC, and LIV. Unfortunately, *Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon* (Wodtko *et alii* 2008) appeared too late for it to be used systematically in the preparation of this dictionary. I also profited a lot from the etymological databases prepared for the 'New Pokorny' project by my Leiden colleagues, especially the Indo-Aryan database by A. Lubotsky, Latin and Italic by M. de Vaan, Hittite by A. Kloekhorst, and Baltic and Slavic by R. Derksen.

3. From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Celtic

It is assumed here that PIE had the following phonemes:

I. *Vowels*

short	long

i		u	
e	o	ē	ō

(a)

Phonemically, *i and *u were presumably just allophones of the semi-vowels *y and *w. The status of PIE *a is controversial. Following the Leiden school, I believe that PIE had no *a in the original, inherited lexicon (Lubotsky 1989), but this vowel occurs in several words that are probable loanwords from unknown, non-IE sources. In some cases, *a served as an epenthetic vowel separating difficult consonant clusters, e.g. Lat. *pateo*, < *pt-eh$_1$- (cf. PCelt. *fatamā 'palm of the hand, talon').

II. *Consonants*

stops:

labials	*p	(*b)	*b^h	
dentals	*t	*d	*d^h	
velars	*k	*g	*g^h	
palatalized velars	*ḱ	*ǵ	*ǵ^h	
labiovelars	*k^w	*g^w	*g^{wh}	
fricative:	*s			
laryngeals:	*h$_1$	*h$_2$	*h$_3$	
resonants:	*m	*n	*l	*r
glides:	*y	*w		

The phonemic status of the difference between pure velars and palatalized velars in PIE is a disputed matter. It is quite probable that the phonological opposition between them was restricted to just a few environments. The syllabic resonants were just allophones of the non-syllabic resonants, occurring in the syllable nucleus. Therefore, they are not distinguished graphically from the non-syllabic resonants in the PIE reconstructions. The

exact phonetic realization of PIE stops is a matter of controversy; the traditional 'voiced stops' may have been ejectives, perhaps in Early PIE. The phonetic realization of the 'laryngeals' is unknown, so they are marked with indexes (*h_1, *h_2, *h_3). Laryngeals may have been lost in some environments already in PIE, or dialectally, not long after the dissolution of the proto-language, e.g. before *y (Pinault's rule), or after the sequence *oR (de Saussure's rule). However, the validity of these rules of laryngeal loss, as well as their exact formulation, are controversial.

Here are the principal Celtic sound changes ordered into an approximate relative chronology:[2]

A) *Dialectal IE changes:*

1. *h_1e > *e, *h_2e > *a, *h_3e > *o

2. *eh_1 > *ē, *eh_2 > *ā, *eh_3 > *ō

3. *CHC > *CaC, cf. PIE *ph_2tēr > PCelt. *fatīr (OIr. *athir*).

4. *$C^{stop}HC^{stop}$ > $C^{stop}C^{stop}$ in non-initial syllables, cf. PIE *d^{h}ugh$_2$tēr 'daughter' > PCelt. *duxtīr (Gaul. *duxtir*). This development is somewhat uncertain in the light of Celtib. *tuateros* 'daughter' (Gen. sg.).

5. TT > *-ss-, cf. PIE *krd-tu- > PCelt. *krissu- 'belt'; the same development is found in Italic and in Germanic.

6. *CRHC > *CRaHC (> *CRāC), cf. PIE *plh$_1$no- 'full' > PCelt. *flāno- (OIr. *lán*), PIE *ǵrHno- 'grain' > PCelt. *grāno- (OIr. *grán*). Laryngeals were probably preserved after *Ra until the operation of Dybo's law (A7), and then lost, with the compensatory lengthening of *aH > *ā. The change *CRHC > *CRāC occurred in Italic as well.

7. *VHC > VC in pretonic syllables (Dybo's law, cf. Dybo 1961): PIE *wiHró- 'man' > PCelt. *wiro- (OIr. *fer*). In all non-problematic examples of Dybo's law the laryngeal was lost after *i, *u, or *a which is the result of the development of syllabic resonants before laryngeals (A6).[3] It is assumed here that the laryngeals had already been lost after *e and *o, which were lengthened (A2). Dybo's law was posterior to the change of CRHC > CRāC (A6) because of the development of *sfraxto- 'eloquent', *frati- 'fern', and

---

[2] Cf. McCone 1996, Isaac 2007, Kortlandt 2007: 117-120 for similar attempts.

[3] For the alleged loss of laryngeals after PIE *e, *o in pretonic position see the lemmata *siti- and *omo-.

*klad-o- 'dig'. Something like Dybo's law also operated in Italic,[4] and, in some form, probably in Germanic as well (cf. Lat. *uir*, OE *wer* < *wiHró-; maybe the vowel shortening (or laryngeal loss) was restricted to the position before resonants in Italic and Germanic). I assume that the operation of Dybo's law in Celtic was general (i. e. unrestricted by phonetic environment).[5] The apparent exceptions to the operation of Dybo's law in Celtic are best treated as analogical re-introductions of vowel length from the forms of the root where the length was preserved regularly. Of course, since the position of the accent in PIE cannot be established for many PIE etymons of PCelt. words, the operation of Dybo's law can often be just assumed, but not strictly proved.

8. #RHC- > RaC (cf. Beekes 1988). Although this change is not universally accepted, it is found in the development of the following etyma: *latyo- 'day', *natu- 'poem', *mati- 'good', *mak-o- 'increase', *mad-yo- 'break', *laxsaro- 'shine' (PIE *r could not occur word-initially, so here R = m, n, and l). The same change occurred in Italic and Balto-Slavic, and probably in other European IE branches. The development of *#yHC- and *wHC- is uncertain, but cf. the lemmata *yalo- 'clearing' and *waxto- 'bad' for the possibility that *H > *a in this position.

9. Merger of PIE palatalized velars and pure velars, cf. PIE *dḱm 'ten' > PCelt. *dekam (OIr. *deich*). This development is shared by all Centum branches of Indo-European.

B) *Early PCelt. changes:*

1. *g^w > *b, cf. PIE *g^wow- > PCelt. *bow- > 'cow' (OIr. *bó*).

2. Deaspiration of aspirated stops, cf. PIE *b^her-o- > PCelt. *ber-o- 'carry' (OIr. *berid*). This sound change was obviously posterior to *g^w > *b (B1), because PCelt. *g^{wh} > *g^w, cf. PIE *g^{wh}er- > PCelt. *g^wer-o- 'heat up' (MIr. *geirid*).

3. CLC^{stop} > $CLiC^{stop}$ (where L = r, l), cf. PIE *ḱrd- > PCelt. *krid-yo- 'heart' (OIr. *cride*). It is probable that the same development occurred before PIE *m (cf. *k^wrmi- 'worm' > PCelt. *k^wrimi-, *$h_1$lmo- 'elm' > PCelt. *limo- (s.

[4] A clear counter-example is the length of Lat. *fūmus* vs. Skt. *dhūmá-* < PIE *d^huh_2mós. I find none of the explanations of this exception compelling (e.g. the analogy with *fūligo* "soot", de Vaan 2008). However, the general impression is that Dybo's law solves more problems than it creates.

[5] Isaac 2007 attempts to limit the operation of Dybo's depending on the nature of the laryngeal in question, but I do not find his argumentation persuasive.

v. *lēmo-, *limo-). This change was anterior to the general change of CRC > CaRC (B5) which was otherwise unrestricted by phonetic environment.

4. *eRa > *aRa (Joseph's rule, cf. Joseph 1982), cf. PIE *terh$_1$tro- 'auger' > PCelt. *taratro- (OIr. *tarathar*, W *taradr*). PIE *e did not become *a before *Rā (cf. PIE *g^{w}enh$_2$ >> *g^{w}eneh$_2$ > *g^{w}enā > PCelt. *benā, OIr. *ben*), and the vowel *e was restored analogically before *Ra in many instances, e.g. in the reduplicated syllables in the perfect (PCelt. *me-mad- > OIr. *memaid* 'broke', 3sg. perf. of *maidid* 'breaks' < PCelt. *mad-yo-). This change preceded the decomposition of syllabic nasals (B5) because of the development of PCelt. *elan(t)ī 'doe, hind' < *h$_1$eln(t)ih$_2$ (rather than *alan(t)ī), but after the vocalization of laryngeals between consonants, because of the development of *taratro- < *terh$_1$tro- above.

5. CRC > CaRC, cf. PIE *dnt- > PCelt. *danto- 'tooth' (OIr. *dét*, W *dant*), PIE *mrwo- > PCelt. *marwo- 'dead' (OIr. *marb*, W *marw*), PIE *b^{h}rso- > PCelt. *barso- > *barro- 'point, top' (OIr. *barr*). Note that syllabic liquids had already developed to *ri, *li before stops and *m (B3).

6. Loss of laryngeals in non-syllabic position. This change is later than the development of syllabic resonants (B5), because of, e.g., PIE *ḱlHeto- > *kalHeto- > PCelt. *kaleto- 'hard', PIE *wlHo- > PCelt. *walo- 'ruler, chief', PIE *smh$_2$eli- > PCelt. *samali- 'similitude', PIE *snHi > PCelt. *sani- 'without'.

7. *p...k^{w} > *k^{w}...*k^{w}, cf. PIE *penk^{w}e > PCelt. *k^{w}enk^{w}e 'five' (OIr. *cóic*, MW *pymp*). This change predated the development of *k^{w} > *x before stops (C1) if PCelt. *k^{w}erxt- 'bush' (W *perth*) is from PIE *perk^{w}- 'oak'. It is assumed here that the similar assimilation in Italic (cf. Lat. *quercus*) is a parallel development (for arguments see below).

8. *ē > *ī, cf. PIE *Hrēǵ- 'king' > PCelt. *rīg- (OIr. *rí*). This change must predate PCelt. *p > *f > Ø (C4), because of PIE *h$_1$epirom > PCelt. *efirom (> *eyrom > *ērom, OIr. *iar* 'after', not **ír).

9. *ō > *ū in final syllables, cf. PIE *ḱwōn 'dog' > PCelt. *k^{w}ū(n) (OIr. *cú*, W *ci*).

11. *V:RC > *VRC (Osthoff-type shortening before resonants in closed syllables), cf., e.g., PIE *h$_2$weh$_1$nto- 'wind' > *wēnto- > *wīnto- > PCelt. *winto-, perhaps also PIE *sih$_2$m-do- > *sīndo- > PCelt. *sindo- 'that'. This change was obviously posterior to *ē > *ī (B7).

C) *Late PCelt. changes:*

1. *C_1C_2 > *xC_2 (where C_2 stands for any stop and *s), cf. PIE *septm 'seven' > PCelt. *sextam (OIr. *secht*). This change is posterior to TT > *ss, and also to CRC^{stop} > $CRiC^{stop}$ (B3) because of PIE *prptu- > PCelt. *frixtu- 'form', *$mrg^{w}$to- > PCelt. *mrixto- 'variegated', *$h_2$mlǵto- > PCelt. *mlixto- 'milk'.

2. *pL > *bL (where L stands for any liquid), cf. PIE *pi-prh$_3$-se- > PCelt. *pibrase- 'will bestow, will give' > *fibrase- (OIr. *ebraid*), PIE *dwey-plo- 'double' > PCelt. *dwēblo- (OIr. *díabul*).

3. *pN > *wN (where N is any nasal), presumably only after back vowels, cf. PIE *supno- > PCelt. *suwno- > *sowno- 'sleep' (OIr. *súan*, W *hun*).

4. *p > *f, cf. PIE *ph$_2$tēr > PCelt. *fatīr 'father' (OIr. *athir*).

5. *ō > ā, cf. PIE *deh$_3$no- > *dōno- > PCelt. *dāno- 'gift' (OIr. *dán*); this change is obviously later than the change of *ō > ū in final syllables (B8). Clear examples of this change in Celtiberian are lacking, but there are no counter-examples.

6. *ey > *ē, cf. PIE *(H)reyd- > PCelt. *rēd-o- 'ride' (OIr. *réidid*). This change was obviously later than *ē > *ī (B7). There is some uncertainty whether this change also occurred in Celtiberian.

7. *ew > *ow, cf. PIE *newyo- > PCelt. *nowyo- 'new' (OIr. *núae*, W *newydd*).

8. *uw > *ow/_C, cf. PIE *supno- > PCelt. *suwno- > *sowno- 'sleep' (OIr. *súan*). This change probably did not apply before *-i- in the next syllable, because of *dru-wid- > OIr. *druí* 'druid' (rather than **droí). It is unclear whether this change applied in Proto-Celtic, or just in Goidelic and Brittonic (data from Gaulish and Celtiberian are lacking).

D) *Some other probable PCelt. changes:*

1. The liquid assimilations *rp > *rf > *rr (PIE *serp- > PCelt. *serrā) and *lp > *lf > *ll (PIE *kulp- > PCelt. *kul(f)o-), *-rs- > *-rr- (PIE *b^{h}rso- > PCelt. *barro-), *rst > *rt (PIE *trstu- 'thirst' > OIr. *tart*). All of the attested languages show the results of assimilations, so it is simpler to project those changes to Proto-Celtic. It is possible, however, that at least some of the assimilations were parallel innovations of individual languages after the break-up of Proto-Celtic.

2. The assimilation of *mw > *ww, cf. *kom-wīro- > PCelt. *kowwīro- 'true' (W *cywir*).

3. The lengthening of the vowel before the cluster *xsL, cf. *toḱ-slo- 'axe' > *tōxslo- > PCelt. *tāxslo- (OIr. *tál*); it is possible that PCelt. *x was lost and that the preceding vowel was subject to compensatory lengthening. However, *x is conventionally retained in the PCelt. reconstuctions because the regularity of this change is uncertain; cf. the lemmata *dīro-, *kīsrā, *muxto-, *sego- and *skāxslo- for possible instances of this change, but also *tullo- for a possible counter-example.

4. The 'liquid metathesis' (*ar, *al > *ra, *la) between labials and a cluster of two dentals: PIE *mlsto- > PCelt. *mlasto- 'taste', PIE *g^{w}rsto- > PCelt. *brasso- 'great', PIE *$h_1$wrsto- > PCelt. *wrasto- 'shower', PIE *wlsno- > *walsno- > PCelt. *wlanno- 'blood red', etc. Like the preceding one, this change is proposed here for the first time, so it will probably raise some controversy. Another possibility is to assume an analogical zero-grade CCLaC of the roots with the full grade CLeCC (after the regular pattern with the zero-grade CaLCC and the full grade CeLCC).[6]

5. The loss of laryngeals after *ey (and *oy?) before consonants (*VyHC > *VyC), cf. PCelt. *bēto- 'food' (W *bwyd*) < PIE *g^{w}eyh$_3$to-, PCelt. *dēno- 'fast' (OIr. *dían*) < *deyHno-, PCelt. *fētu- '(grass-)land, territory' (OIr. *íath*) < PIE *peyHtu-, PCelt. *k^{w}ēno- 'long' (OIr. *cían*) < *k^{w}eyHno-, PCelt. *rēno- 'large expanse of water' (OIr. *rían*) < PIE *(H)reyHno-, PCelt. *wēro- 'crooked' (OIr. *fiar*, W *gŵyr*) < PIE *weyh$_1$ro-, etc. There are only two apparent counter-examples in this dictionary: W *rhaeadr* 'torrent' and OIr. *ríathor* (with disyllabic *ía*), do not represent PCelt. *reyatro-, but rather *riyatro-; likewise, OIr. disyllabic *bíad* 'food' can be derived from *biyato- or, less probably, *biwato- (rather than *beyato- < *g^{w}eyh$_3$to-). There are no truly reliable examples for the loss of laryngeals after *oy, but cf. PCelt. *koylo- 'thin' (which can be from PIE *koyHlo-) and *oyno- 'one' (which some linguists would derive from *oyHno- < *h$_3$eyHno-).

E) *Some doubtful changes:*

1. *(C)RHC^{dental}C > *(C)RaC^{dental}C, cf. PIE (?) *prh$_3$-sneh$_2$ 'gift, share' > PCelt. *frasnā (OIr. *rann*); however, PCelt. *frasnā, just like Lat. *pars*, can be derived from a root without laryngeal (generalized after the present stem *pr-neh$_3$- / *pr-nh$_3$- (> PCelt. *far-na-), and explained by 'liquid metathesis'. Alternatively, the short *a in the Celtic reflexes of PIE roots of the form

[6] Note that this explanation will certainly not work for PCelt. *wrasto- (the PIE root is *$h_1$wers-, not **$h_1$wres-).

*CeRHC can always be the result of Dybo's law, and it is, of course, more economical to assume fewer sound changes.

2. #RC^{voiced}C > #RaC^{voiced}C (Schrijver's rule, cf. Lat. *magnus* < *mǵnos); however, all of the alleged examples involve the root *meǵh$_2$- 'great' (cf. PCelt. *maglo-, *magyo-, and *magos). None of those etymologies is beyond reproach.

3. *h$_2$rC^{stop}- > *arC^{stop}- and *h$_3$rC^{stop}- > *arC^{stop}- (but *h$_1$rC^{stop}- > *riC^{stop}-, cf. *rig-o- 'go' < *h$_1$rg^{h}-o-).[7] However, examples of this change are few in number and quite controversial. PCelt. *orgyā 'testicle' can be derived from *h$_1$orǵ^{h}i- rather than *h$_1$rǵ^{h}i- or *h$_3$rǵ^{h}i- assumed by some linguists; PCelt. *arto- 'bear' is from PIE *h$_2$rtḱo-, but it probably went through the stage *h$_2$rþk'o- (and *#rþC- > *#arþC- may be assumed just like *#rsC > *#arsC). PCelt. *arganto- 'silver' is a problem, since the reconstruction *h$_2$rǵnto- seems somewhat more probable than *h$_2$erǵnto-. However, the word for 'silver' may have had an ablauting paradigm in PIE (Gr. *árgyros* can be both from *h$_2$erǵ- and *h$_2$rǵ-, and Skt. *árjuna-* 'shining' is clearly from *h$_2$erǵ-).

4. The Problem of Italo-Celtic

Although Italic shares a number of sound changes with Celtic, I remain unconvinced of the 'Italo-Celtic hypothesis'. Very few phonological and morphological changes are actually exclusive Italo-Celtic isoglosses, and, more importantly, one cannot really establish a relative chronology of those isoglosses, as one can in the case of, e.g., Balto-Slavic. However, there is little doubt that Italic and Celtic developed from a group of closely related Western Indo-European dialects. For a recent discussion of the Italo-Celtic hypothesis see Kortlandt 2007: 151-157.

The following phonological innovations of Italic and Celtic are shared:

1. The development of PIE syllabic resonants followed by laryngeals, PIE *CRHC > *CrāC, cf. PIE *ǵrHno- 'grain' > Lat. *grānum*, PCelt. *grāno-. Note, however, that in PCelt. the development was actually from *CRHC to *CRaHC, and then to *CRāC with loss of the laryngeal and compensatory lengthening of *a (see above, changes A6-A7 in the relative chronology). It is uncertain whether the same two-step development occurred in Italic.

2. The assimilation *p...k^{w} > *k^{w}...k^{w}. However, this change appears to be late in Celtic. It failed to occur in OIr. *deac, deëc* '10', which is often

[7] Joseph 1982: 50-51, McCone 1996: 52, Isaac 2007: 73. It appears that the sequences *#h$_2$L-, *#h$_3$L-, on the one hand, and *#h$_1$L-, on the other, also gave different reflexes in Proto-Tocharian (Hackstein 1998).

derived from *dwey-penk^{w}-om 'two-fives', and when this compound was formed (in Proto-Celtic) *p was not in the beginning of the word, and so it regularly changed to *f > Ø rather than assimilating with *k^{w} (see Watkins 1966: 145, but also the lemma *dekan below for problems with this etymology). In any case, such an assimilation is phonetically trivial (cf. the reverse assimilation in PIE *penk^{w}e '5' > Go. *fimf*).

3. The shortening of vowels in pretonic position (Dybo's law mentioned above); however, this change may not be limited to Italic and Celtic, because it appears to affect Germanic as well, at least in some examples, cf. OE *wer* 'man' < *wiHró- (Skt. *vīrá-*, Lith. *výras*, Lat. *uir*, OIr. *fer*).

Morphological Italo-Celtic isoglosses are not more convincing:

1. The genitive ending *-ī is neither pan-Celtic (it is lacking in Celtiberian) nor pan-Italic (it is lacking in Sabellic), and it is not exclusively Italo-Celtic (it occurs in Messapic and probably in Tocharian). Actually, it is an old petrified adjectival form (see Matasović 2004) and, as such, does not represent a common innovation in Italic and Celtic.

2. The generalization of the *so- stem of the PIE demonstrative pronoun *so-/*to- is a parallel development, since there are clear traces that PCelt. still had the pronominal stem *to- (see PCelt. *tod). Moreover, it is unclear whether Celtiberian shared the generalization of the *so- stem.

3. The introduction of the Gen. ending *-strom in the 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns is not very significant, since the stems of the 2nd person plural pronouns are different in Celtic and Italic, and the forms that actually have this ending are attested only in OIr. (*nathar*) and Latin (*nostrum*), so we cannot be sure if they were ever pan-Celtic and pan-Italic.

4. The spread of the Dat./Abl. pl. ending *-b^{h}os is uncertain, since in Gaulish we only have *-bo*, and Irish generalized the ending *-b^{h}is from the Instrumental.

5. The superlative ending *-smmo- is indeed a shared exclusive isogloss, but in itself it is not enough to prove the existence of an Italo-Celtic protolanguage.

5. THE SUB-CLASSIFICATION OF CELTIC

The exact genetic subclassification of the Celtic languages is still an unsettled matter. Two approaches dominate the current discussions:

(1) The traditional view, defended, among others, by Schmidt (1977), Koch (1992), and de Bernardo Stempel (2006) who classify Brittonic together with Gaulish (and Lepontic, which is probably just an early offshoot of Gaulish) into Gallo-Brittonic, while the Goidelic languages remain as a separate branch of Celtic (see Fig. 1.1. below).

(2) An alternative theory, defended by e.g. McCone (1996) and supported by Schrijver (1995) and Schumacher (2004), who see Brittonic and Goidelic as a separate Insular Celtic branch, while Gaulish and Lepontic are viewed as the Continental Celtic branch. Celtiberian, as is becoming increasingly clear, is almost certainly an independent branch on the Celtic genealogical tree, one that became separated from the others very early (see Fig. 1.2. below):

Fig. 1.1:

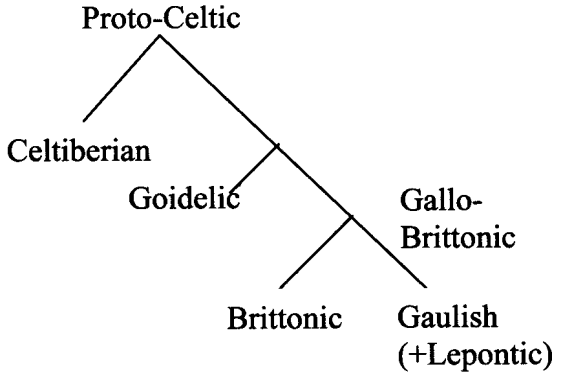
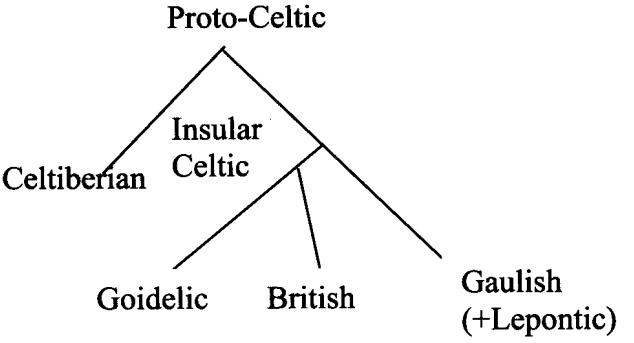


Fig. 1.2:



The problem of sub-classification within Celtic is relevant to this work only inasmuch as it affects the reliability of Proto-Celtic reconstructions. If there was an Insular Celtic branch within Celtic, then forms reconstructed on the basis of just Old Irish and Middle Welsh, the two best attested early Celtic idioms, need not go back to common Proto-Celtic, but may instead represent Proto-Insular Celtic. Likewise, if we assume the existence of a Gallo-Brittonic branch, then we should be careful in attributing reconstructions based on evidence from the Brittonic languages and Gaulish to Proto-Celtic.

As I have argued elsewhere (Matasović 2008), I tend to view Insular Celtic more as an areal than as a genetic grouping. This does not, however, imply that I believe in Gallo-Brittonic as a valid genetic grouping, either: in the matters of genetic sub-classification within Celtic I think it is wise to remain agnostic, until more is known about Gaulish, Lepontic, and Celtiberian. In any case, since the argument about Insular Celtic vs. Gallo-Brittonic tends to revolve more around the morphological than around the phonological isoglosses, it is unlikely that the eventual resolution of the debate will substantially affect the Proto-Celtic reconstructions proposed here.

6. On the reconstruction of Proto-Celtic

There are several unresolved issues in the reconstruction of the Proto-Celtic phonological system. I have generally tried to follow the consensus opinion, where there is any, but in some cases difficult choices had to be made. It is assumed here that Proto-Celtic had the following phonemes:

I. *Vowels*

a) short		b) long	
i	u	ī	ū
e	o	ē	
a		ā	

c) diphthongs

oy	ow		
ay	aw	āy	āw

I take the monophthongization of PIE *ey > *ē to be a Proto-Celtic change, although it is not absolutely certain that this change occurred in the prehistory of Celtiberian (cf. MLH V.1: XVII). I also believe that the change *ew > *ow is Proto-Celtic, and that instances of alleged *eu* in Gaulish (e.g. in *Neviodunum*, a toponym in Slovenia) are just spelling variants of a diphthong that did not exist in Latin at the time of the adaptation of the Roman alphabet to Gaulish (cf. McCone 1996).

II. *Consonants:*

a) stops:

	b
t	d
k	g
k^w	g^w

I assume that *kw merged with *k^w in Proto-Celtic, so I reconstruct PCelt. *ek^{w}o- 'horse' (OIr. *ech*, etc.) from PIE *$h_1$ék^{w}o- (Lat. *equus* etc.). Apparent exceptions, such as W *ci* 'dog' < PIE *ḱwōn can be explained by assuming early delabialization of *k^w in certain environments (e.g. before PCelt. *ū as in the preceding example: *ḱwōn > PCelt. *k^{w}ūn > *kūn > W *ci*). Similarly, the reflexes of *$g^{w(h)}$ and *$g^{(h)}$w are indistinguishable in Celtic, cf. PCelt. *tang^{w}āt- 'tongue' < *dnǵ^{h}w- (OIr. *tengae*, W *tafod*).

b) fricatives:

f s [x] (an allophone of *k before stops and *s]
[z] (an allophone of *s before voiced consonants)

I do not assume that there was a PCelt. phoneme *ts (from PIE clusters with two dentals, and/or from PIE *-st-). I believe that PIE *st was preserved in PCelt. (as it is in Celtiberian), and that PIE *TT yielded *ss already in PCelt. (see Schrijver 1995). The fricative *f is the regular reflex of PIE *p. It may have been a bilabial voiceless fricative [φ] phonetically, rather than a labiodental fricative [f]. I also assume that the assimilations of *rs > *rr and *ls > *ll are Proto-Celtic (see McCone 1996); however, I adopt the 'etymological' spelling for the clusters *-sr-, *-sl-, *-sn-, *-sm-, and *ly, as

if they were intact in Proto-Celtic reconstructions, although they could have changed to *-rr-, *-ll-, *-nn- and *-mm-, respectively, already in PCelt.[8]

c) resonants:

m n l r

I assume that the change of PIE syllabic *m, *n > *am, *an is pan-Celtic. The fronting of *am, *an > *em, *en in Goidelic is a later development that occurred only in some environments (see McCone 1996 for details). I also assume that word-final *-m was preserved, as it is in Celtiberian, and occasionally in Gaulish.

d) semivowels:

y w

7. THE CELTIC LANGUAGES

For the purpose of this lexicon we adopt the following periodization of the attested Celtic languages.

1. Lepontic (attested from the 7th, or early 6th century B.C. until ca. the 1st century B.C.). In all likelihood, Lepontic is just an early offshoot of Gaulish. The evidence for Lepontic as a separate branch of Celtic heavily relies on the archaeological data, especially on the early individualization of the (Lepontic) Golasseca Culture (see Uhlich 1999: 285-293).

2. Gaulish, attested onomastically since the 6th century B.C., but with a sizeable corpus of inscriptions only from the 3rd century B.C. (inscriptions in Greek alphabet). Inscriptions in the Roman alphabet are attested later, chiefly after the Roman conquest of Gaul (2nd half of the 1st century B.C.). It is unclear when Gaulish died out, but it was probably spoken until the 6th or 7th century A.D., at least in some isolated pockets in Gaul. Although Gaulish is attested for at least a millennium, no attempt has been made to distinguish between early and late Gaulish in this lexicon. However, the source of Gaulish words (except for names) is always indicated.

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[8] All of the attested reflexes have the geminates, cf., e.g., the reflexes of PCelt. *koslo-, *kasninā, *kīsrā, *alyo-, and cf. 1 sg. pres. of the copula, OIr. *am*, Gaul. *immi*. It is quite clear that Proto-Celtic was in the process of developing geminates, because some of the assimilations that produced geminates are certainly early (see above). The reconstructions in this dictionary contain geminated stops, fricatives, and resonants.

3. Celtiberian, attested from the 3rd or early 2nd century B.C. until ca. 1st century A.D. The earliest inscriptions are in Iberian syllabary, but from the 1st century B.C. a considerable number of inscriptions are in Roman alphabet.

4. Goidelic, represented by Old Irish and Middle Irish, attested since 4th century A.D. (Ogam inscriptions). We distinguish the following phases of Goidelic:

Ogam (4th - 6th centuries)
Old Irish (7th - 9th centuries)
Middle Irish (10th - 11th centuries)
Modern Irish (12th century - present)

Usually only the earliest attested form of the word is adduced in the lexicon. This is regularly the Old Irish or the Middle Irish form found in DIL. It should be noted that Old Irish and Middle Irish forms are often not easily distinguished. In principle, all words attested in the glosses and other texts from the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* are Old Irish, but Old Irish forms can often be found in later manuscripts as well. So, even if a word is only attested in texts, the manuscripts of which were preserved in the Middle Irish period (e.g. in the sagas of the Ulster cycle, or in the Leinster eulogistic poetry), we can often be sure that the same word existed in Old Irish. Therefore, in some cases where I adduced a word as OIr., although it does not occur in the proper OIr. texts, the reader will have to trust my philological judgement, or check the sources for himself.

Scottish Gaelic and Manx forms were not adduced in this lexicon (with a handful of exceptions), since they yield very little additional information about the reconstructed PCelt. words and their origin.

5. Brittonic,[9] represented by Welsh, Breton, and Cornish. Dialectal diversity within Brittonic is far greater than within Goidelic, so reflexes of PCelt. words from all three Brittonic languages were adduced, whenever attested. We distinguish the following phases of Brittonic:

Old Welsh (7th - 10th centuries)
Middle Welsh (11th - 14th centuries)
Modern Welsh (15th century - present)

Old Breton (9th - 11th centuries)
Middle Breton (12th - 16th centuries)
Modern Breton (17th century - present)

[9] This branch of Celtic languages is referred to as "British", "Brythonic", and "Brittonic" in the literature; I tried to be consistent in using "Brittonic".

Old Cornish (9th -12th centuries)
Cornish (13th - 18th centuries)[10]

Middle Welsh, Middle Breton, and Middle Cornish forms are adduced by default. If a word was attested in Old Cornish, Old Breton, or Old Welsh, it is adduced separately in the Cornish, Breton, and Welsh fields, respectively. Modern Welsh forms, as cited in GPC, are adduced only when they are different from MW forms, and often the difference lies only in spelling.

8. Structure of the entries

Each entry in this dictionary consists of several fields. The first field contains the reconstructed Proto-Celtic word and its meaning, as well as the information about the word-class to which it belonged. The following fields contain reflexes of the reconstructed etymon in the primary branches of Celtic, together with some basic grammatical information about them: as a rule the gender of Old Irish and Middle Welsh nouns, the inflectional class of the Old Irish nouns and adjectives, and the attested stems of Old Irish verbs.

In the next field the PIE root of the Proto-Celtic etymon is given, together with a reference to the page in IEW where that root is discussed. After that, there follows a discussion of the proposed etymology and the alternative proposals found in the literature. I have tried to make the derivation of the attested forms from PIE and Proto-Celtic as explicit as possible, without concealing any of the uncertainties or unresolved problems. This field also contains the discussion of other possible cognates of the reconstructed Proto-Celtic etymon. In many cases the etymology proposed here is not the only possible one, but all of the etymologies in this dictionary are meant to be consistent with the Celtic sound laws accepted in this Introduction (see above). I have tried to be maximally clear in making the distinction between mentioning various possible etymological proposals and claiming that a particular etymology is true.

The last field contains the references. The list of references is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather to include the most relevant books and articles, published during the last fifty years, in which etymological discussion of the etyma in question can be found. They are ordered in

[10] Cornish is often divided into Middle Cornish (from 12th until the end of the 16th centuries) and Modern Cornish (17th - 18th centuries), cf., e.g., Lewis 1990. I have grouped the words attested from the beginning of the 13th century onwards under a single label, "Cornish".

such a manner that the more general reference works precede publications dedicated to a particular word, or specific problems of phonological development relevant to the lemma in question.

A

***abalnā** 'apple-tree' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *aball* [f]
W: MW *afall* [f]
BRET: OBret. *aballen*, MBret. *avallenn*
CO: OCo. *auallen* gl. malus
PIE: *h_2eph_3ol-n- (IEW: 1)
SEE: *abalo- 'apple'
REF: LEIA A-6, DGVB 50, EIEC 25, GPC I: 41, Campanile 1974: 10f., Deshayes 2003: 80.

***abalo-** 'apple' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ubull* [o n] (DIL *uball*)
W: MW *afal* [m]
BRET: MBret. *aval*, OBret. *abal*
GAUL: *auallo* gl. poma (Endlicher's Glossary, 14)
PIE: *h_2eph_3ol- 'apple' (IEW: 1)
COGN: OHG *apful*, OCS *ablъko*, Lith. *óbuolas*, Osc. *Abella* [Toponym]
SEE: *abalnā 'apple-tree'
ETYM: The geminate *-ll-* in OIr. could have arisen under analogical influence of *abalnā 'apple-tree'. The Celtic forms can be derived from the oblique cases of the PIE l-stem, with the Nom. sg. *h_2eph_3ol (or *$h_2eph_3\bar{o}l$) / Gen. sg. *$h_2(e)ph_3los$. It is assumed here that *h_3 voiced the preceding *p (as in *$piph_3eti$ 'drinks' > Skt. *píbati*), but there is no independent evidence for a laryngeal in the word for 'apple', so the alternative PIE reconstruction *h_2ebol- (with the rare phoneme *b) is also possible.
REF: LEIA U-12f., DGVB 50, EIEC 25f, GPC I: 40, Delamarre 28f., Deshayes 2003: 80, Hamp 1979: 158-166, Adams 1985, Markey 1988, Sims-Williams 2006: 40.

***abanko-** 'beaver' [Noun]
SEE: *abon- 'river'

***abon-** 'river' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ab, aub* [n f]
W: MW *afon* [f]
BRET: MBret. *auon*
CO: Co. *auon*

GAUL: *ambe* gl. riuo (Endlicher's Glossary, 6 (*bis*))
PIE: *$h_2$ep-$h_3$on- 'river' (IEW: 1)
COGN: Hitt. *hāpa-*, Pal. *hāpna-*, Lat. *amnis*
ETYM: OIr. *aub* clearly points to PCelt. *abū, Acc. *abonen; the form *abonā (> MW *afon*) was built to this stem. The n-stem is probably inherited from PIE (cf. the Pal. and Lat. reflexes). Gaul. *ambe,* with *-m-*, may be corrupted, but cf. the hydronyms *Amyr* (MW), *Ammer* (Germ.), *Ambre* (Fr.), which are probably Celtic (they may represent *ambr(iy)o-, but they are also often derived from PIE *nb^h-ro-, cf. Lat. *imber* 'rain'). A probable derivative from PCelt. *abon- is PCelt. *abanko- 'beaver', cf. MIr. *abacc* [o m] 'dwarf', perhaps also 'beaver', MW *afanc* [m] 'beaver, dwarf', MoBret. *avank* [m] 'dwarf, sea monster'. The PIE root is reconstructed as *$h_2$ep- with the (?possessive) suffix *-$h_3$on-, under the assumption that *ph_3 > *b (as in *piph$_3$eti 'drinks' > Skt. *píbati*). If this is correct, the words adduced here are etymologically related to Skt. *áp-* 'water', OPr. *ape* 'brook', etc.
REF: LEIA A-4, LP 38, EIEC 486, GPC I: 43, Lambert 1994: 203, Matasović 2004: 104, Stüber 1998: 97f., Campanile 1974: 11, Sims-Williams 2006: 41, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 311f.

***abrant-** 'eyelid' [Noun]
SEE: *brū- 'brow'

***ad** 'to' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *ad-*
W: OW *ad*, W *add-*
GAUL: *Ad-ianto-* [PN]
PIE: *$h_2$ed 'to, at' (IEW: 3)
COGN: Lat. *ad*, Go. *at-*
ETYM: MW *eddyl* 'target' is presumably derived from PCelt. *adilo-, with the same suffix as OE *til* 'to, until', cf. also OE *tilian* 'reach'. In principle, *adilo can be an adjectival form built to the Loc. sg. *ad-i- (Michiel de Vaan, p. c.). If so, the Germanic forms are from *$h_2$dilo-, which means that the PIE root had ablaut (*$h_2$ed- / *h_2d-). This supports the derivation of PCelt. *dī 'from' from the same root.
REF: LEIA A-13, GPC I: 31, Falileyev 3.

***adā** 'hawthorn' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *aide* [Gen s]
PIE: *$h_2$ed$^{(h)}$- 'hawthorn'
COGN: Hitt. *hat(t)-alkisnas* 'hawthorn/whitethorn branch'
ETYM: In OIr. this word is attested only in the Gen. sg., but its meaning appears quite certain. It is not in DIL. It is stipulated here (in the PCelt. reconstruction) that it was an ā-stem, but it could also have been an s-stem (*ados-).
REF: EIEC 260, Watkins 1993, Rieken 1999: 398, Huld 2006.

***ad-ber-tā** 'offering, victim' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *edbart* (DIL *idbart*) [ā f]
W: OW *aperth* [m and f], MW *aberth* 'sacrifice' [m and f]
ETYM: The OIr. word is actually the verbal noun of *ad-opair* 'sacrifices, offers' (from *ad-uss-ber-o-).
REF: Falileyev 9, GPC I: 2, Hamp 1982.

***ad-dam-yo-** 'allow, permit' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-daim*, *-addaim*; *-atma* [Subj. pres. 3 s]; *adndidma* [Fut. 3 s] 'recognizes, permits, allows'
W: MW *addef* 'admission, confession'
SEE: *dam-yo- 'allow, permit'
REF: KPV 260ff, GPC I: 32.

***adestu-** 'merit' [Noun]
SEE: *ad(u)- 'law'

***ad-k^{w}is-o-** 'see' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-cí*, *-aicci*; *-accai* [Pret.]; *ad-cess, -aiccess* [Pass. Pret.]
GAUL: *appisetu* [Impv.] (Thiaucourt)
PIE: *k^{w}eys- 'perceive' (IEW: 637)
COGN: Av. *cinahmi* 'determine', Gr. *tíō* 'reckon'
REF: KPV 431ff., LIV 381f., LEIA C-89ff., RIG II.2: 269ff., Delamarre 51, Lambert 1994: 126, 150-159

***ad-kubro-** 'wish' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *accobor* [o n] (DIL *accobar*)
PIE: *kup- 'wish' (IEW: 596)
COGN: Lat. *cupio* 'wish', Skt. *kupyati* 'be angry'
ETYM: The OIr. word is actually the verbal noun of *ad-cobra* 'wish', which is itself of deadjectival origin, cf. Osc. *cyprum* 'good' (Varro, L.L. V 159). Cf. also the Italic theonym *dea Cupra* (Picenum). An old compound from this root is MIr. *milchobar* 'honey-desiring = bear' (a semantic parallel is provided by Russ. *medvéd'* 'bear' (lit. 'honey-eater'). The change *pr > *br is regular in Celtic (see *gabro- 'goat'). Cf. also the PN *Ol-chobar* 'drink-desiring (?)'. On the IE side of this etymology, the probable connection with OCS *kypěti* 'boil' and Lith. *kūpė́ti* 'boil' does not attest a laryngeal in this root; these forms have the long *ū in the root as the result of Balto-Slavic vṛddhi (common in verbs with intensive meaning).
REF: LEIA A-10, Watkins 1962a, Uhlich 2002: 418f.

***ad-ret-o-** 'reach, grasp' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-reith*; *-arraid* [Pret. 3 s] 'runs toward, overtakes, attacks'
W: MW *eiryt* [3s Pres.]

SEE: *ret-o- 'run'
REF: KPV 538ff.

***ad-sād-yo-** 'very easy' [Adverb]
SEE: *sād-yo- 'easy'

***ad-tek^{w}-o-** 'run to, approach' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-teich* 'finds refuge with someone, entreats, prays to'
W: MW *athechaf* [1s Pres.] 'to flee from, avoid'
SEE: *tek^{w}-o- 'run, flee'
ETYM: MW *athechaf* might be rather from *ab-tek^{w}-o-, with the Lat. prefix *ab-* (this would fit the meaning of the W verb much better than PCelt. *ad-).
REF: KPV 629f., GPC I: 234.

***ad(u)-** 'law' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ad, ada* [Gen s]
W: MW *addas* 1. 'merit, reward' 2. 'right, fitting'
BRET: OBret. *camadas* gl. habilis
PIE: *h$_2$ed- (IEW: 3)
COGN: Umbr. *arsie* 'sancte'
SEE: *adestu- 'merit'
ETYM: The reconstruction of the PCelt. form is based on the assumption that OIr. *ada* 'legal' is actually the genitive singular of *ad*, which might not be the case. W *addas* 'convenient, worthy of' presumably represents a derivative *adestu-, parallel to OIr. *adas* 'lawful, just'.
REF: LEIA A-12, 13, DGVB 94, GPC I: 31, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 94.

***āg-V-** 'fear' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *-ágadar, ní-ágathar*
PIE: *h$_2$eg^{h}- 'be afraid' (IEW: 7)
COGN: Go. *agan* 'be frightened', OE *ege* 'fear', maybe also Gr. *ákhos* 'pain, grief', *ákhnymai* 'grieve'
ETYM: The long vowel in Celtic is unexpected, but cf. Go. *og* 'to fear' < PGerm. *ōga-, vs. *agan* 'to be frightened' < PGerm. *aga-. Reconstructing the PIE root as *h$_2$eH-g^{h}- would make it difficult to relate Gr. *ákhos, ákhnymai*, etc. Assuming that PCelt. *āg- and PGerm. *ōg- come from PIE *h$_2$ōg^{h}- would involve positing the lengthened grade in PIE, which is clearly *ad hoc*. A solution might be to suppose that PCelt. *āg- and PGerm. *ōg- reflect the reduplicated perfect stem *h$_2$e-h$_2$og^{h}-.
REF: LP 337, LEIA A-23, KPV 206.

***aglo-** 'brood, litter' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ál* [o m]
W: MW *ael* [f]

ETYM: The MW form represents *aglā, originally a collective to *aglo-. The PIE root from which these forms might be derived is presumably *h_2eǵ- 'drive' (IEW 4f.). However, this is a mere possibility, since the meanings are quite far apart.
REF: LEIA A-58, GPC I: 36, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 224.

***aglo-** 'wound, affliction' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *álad* [u and o m]
W: MW *aeled* [m] 'pain, grief'
PIE: *$h_2$eg^{h}lo- 'distress' (IEW: 8)
COGN: Skt. *aghrā-* 'evil, distress', Go. *agl* 'shameful'
ETYM: MIr. *álad* is from a derivative *aglo-tu-, while MW *aeled* presumably goes back to *agl-eto-, cf. also W *aelawd* 'tumult, grief' (? < *agl-āto-) and W *aele* 'sad, wretched'. GPC derives the Welsh words from *ad-lāt-, *ad-let-, which does not make sense from the formal point of view (the ablaut pattern is too odd).
REF: GPC I: 36f.

***ag-o-** 'drive' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *agid, -aig; agaid, -aga* [Subj.]; *acht, -acht* [Pret.]
W: OW *hegit* [3s Pres.] 'go', MW *a, aa* [3s Pres.]; *aeth, ayth* [Pret.]
BRET: MBret. *a* 'go', OBret. *nit-a*; *aez* [Pret.]
CO: Co. *a* 'go'; *eth, etha* [Pret.]
PIE: *h_2eǵ- 'drive' (IEW: 4f.)
COGN: Skt. *ájati*, Lat. *ago*, Gr. *ágō*, Arm. *acem*
ETYM: In Brit. this verb has a suppletive VN, MW *mynet*, MBret. *monet*, MCo. *mones* < *monetu-, cf. PCelt. *mon-ī- 'go'. Gaul. *axat* (Marcellus of Bordeaux) may be 3 sg. Pres. Subj. of the same verb (Delamarre 63), so it would mean 'he should bring'.
REF: LIV 255f, KPV 189-191, LEIA A-22, DGVB 50, GPC I: 40, Delamarre 63, Meid 1996: 45.

***agos-** 'cow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ag* [s n > f] 'cow'
W: MW *aelaw* [m] 'riches, wealth'
PIE: *h_2eǵHo- 'cow' (IEW: 7)
COGN: Skt. *ahī́-*, Arm. *ezn*
ETYM: The MW word represents a derivative, *ag-ilo-, or *ages-ilo-. The development of meaning from 'cows, cattle' to 'wealth' is not unexpected, cf. Eng. *fee* vs. Germ. *Vieh* 'cattle'. The s-stem attested in OIr. would seem to be more archaic, so it is posited for PCelt. The vocalism of Arm. *ezn* does not match, so it is doubtful whether it is related.
REF: LEIA A-22, GPC I: 36, EIEC 135, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 143.

***agrinyo-** 'sloe, fruit of the blackthorn' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *áirne* [io m] 'sloe, fruit of the blackthorn, kernel'
W: MW *eirin* [p] 'sloes, berries, plums'; *eirinen* [Singulative f]
BRET: MBret. *irinenn* 'sloe'
PIE: *$h_2$eg- 'fruit, berry' (IEW: 773)
COGN: MHG *eckern* 'acorn', Go. *akran* 'fruit', Lith. *úoga* 'strawberry', Russ. *jágoda* 'strawberry'
ETYM: W *eirin* is from the original neuter plural *agrinyā. Cat. *aranyo,* Pr. *agreno* 'blackthorn' preserve the Gaulish reflex of this PCelt. word, cf. also W *aeron* 'fruits, berries' [Collective] < *agr-on-ā. The PIE etymology is uncertain; the closest parallels are undoubtedly the Germanic words which seem to go back to PGerm. *akranan 'fruit, acorn'; the Balto-Slavic words for 'strawberry' may have the long vowel because of Winter's law. However, the word formation of PCelt. *agrinyo- is unclear.
REF: LEIA A-48, GPC I: 1196, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 367.

***agro-** 'carnage, battle' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ár* [o n]
W: OW *hair* [f], MW *aer* [f] 'battle'
BRET: OBret. *air*
CO: OCo. *hair* gl. clades
GAUL: *Ver-agri* [Ethnonym] (Caesar)
PIE: *h_2eǵro- 'hunt' (IEW: 6)
COGN: Gr. *ágrē* 'hunt', Av. *azrō.daiδī-* 'hunt'
ETYM: The word-initial *h-* in OW and OCo. is non-etymological. Presumably, these words are derived from PIE *h_2eǵ- 'drive' (Lat. *ago*, etc.), but the semantic connection binding them under a single etymon is admittedly weak.
REF: LEIA A-82, LP 32, DGVB 58, GPC I: 36, EIEC 284, Falileyev 80.

***akro-** 'high' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *ér* 'high, noble, great'
GAUL: *Axro-talus* [PN]
PIE: *h_2eḱro- 'high' (IEW: 21)
COGN: Gr. *ákros,* Lat. *ācer* 'sharp'
ETYM: OIr. *acher* (DIL *aicher*) 'sharp, violent, fierce' [o] might also belong here, if it is not a Latin loanword (as stated by LEIA A-11). It could represent PCelt. *ak-ero- or *ak-aro- (it is occasionally spelled *achar*), cf. PIE *$h_2$ok- > PCelt. *ok-ri- > OIr. *ochair* 'edge' (Lat. *ocris* 'rugged mountain', Gr. *ókris* 'sharp edge'). W *ochr* and OBret. *occrou* gl. hirsutis...dentibus are considered to be Goidelic loanwords. Cf. also Gaul. *Okelon* (?) 'promontory' < *ok-elo- (Sims-Williams 2006: 96f.).
REF: LEIA A-11, Delamarre 31, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 233.

***alal(i)yo-** 'another, other' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *arail(l)*

W: OW *arall*, MW *arall, y lall*
BRET: MBret. *al(l)all, arall*
CO: Co. *arall*
SEE: *alyo- 'other'
ETYM: This is a reduplicated, intensive variant of *alyo- 'other'. In both branches of Insular Celtic there is evidence for dissimilated forms (*aralyo-), but these can be independent of each other.
REF: LEIA A-11, Falileyev 9, GPC I: 176.

***alamo-** 'herd, flock, movable proprety' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *alam* [? n]
W: MW *alaf* [m] 'herd, wealth, property'
ETYM: Schrijver (1995: 75) derives these words from PIE *pelh$_2$- 'to drive' (Lat. *pello*, etc.), which is possible. If this etymology is correct, the PCelt. form was *falamo-. However, I believe it is also possible to connect *alamo- with Hitt. *hāli-* (n.) 'pen, corral (for cows and horses)', in which case the PIE root would be *h$_2$el-. For the suffix cf. *fatamā 'hand, talon'.
REF: LEIA A-60, GPC I: 73, Schrijver 1995: 75f.

***albiyo-** 'world' [Noun]
W: OW *elbid* [m and f] 'world', MW *eluit, eluyd* (GPC *elfydd*)
GAUL: *Albio-rix* [PN]
PIE: *h$_2$elb^{h}o- 'white' (IEW: 30)
COGN: Lat. *albus*, OHG *albiz* 'swan'
ETYM: For the semantic developments, see Delamarre 36; the primary meaning is 'upper world' (in opposition to the underworld), with the development of meaning similar to the one seen in Russ. *svet* 'world, light'. The name of Britain attested in ancient authors, *Álbion*, is presumably from the same root, as well as the OIr. name for Britain and (later) Scotland, *Albu*.
REF: Delamarre 36, Falileyev 52, Meid 1991, Hamp 1992.

***alnostu-** 'sweat, perspiration' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *allas* [?o n]
PIE: *h$_2$elh$_1$- 'heat'
COGN: Gr. *aléa* 'body heat, warmth'
ETYM: The gender and stem of the OIr. word are not certainly established. According to DIL, it is an o-stem, and according to de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 272 it is neuter. It is occasionally spelled *allus* in early sources, so it could, conceivably, represent an old u-stem neuter *alnossu- < *alnos-tu-. The root-final *h$_1$ in PIE is uncertain. Although it is often adduced as a cognate, Hitt. *allaniyezzi* 'sweats' probably does not belong here; the meaning of this rare verb is not certain, and one would expect word-initial *h- in Hitt.
REF: LEIA A-62, EIEC 560, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 272.

***al-o-** 'feed, raise' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *alid, -ail; alaid, -ala* [Subj.]; *ailt, -alt* [Pret.]; *altae, -alt* [Pret. Pass.] 'feeds, raises'
W: MW *alu* 'bear young'; *alho* [3s Pres Subj.]
BRET: MBret. *halaff* 'bear young, calve'
PIE: *$h_2$el- 'raise, feed, grow' (IEW: 26)
COGN: Lat. *alo*, Gr. *neālēs* 'strong', Go. *alan* 'grow'
SEE: *al-trawon- 'foster-uncle'
ETYM: The Gaul. toponym *Alaunos* and hydronym *Alauna* are usually derived from the same root, but like most etymologies of toponomastic elements, this is also uncertain.
REF: LIV 262, KPV 193-195, LEIA A-57, GPC I: 73, Lambert 1994: 37.

***alten-** 'razor' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *ailt* [n f]
W: OW *elinn* gl. nouacula, MW *ellyn* [m and f]
BRET: OBret. *altin* gl. ferula, MBret. *autenn*, MoBret. *aotenn* [f] 'razor'
CO: Co. *alsen*
ETYM: The Brittonic forms point to a derived *(f)altinā. Pokorny's etymology (IEW 986, followed by Falileyev: 53) which derives these Celtic words from PIE *(s)pel- 'cut' (Germ. *spalten*), is improbable, since *plten- would yield PCelt. *fliten. The derivation from PIE *(s)plg-ten- (OE *spelc, spilc* 'bandage, binding' < *spelg-) is hardly better, since this should give PCelt. **flixten-. Therefore, PCelt. *alten- may be a substratum word of non-IE origin.
REF: LEIA A-34, LP 47, Falileyev 53, GPC I: 1209, Deshayes 2003: 68.

***altiyo-** 'fosterling, client' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *altae* [io m]
W: MW *eillt* [m] 'unfree landholder, subject, vassal' (GPC *aillt, aill*)
SEE: *al-o- 'feed, raise'
ETYM: PCelt. *altiyo- is actually a lexicalized passive participle of *al-o- 'feed, raise'.
REF: GPC I: 73.

***alto-** 'height, cliff' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *alt* [o m]
W: MW *allt* [f] 'hill, slope, cliff, shore, wooded slope'; *elltydd, aillt* [p]
BRET: MBret. *pen-an-aout* 'top of the hill', MoBret. *aod* [f] 'coast'
CO: OCo. *als* gl. litus
ETYM: These words are probably related to Lat. *altus* 'high', OHG *alt* 'old' (if developed from an earlier meaning 'grown up'). Some derive them from the root *$h_2$el- 'feed, raise' (IEW 26); the semantic development would have been 'raised' > 'high', but I do not find this very convincing.
REF: LEIA A-63f., LP 47, GPC I: 78, Deshayes 2003: 67.

***altr-awon-** 'foster-uncle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *altra* [n m] 'foster-father'
W: MW *athro* [m] 'teacher', *athrawon* [p]
BRET: MBret. *autrou* 'lord, master'
CO: Co. *altrou* 'stepfather'
PIE *$h_2$el- (IEW: 27)
SEE: *al-o- 'feed, raise, nourish'
ETYM: The second element of this compound, PCelt. *awū / *awon-, is the Celtic parallel to Lat. *auunculus* 'uncle' (see Stüber 1998: 109f.). It is preserved also in MoBret. *eontr*, W *ewythir* 'uncle' < PCelt. *awon-tīr.
REF: GPC I: 235, Stüber 1998: 109f.

***alyo-** 'other' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *aile* [io]
W: MW *eil, all-*
BRET: MBret. *eil*
CO: Co. *yl*
GAUL: *Allo-broges* [PN], *allos* (La Graufesenque)
PIE: *$h_2$elyo- 'other' (IEW: 25f.)
COGN: Lat. *alius*, Gr. *állos*, Go. *aljis*
ETYM: Celtib. *ailam*, which has been interpreted as the Acc. sg. of this pronoun (e.g. McCone 1996: 109), has also been taken to mean something like 'place, abode' (e.g. Meid 1994: 48). It is only fair to conclude with D. Wodtko (MLH V.1: 10f.) that its meaning is presently unknown.
REF: LEIA A-31f., Delamarre 39f., McCone 1996: 109, Meid 1994: 48, MLH V.1: 10f.

***am-o-** 'wash' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ind-aim* 'washes'
PIE: *$h_2$em(H)- 'pour' (IEW: 35)
COGN: Gr. *amáomai* 'draw milk', Arm. *amanam* 'fill'
SEE: *anamī 'blemish'
ETYM: OIr. *ind-aim* 'washes' reflects *ande-ame-ti; cf. also OIr. *at-aim* 'washes' < *ad-ame-ti. MW *enneint* [m and f] 'bath' has also been related to this root (it may represent PCelt. *and-antyo- < *am-tyo-), but another etymology derives it from the PIE root *nig^{w}- 'to wash' (PCelt. *ande-nig^{w}-īnā), with the unetymological final *-t* (Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 520, with references). The IE etymology of PCelt. *am-o- is quite uncertain, but at least Gr. *amáomai* and Arm. *amanam* appear as likely cognates, enabling us to reconstruct PIE *$h_2$em(H)-. Other possible derivatives from this poorly attested root might include Arm. *aman* 'vessel' and Skt. *ámatra-* 'drinking vessel' (though Mayrhofer, s. v. *ámatra-*, does not mention the possibility).
REF: LEIA A-15f., LIV 265, KPV 195, Watkins 1959.

***amaro-** 'wailing, crying' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *amar* [o n, later m] 'wailing, moaning, singing'
W: MW *afar* [m] 'sadness, lamentation, grief'
REF: LEIA A-65, GPC I: 41, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 317.

***ambaxto-** 'servant' [Noun]
W: MW *amaeth* [m] 'servus arans'
BRET: OBret. *ambaith*
GAUL: *ambaktos, ambactus* 'vassal' (Festus, Caesar)
PIE: *h_2mb^hi-$h_2eǵ$- 'drive around'
SEE: *ag-o- 'drive'
ETYM: OHG *ambaht* 'servant' (Germ. *Amt*) is a Celtic loanword from the prehistoric period.
REF: Delamarre 40, Lewis 30, Birkhan 1970: 58, Meid 2005: 162f.

***amben-** 'butter' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *imb* [n n]
W: MW *ymenyn* [m] (GPC *ymenyn (e)menyn*)
BRET: MBret. *amanen,* MoBret. *amann, amannen* [m]
CO: OCo. *amanen* gl. butyrum , MoCo. *manyn*
PIE: *h_3eng^w-en- 'butter' (IEW: 779)
COGN: Lat. *unguen* 'grease', OHG *ancho* 'butter', OPr. *anctan* 'butter',
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from the stem of the oblique cases of the PIE noun for 'butter', PIE *h_3ng^wen-. The development *am- > *em- (> OIr. *im-*) is the same as in OIr. *imbliu* < PCelt. *ambliyon- 'navel'. The PIE root is *h_3eng^w- 'smear, anoint' (Skt. *anákti*, Lat. *unguo*, Arm. *awcanem*)
REF: GPC III: 3775, EIEC 382, Deshayes 2003: 59, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 101ff., 120, Schrijver 1995: 87, Stüber 1998: 58f., Campanile 1974: 3.

***ambi-** 'around' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *imb, imm* [Aspirating, +Acc.]
W: OW *im,* MW *am*
BRET: MBret. *am, em*
GAUL: *ambi-*
CELTIB: *ampi-*
PIE: *h_2emb^hi 'around, about' (IEW: 34)
COGN: Skt. *abhí,* Gr. *amphí*, Lat. *ambi-*
REF: EIEC 32, Delamarre 41f., Falileyev 90, Jordán Cólera 1998: 88, 96, 103, MLH V.1: 22ff.

***ambi-g^{w}an-o-** 'fight (each other)'
GOID: MIr. *imm-goin* 'wages war, gives battle'
W: MW *ymwan* (GPC *ymwan(u)*)
CO: Co. *omwana* 'to pierce oneself'

SEE: *g^{w}an-o- 'hit, strike'
REF: KPV 363f., GPC III: 3806.

***ambi-gab-** 'meet' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *imm-immgaib* 'avoids, evades'
W: MW *ymgaffael* 'meet, sleep with' (GPC *ymgael, ymgaff(a)el*)
SEE: *gab-yo- 'take'
ETYM: OIr. *imm-immgaib* has the reduplicated prefix (*ambi-ambi-gab-).
REF: GPC III: 3778.

***ambi-rād-ī-** 'think' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *imm-rádi* 'thinks, discusses, reflects on'
W: OW *amraud* 'thought'
SEE: *rād-ī- 'think'
REF: LEIA R-3, Falileyev 6.

***ambliyon-** 'navel' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *imbliu* [n, m or f] (DIL *imliu, imbliu*)
PIE: *h$_3$nob^{h}-li- 'navel, nave' (IEW: 314f.)
COGN: Skt. *nā́bhi-*, Gr. *omphalós*, Lat. *umbilīcus*, OE *nafela*
ETYM: Like Lat. *umbilicus*, the stem of the PCelt. word for 'navel' generalized the PIE oblique stem *h$_3$nb^{h}l-. For the development of the initial *am- > OIr. *im* cf. *ang^{w}en- 'butter'.
REF: EIEC 391, de Bernardo Stempel 1999:118, 331.

***amo-** 'time' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *am(m)* [? n, later m]
SEE: *amsterā 'time, moment'
ETYM: OIr. *am(m)* was probably an o-stem (DIL). IE etymology is unknown, but cf. *amsterā 'time, moment'.
REF: LEIA A-67.

***amsterā** 'time, moment' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *aimser* [ā f] 'point of time, period of time'
W: OW *amser* [m] 'time', *amser* 'because, when', MW *amser* [m and f] 'time'
BRET: MBret. *amzer* [f]
CO: OCo. *anser* gl. tempus
ETYM: In OIr. there is a noun *am(m)* [n] 'time', which reflects the root *amo- from which *amsterā must be derived. However, its etymology is unknown (LEIA A-67). It is also unclear why W *amser* is masculine – it may be from a PCelt. by-form *amstero-. It is tempting to connect these words with Hitt. *hamesha-* 'spring', which also has an obscure etymology (Kloekhorst, *s. v.*). We could start from a PIE s-stem *h$_2$emos 'a period of time', and PCelt. *amstero- would be derivable from *h$_2$emos-tero- by

syncope. Hitt. *hamesha-* can be from *$h_2$emes-sh_2-o- (*-sha-* is a productive suffix).
REF: LEIA A-3, LP 21, Falleyev 6, GPC I: 102, Campanile 1974: 3.

***ana-** 'remain' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *anaid, -ana* 'waits, remains'; *anaid, -ana* [Subj.]; *anais, -an* [Pret.]
W: MW *kynhanu* 'pronounce' (GPC *cynanaf*)
BRET: MBret. *ehanaff* 'remain', MoBret. *ehanañ* 'stop, pause'
PIE: *$h_2$enh$_1$- 'breathe, blow' (IEW: 38f.)
COGN: Skt. *ániti* 'breathes', Gr. *ánemos* 'breath', Lat. *animus* 'spirit'
SEE: *anatlā 'breath', *anamon- 'soul'
ETYM: MW *kynhanu* < *kom-ana-, MBret. *ehanaff* < *exs-ana-. Cf. also OIr. *con-osna* 'ceases' < *kom-uss-ana-, and W *cynnan* 'ready, witty, eloquent'. The Gaulish toponym *Anaunion* in Italy (Ptolemy) has been related to these words and interpreted as 'the town of the Staying ones', which is quite speculative. The connection of the meanings 'to breathe' and 'to remain' is not obvious, but this etymology is generally accepted. The development of meaning could have been 'breathe' > 'pause' > 'remain', cf. Croat. *odàhnuti* 'pause' from *dȁh* 'breath'.
REF: LIV 267f, KPV 196f, LEIA A-71, GPC I: 778, de Bernardo Stempel 2000: 91, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 307ff.

***anamī** 'blemish, fault' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *anim* [?ī, later ā f] (DIL *ainim*)
W: OW *anamou* gl. mendae, MW *anaf*
BRET: MBret. *anaf, anaff* 'fault'; OBret. *di-anam* gl. efficaciter
SEE: *am-o- 'wash'
ETYM: The PCelt. reconstruction is here based on the somewhat doubtful assumption that the OIr. word is an ancient ī-stem (it also inflects as an ā-stem, but the Nom. pl *anmi* might be an indication that ī-inflection is original). Pokorny's connection of these words with Gr. *ónomai* 'blame, injure' is improbable. It is possible that *an- is the negative prefix in this word; the root could be the same as in the verb *am-o- 'wash', since the meaning 'blemish' could have developed from something like 'unwashed, unwashable'; cf. also the parallelism between OBret. *di-anam* and OIr. *dianim* 'faultless'.
REF: LEIA A-78, DGVB 63, GPC I: 106.

***anamon-** 'soul' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *anim* [n f]
BRET: MBret. *eneff*
CO: Co. *enef*
PIE: *$h_2$enh$_1$-mon- 'breath' (IEW: 38)
COGN: Lat. *anima* 'soul'

SEE: *anatlā 'breath'
ETYM: In both branches of Insular Celtic, the reflexes of this PCelt. etymon were influenced by Lat. *anima*.
REF: LEIA A-78, Stüber 1998: 148ff.

***anatlā** 'breath' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *anál* [ā f]
W: MW *anadyl, anadl* [f and m]
BRET: MBret. *alazn*
CO: Co. *anal, anel*
PIE: *h_2enh_1- 'breath' (IEW: 38)
COGN: Lat. *animus*, Gr. *ánemos*
SEE: *ana- 'breathe'
ETYM: Gaul. *anatia* (Larzac) should perhaps be translated as 'souls' and related to these words. PCelt. *anatlā presupposes PIE < *h_2enh_1-tlo-, while Lat. *animus* and Gr. *ánemos* come from < *h_2enh_1-mo-.
REF: LEIA A-73, GPC: I: 104, EIEC 82, 98., McCone 1996: 51, Delamarre 44f.

***anderā** 'young woman' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *ander* [ā f] (DIL *ainder*)
W: MW *anneir* [f] 'heifer' (GPC *anner, annair*)
BRET: MBret. *anner* 'heifer'
CO: OCo. *annoer* gl. uitula
GAUL: ? *anderon* [Gen. p] (Larzac)
ETYM: MIr. *ander* may have been an o-stem originally (DIL). The change of meaning attested in Brittonic ('young woman' > 'heifer') is based on a common metaphor in cattle-breeding societies. It has been suggested that there is a connection of this Celtic etymon and Basque *andere* 'lady, woman', but this might be only a chance ressemblance. The meaning of Gaulish *anderon* is not certain (it might rather be related to Lat. *inferus*), so this word might not belong here after all.
REF: LEIA A-76, GPC I: 136, Lambert 1994: 155, Delamarre 47.

***andom** 'inside, there' [Adverb]
GOID: OIr. *and* 'there'
PIE: *$h_1$ndo(m) 'inside' (IEW: 181ff.)
COGN: Hitt. *anda* 'inwards, into', Gr. *éndon*, OLat. *endo* 'in, on to'
ETYM: The formation of PCelt. *andom shows that it was probably a neuter noun that became 'petrified' as an adverb. For the type of formation cf. *efirom 'behind'.
REF: LEIA A-75, de Vaan 2008: 189.

***aneg-o-** 'protect' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *aingid, anaig*; *anais, -ain* [Subj.]; *anais, -ain* [Fut.]; *anacht, -anacht* [Pret.]; *anachtae, -anacht* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *$h_1$egH- 'lack' (IEW: 290)
COGN: Lat. *egeo*, ON *ekla* 'lack'
REF: LIV 231, KPV 197-200, LEIA A-76f, Schrijver 1995: 86.

***aneg-tlo-** 'refuge, protection' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *anacul* [o, n] 'act of protecting, sparing, protection'
GAUL: *Anextlo-marus* 'attribute of Apollo', perhaps 'he, whose protection is great'
SEE: *aneg-o- 'protect'
ETYM: The meaning of *Anextlo-maros* is doubtful; since the suffix *-tlo- usually has instrumental meaning, perhaps *Anextlomaros* originally meant 'having great shelters'.
REF: LEIA A-77, Schrijver 1995: 86, Delamarre 49, Dottin 1920: 227, Luján 2003: 188, Markey 2003.

***ang^{w}īnā** 'nail' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ingen* [ā f] 'nail, claw'
W: OW *eguin*, MW *ewin* [m and f]
BRET: OBret. *eguin* gl. adungem, MBret. *euin*
CO: OCo. *euuin* gl. unguis
PIE: *$h_3$nog^{h}u-, Gen. *$h_3$ng^{h}ew-s 'nail' (IEW: 780)
COGN: Lat. *unguis*, Gr. *ónyks*, OHG *nagal* 'nail', Lith. *nagà* 'hoof', OCS *nogъtь*, ToA *maku* [p] 'nails', Arm. *ełungn* 'nail'
ETYM: In Celtic, the stem of the oblique cases (*$h_3$ng^{h}u-) was generalized. Note the regular development of *$h_3$ng^{h}w- > *ang^{w}- without any laryngeal coloring of the vowel, whereas in Latin *h_3nC > *unC-*.
REF: LP 34, EIEC 389, LHEB 387, Falileyev 52, GPC I: 1262, Campanile 1974: 45, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 219, 447.

***angu-** 'narrow' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cumung*
W: MW *ing*
BRET: OBret. *enc*, MBret. *encq*, MoBret. *enk*
PIE: *$h_2$eng^{h}u- 'tight, narrow, constricted' (IEW: 42f.)
COGN: Skt. *aṃhú-* 'narrow', Lat. *ango* 'strangle', OHG *engi* 'narrow', OCS *ǫzъkъ*
SEE: *kom-angu- 'narrow'
ETYM: OIr. *cumung* is from *kom-angu-, cf. also MW *cyf-yng* 'narrow' and MW *eh-ang* 'broad' < *exs-angu- 'not narrow'. The PIE root is reconstructed as *$h_2$emg^{h}- by Wodtko *et alii* (2008: 301).
REF: LEIA C-292, DGVB 159, Deshayes 2003: 215, EIEC 391.

***ank-o-** 'reach' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *-ic*, *do-ic* 'comes'; *-tí* [Subj.]; *tánicc* [Pret.], *ro-ic* 'reaches'; *-richt* [Pret. Pass.], *con-ic-* 'can', etc.
W: MW *rynghu* 'reach', *reingk* [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *renc, rencq* 'reaches' [3s Pres.]
PIE: *$h_2$neḱ- 'reach, attain' (IEW: 316-318)
COGN: Skt. *aśnóti* 'reaches', Lat. *nanciscor*
ETYM: MW *rynghu* 'reach' < *fro-ank-o- < PIE *h_2nḱ-. OIr. *-ic* is usually derived from PIE *h_2ēnḱ-ti (Narten present) > PCelt. *īnk- > *ink- (by Osthoff-type shortening before RC) > *-ic*. However, the PIE status of the Narten-presents with lengthened grade has been challenged recently (de Vaan 2004). Since PCelt. *ank- should have given OIr. *éc-* (cp. *anku- 'death' > OIr. *éc*), the Proto-Irish verbal stem *ink- would have to be analogical, perhaps generalized from the sandhi-variant occurring after the negation *nī: *nī anket 'does not reach' > *nīnket, hence *inketi 'reaches'.
REF: LIV 282-284, KPV 200-202, McCone 1991a.

***ankoto-** 'hook, paw' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *écath* [?o] gl. hamus 'fish hook'
W: MW *anghad, aghad* [m] 'hand, grasp' (GPC *angad*)
PIE: *$h_2$nko- 'turn, bend' (IEW: 45ff.)
COGN: Skt. *áṅkas-* 'turn (in a road)', Lat. *ancus* 'with crooked arms', OHG *angul* 'angle', perhaps Gr. *ágkos* 'valley'
ETYM: The gender of OIr. *écath* is unknown, and the word is not well attested. Cf. also W *craf-anc* 'paw, claw', in which the underived *anko- is preserved as the second part of the compound. Both PIE *$h_2$nko- and *$h_2$enko- would have been reflected as PCelt. *anko-. PIE *$h_2$onko- is attested in Lat. *uncus* 'hook'.
REF: GPC I: 49.

***anku-** 'death' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *éc* [u m]
W: MW *angheu* [m and f] (GPC *angau*)
BRET: OBret. *ancou,* MBret. *ancou*, MoBret. *ankow* [m]
CO: Co. *ankow*
PIE: *neḱu- 'death' (IEW: 762)
COGN: Gr. *nékys* 'corpse', Av. *nasu-* 'corpse', ToA *oṅk* 'man'
SEE: *nexso- 'wound'
ETYM: OIr. *écht* [u n] 'slaughter' is another derivative from the same root. It can be derived from PCelt. *anxtu- < PIE *nḱ-tu-. OIr. *écen* [ā f], W *angen*, MoBret. *anken*, Co. *anken* 'necessity' may represent *angino/ā 'necessity'. The comparison of the Celtic forms with those from other IE languages presupposes a PIE ablauting paradigm with Nom. s. *neḱus / Gen. *nḱews. Celtic generalized the stem form of the oblique cases, as, e.g., in the words for 'nail' (*ang^{w}īnā) and 'name' (*anman-).

REF: DGVB 64, GPC I: 49, Deshayes 2003: 65, EIEC 150, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 97.

***anman** 'name' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ainm* [n n]
W: OW *anu*, MW *enw* [m]
BRET: MBret. *hanu*, *anff*, MoBret. *anw* [m]
CO: Co. *enw*, *hanow*
GAUL: *anuana* [p] (Larzac)
PIE: *$h_3$nomn 'name' (IEW: 321)
COGN: Hitt. *lāman*, Skt. *nā́man-*, Lat. *nōmen*, Gr. *ónoma*, Go. *namō*, OPr. *emmens*, Russ. *ímja*, Alb. *emër*, ToB *ñom*, Arm. *anun*
ETYM: The Celtic forms are derived from the oblique cases of the PIE word for 'name', i.e. from *$h_3$nmen-, just like, e.g., the Slavic forms (cf. Russ. *ímja*). The exact PIE reconstruction of the word for 'name' is hotly disputed; like de Vaan (2008) I discard the evidence of Gr. *Enyma-* as too uncertain for positing the initial *h_1-; however, unlike the Leiden school, I do not believe the evidence warrants *$h_3$neh$_3$mn (see Beekes 1987 and Matasović 2004: 122). The long *ō* in Lat. *nōmen* is analogical (presumably from *co-gnōmen* under the influence of *co-gnōsco* 'recognize').
REF: LEIA A-36f., GPC I: 1220, Lambert 1994: 18f., Falileyev 8, Delamarre 50f., Deshayes 2003: 67, McCone 1996: 50, 64, 61, 72, 80, 117, 127, 134, Beekes 1987, Matasović 2004: 122.

***an-men-V-** 'patience, forbearance' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ainmne* [nt ?]
W: MW *anmynedd, amynedd* [m and f]
PIE: *men- 'wait, remain' (IEW: 729)
COGN: Skt. *ámaman* [3 s Perf.], Gr. *ménō*, Lat. *maneo*, Arm. *mnam* 'stay, expect', ToB *mäsketär* 'is located'
ETYM: The Celtic proto-form cannot be reconstructed. OIr. *ainmne* may be from *an-men-ant-, while MW *anmynedd* can come from *an-men-iyā, but in both cases the word formation is unclear. The prefix *an-* is probably the intensive prefix, quite common in Insular Celtic, and sometimes compared to Gaul. *ande-* (LEIA A-70). The attribution to the PIE root *men- seems quite probable.
REF: LEIA A-37, GPC I: 104, LIV 393.

***ānniyo-** 'ring' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *áinne* [io ?m] gl. anellus
PIE: *$h_1$eh$_2$n- 'ring' (IEW: 47)
COGN: Lat. *ānus* 'ring, anus', Arm. *anur* 'necklace, ring'
ETYM: The reconstruction of the PCelt. form is uncertain. A derivation from *ān-sn-iyo- is possible, with the similar development as in OIr. *grían* 'sun' < *g^{w}rensnā. On the other hand, the derivation from PCelt. *yāsniyo-

would also be regular, in which case we are dealing with PIE *(H)yeh$_3$s- 'belt, girdle' (IEW 513, cf. Gr. *zṓnē*, Lith. *júosta*, OCS *po-jasъ*). The development of meaning from 'belt' to 'ring' would be quite unproblematic.
REF: LEIA A-37.

***ansyo-** 'reins' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *éis(s)i* [?io m p]
PIE: *h$_2$ensyo- 'reins' (IEW: 48)
COGN: Gr. (Myc.) *a-ni-ja*, Gr. *hēnía*, Lat. *ānsa* 'handle of a cup'
REF: EIEC 481.

***anto-** 'border, limit' [Noun]
GAUL: *antom* (Vercelli); *Anto-broges* [Ethnonym] (*var. Antebroges*, Pliny IV, 109)
PIE: *h$_2$ento- 'border' (IEW: 48ff.)
COGN: Skt. *ánta-*, Go. *andeis* 'end'
SEE: *antono- 'forehead'
ETYM: Relying, as it does, only on Gaulish, this etymology is rather uncertain, but cf. the derivative from the same root in OIr. *étan* < *antono- 'front, forehead'.
REF: Delamarre 50.

***antono-** 'forehead' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *étan* [o m]
PIE: *h$_2$ent- 'face, forehead' (IEW: 209)
COGN: Skt. *ánti-* 'in front of', Lat. *ante* 'in front of', Hitt. *hant-*, ToB *ānte* 'surface, forehead'
SEE: *anto- 'border'
ETYM: The word formation of PCelt. *antono- is somewhat unclear; a derivation from PIE *h$_2$ent-h$_3$en- is thinkable.
REF: EIEC 209, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 256, 450

***anuxto-** 'what is unpronounced, mistake in versification' [Noun]
SEE: *woxtlo- 'word', *wek^{w}o- 'face'

***anxtu-** 'slaughter' [Noun]
SEE: *anku- 'death'

***aramo-** 'quiet' [Adj]
W: MW *araf* 'quiet, leasurely, calm'
PIE: *h$_1$erh$_1$- 'be still' (IEW: 322f.)
COGN: Skt. *ilay-* 'be still', *rā́trī-* 'night', Av. *rāman-* 'tranquility', Gr. *érēmos* 'deserted'

ETYM: If this etymology is correct (the semantic connection leaves much to be desired), PCelt. *aramo- can be regularly derived from *eramo- (by Joseph's rule) < PIE *h_1erh_1-mo-.
REF: GPC I: 175.

***aratro-** 'plow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *arathar* [o n or m] 'plow, tillage'
W: OW *ara[ter],* MW *aradr* [m]
BRET: MBret. *arazr*
CO: OCo. *aradar* gl. aratrum
PIE: *h_2erh_3-tro- 'plough' (IEW: 62)
COGN: Lat. *aratrum*, Gr. *árotron*, Lith. *árklas*
SEE: *ar-yo- 'to plow'
REF: LEIA A-84f., LP 2, 93, Falileyev 9, GPC I: 175, McCone 1996: 51, 53ff., Campanile 1974: 9.

***arawar / *arawen-** 'grain, cereal' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *arbor* [n n]
W: W *erwain* [p] 'meadow-sweet'
PIE: *$h_2erh_3$wr 'field' (IEW: 63)
COGN: Lat. *aruum* 'plowed field', Gr. (Myc.) *a-ro-u-ra* 'field'
SEE: *ar-yo- 'to plow'
ETYM: The inflection of OIr. *arbor* shows that this word was a heterocliton in PCelt. The exact development of W *erw* 'field' is unclear to me. McCone 1994: 72 assumes that it is from the British pl. *arwī through raising. If it belonged to the same paradigm as the precursor of OIr. *arbor*, then the meaning of PCelt. *arawar was probably 'cultivated field'. The PCelt. oblique stem *ar(a)wen- is reflected in W *erwain* and in MIr. *airmnech* 'man who possesses a lot of grain' (Cormac).
REF: LEIA A-85, EIEC 200, McCone 1994: 72, McCone 1996: 49, 53, Zimmer 1991, Hamp 1995, Wodtko *et alii* 2008 322ff.

***ardi-** 'point, extremity, direction' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *aird* [i f]
PIE: *$h_2$erdi- 'point' (IEW: 63)
COGN: Gr. *árdis* 'point (of spear)'
REF: LEIA A-40f., EIEC 439, de Bernardo Stempel 199: 71, Matasović 2004: 115.

***ardwo-** 'high' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *ard* [o]
W: MW *ardd* 'hill' [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *arz* 'elevated'
GAUL: *Ardu-enna* (silua) > *Ardennes*
PIE: *$h_2$erHd^h-wo- 'upright' (IEW: 339)

COGN: Lat. *arduus* 'high, difficult', Skt. *ūrdhvá-*, Gr. *orthós* 'upright'
ETYM: This etymology is generally accepted, but the derivation of the PCelt. form from PIE is difficult. If we start from *$h_2$erHd^h-wo- we must assume that the second laryngeal was lost in Celtic (through dissimilation?). Gr. *orthós* can be derived from *$h_2$orHd^{h}wo- regularly (the loss of the laryngeal is expected after oR by de Saussure's rule). The exact reconstruction of the PIE form is debated. Some linguists reconstruct PIE *h_3rd^{h}wo-, but this does not explain Skt. *ūrdhvá-*. On the other hand, the form *$h_2$erHd^{h}wo- is admittedly unusual (it looks like a compound of some sort).
REF: LEIA A-87, GPC I: 185, EIEC 269, McCone 1996: 103, Delamarre 51f., Deshayes 2003: 76.

arganto- 'silver' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *argat* [t n]
W: OW *argant,* MW *ariant* [m] (GPC *arian, ariant*)
BRET: OBret. *argant,* MBret. *archant*, MoBret. *arc'hant* [m]
CO: Co. *argans*
GAUL: *Arganto-magus* [Toponym] (today *Argenton-sur-Creuse*)
CELTIB: *arkato-bezom* (K.0.7)
PIE: *$h_2$erǵ-nt-o- 'silver' (IEW: 64)
COGN: Lat. *argentum*, Skt. *rajatá-*, Arm. *arcaf*
ETYM: Celtib. *arkato-bezom* has been interpreted as 'silver mine', but this is uncertain; however, the existence of this word for silver in Celtiberian is supported by PN *Arkanta*. There is some inconclusive evidence that Celtiberian also had another word for 'silver', *silapur* (Botorrita I), which is probably a *Wanderwort* of unknown origin, identical to Go. *silubr*, OCS *sьrebro* and Lith. *sidãbras* (MLH V.1: 333). Positing a full grade in PIE *$h_2$erǵnto- to account for the Celtic reflexes appears more probable than accepting the rule *h_2rC/ > PCelt. *arC-, but see also the development in *arto- 'bear'. The zero-grade *h_2rǵnto- would probably have yielded PCelt. **riganto-. Skt. *rajatá-* is compatible only with *h_2rǵnto-, not with *$h_2$erǵnto-, but cp. Skt. *árjuna-* 'silver', which may be from *$h_2$erǵ-u-no-, just as Gr. *árgyros* 'silver' is presumably from *$h_2$erǵ-u-ro-. This shows that the PIE word for 'silver' may have had an ablauting paradigm, perhaps originally heteroclitic *$h_2$erǵw-r / *h_2rǵwen-s.
REF: LEIA A-88, EIEC 518, 641., DGVB 72, Falileyev 11, GPC I: 203, LP 33, Deshayes 2003: 71, LHEB 467f., Jordán Cólera 1998: 20, Lambert 1994: 76f., Delamarre 53, Birkhan 1970: 121, Campanile 1974: 9, Untermann 1989, McCone 1994: 80, MLH V.1: 41f.

argyo- 'white' [Adj], 'snow' [Noun]
W: MW *eiry* (GPC *eira, eiry*) [m] 'snow'
BRET: MBret. *erc'h* 'snow' [m]
CO: OCo. *irch*, MoCo. *ergh*

GAUL: *Argio-talus* [PN]
SEE: *argant- 'silver'
ETYM: Hamp 1974, GPC and Deshayes (2003: 218) would relate these words to OIr. *arg* 'drop' (< *argo-), but this word is attested almost only in glossaries, its gender and stem-formation are unknown, and its meaning cannot easily be derived from the original meaning 'white'. The meaning 'snow' is improbable in PCelt. (The Gaul. PN *Argio-talus* is presumably 'white-foreheaded' rather than 'snow-foreheaded').
REF: Delamarre 54, GPC I: 1195, Hamp 1974.

***aro-** 'ploughing, ploughed land' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ar* [o n > m] 'tilling, the land ploughed, husbandry'
W: MW *ar* [m] 'ploughed land' (GPC *âr*)
PIE: *h_2erh_3-o- 'ploughing'
SEE: *ar-yo- 'plough'
ETYM: The PCelt. form reflects a simple *nomen actionis* (*$h_2órh_3o$-) from the PIE verb 'to plough'.
REF: LEIA A-81, GPC I: 174.

***āron-** 'kidney' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *áru* [n f] 'kidney, gland'
W: MW *arenn* [f] 'kidney, testicle, stone' (GPC *aren*); *eirin* [p]
PIE: *h_2eh_2r- 'kidney'
COGN: Hitt. *hahri-*, ? Lat. *rēnēs* [Nom p], ToA *āriñc* 'heart'
ETYM: MW *arenn* seems to be from *aren-, so we may reconstruct an ablauting paradigm in PCelt. (perhaps Nom. sg. *ārū / Gen. sg. *aron-os, or *aren-os). If Lat. *rēnēs* belongs here, it could represent the zero-grade *h_2h_2r-en-. Alternatively, we could reconstruct the PIE root as *h_2ren-, and assume reduplication in Celtic (*h_2e-h_2ren- > OIr. *áru*, *h_2h_2ren- > MW *arenn*) and, perhaps, Anatolian, while Latin *rēnēs* would be from unreduplicated *$h_2rēn$- (with the lengthened grade generalized from tne Nom. sg.?). For a different etymology of the Celtic words for 'kidney' see Stüber 1998: 177f. She compares Go. *akran* 'fruit', which is not convincing semantically.
REF: LEIA A-92, GPC I: 191, EIEC 329, Matasović 2004: 112, Stüber 1998: 177f.

***arto-** 'bear' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *art* [o m] 'bear, hero, warrior'
W: MW *arth* [m and f]
BRET: OBret. *Ard-, Arth-* , MoBret. *arzh* [m]
GAUL: *Artio* [Theonym]
PIE: *$h_2rtḱo$- 'bear' (IEW: 845)
COGN: Hitt. *hartagga-*, Skt. *ṛkṣa-*, Gr. *árktos*, Lat. *ursus*, Alb. *arí*

ETYM: Basque *hartz* 'bear' is presumably a Celtic loanword. The development of the syllabic resonant *r > *ar* before a stop is probably to be explained by assuming a special development of the cluster *tḱ (to *þ or *xþ) and that this cluster behaved like the fricative *s when the syllabic resonant developed vocalic prothesis (but cf. PCelt. *mrixto-, which shows that original, non metathesised *kt was preserved in Celtic until the development of the prothesis in syllabic resonants). Thus we had *$h_2$rtḱos > *(H)rxþos > *arxþos > *artos, but *mrktos > *mriktos > *mrixtos. Another, in my opinion less probable explanation, would involve positing a special rule *h_2rC > *arC before CRC > CriC (Joseph 1982: 50f.).
REF: LEIA A-91, LP 25, GPC I: 212, EIEC 55, 98, McCone 1994: 69, McCone 1996: 48, 52, Matasović 2004: 87, Delamarre 55f., Deshayes 2003: 76.

***arto-** 'stone' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *art*
GAUL: *artuass* 'stones' (Todi)
ETYM: This is a rather weak etymology, since the MIr. word is known only from glossaries (its gender and stem formation are unknown), and the meaning of the Gaulish noun is not ascertained (cf. Lambert 1994: 74).
REF: LEIA A-91.

***aryo-** 'free man' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *aire* [k m, originally io m]
GAUL: *Ario-manus, Ario-vistus* [PN]
PIE: *$h_2$ery-o- 'host' (?) (IEW: 24, 67)
COGN: Skt. *aryá-* 'kind, hospitable'
ETYM: The k-stem of OIr. *aire* is clearly secondary, as Dat. pl. *airib* is also attested. Therefore, the word was originally a yo-stem. A different etymology (e.g. in Meid 2005: 146) relates these Celtic words to PIE *prh$_3$- 'first' (Skt. *pūrvá-* etc.), but this is less convincing because there are no traces of the laryngeal in the purported Celtic reflexes (*prh$_3$yo- would have probably given PCelt. *frāyo-). The old comparison with Skt. *aryá-* (itself a derivative of *arí-* 'guest', cf. Mayrhofer, *s. v.*) still offers the most plausible etymology.
REF: LEIA A-42, EIEC 213, Delamarre 55, Meid 2005: 146.

***ar-yo-** 'to plough' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *airid, -air*; *araid, -ara* [3 s Subj.]; *ebraid, -ebra* [Fut. 3 s]
W: MW *arddu*
BRET: MBret. *arat* 'ploughing'
CO: (Late) Co. *aras* 'ploughing'
PIE: *$h_2$erh$_3$-ye- 'to plough' (IEW 62f.)
COGN: Gr. *aróō*, Lat. *aro*, OHG *erien*, OCS *orją, orati*, Lith. *ariù, árti*

ETYM: Kortlandt (2007: 137) reconstructs an original athematic i-present for OIr. *airid* and the whole BII class of presents that are traditionally interpreted as thematic. However, the existence of athematic i-presents (with possible parallels in Italic and Balto-Slavic) is disputed.
REF: LEIA A-81, GPC I: 185, KPV 205, LIV 243, Kortlandt 2007: 135-137.

***ās-** 'mouth' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *á*
PIE: *h_1oh_1s 'mouth'
COGN: Hitt. *ais,* Skt. *ā́s-*, Lat. *ōs*
ETYM: The OIr. word *á* is known only from poetry and glossaries. Its gender is uncertain. The reconstruction of the PIE etymon is a matter of dispute; I reconstruct *h_1- because of the lack of laryngeals in Anatolian. Another possibility is PIE *h_3eh_1s (assumed, e.g., by Mayrhofer, s. v. *ā́s-*), or *h_1eh_3-es- (Kloekhorst, s. v. *ais*).
REF: LEIA A-4, EIEC 37, 313, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 26, Matasović 2004: 110.

***asselī-** 'joint, part' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *asil, aisil* 'part, division, joint'
BRET: MBret. *esel* [m] 'joint'
CO: Co. *esel* 'joint'
ETYM: A convincing IE etymology is lacking. Formally, one could think of a derivation from *ad-sel- (cf. PCelt. *selwā 'possession').
REF: LEIA A-94, Deshayes 2003: 218.

***assowyo-** 'left' [Adj]
W: MW *aswy, asw* 'left, sinister, clumsy'
BRET: MBret. *hasou* 'left', MoBret. *asow* 'favorable, venerable'
PIE *sewyo- (IEW: 915)
COGN: Skt. *savyá-*, OCS *šui*
ETYM: The Brittonic forms of this adjective are derived from prefixed *ad-sowyo- < *$h_2$ed-sewyo-. It is sometimes argued that this PIE word for 'left' is actually formed from the full grade of the root *$h_1$su- 'good' (Skt. *su-*). The change of meaning would be due to taboo.
REF: GPC I: 223, EIEC 349, Deshayes 2003: 77.

***astn(iy)o-** 'rib' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *asna, esna* [io m] 'rib'
W: MW *assen* [Singulative f] 'rib', W *ais* [Collective] (GPC *eisen*)
CO: OCo. *asen* gl. costa
PIE: *h_2osth_1 'bone' (IEW: 783)
COGN: Hitt. *hastāi-*, Luv. *hās-*, Skt. *ásthi-*, Gr. (Hom.) *ostéon*, Lat. *os, ossis*, Alb. *asht*, Arm. *oskr*

ETYM: Celtic has generalized the stem of the oblique cases of this heteroclitic noun (cf. Skt. Gen. sg. *asthnás*). However, the stem formation in PCelt. is unclear. OIr. might perhaps point to *astniyo-, but cf. also MW *ascurn, ascwrn* 'bone', OCo. *ascorn* 'bone', MBret. *ascorn, ascourn* 'bone' < *as(t)-kornu- (where *kornu is the word for 'horn'?). For the formation of *astniyo- and the development *stn > *sn* cf. PCelt. *brustniyo- 'bundle'.
REF: GPC I: 219, 1198, EIEC 77, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 368, Schrijver 1995: 53ff., Matasović 2004: 97, 108

***āti-** 'furnace, oven' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *áith* [i f]
W: MW *odyn* [f] 'kiln'
CO: Co. *Oden-colc* [Toponym]
PIE: *h_2eh_1-t- 'burn' (IEW: 69)
COGN: Pal. *hāri* 'be hot', Lat. *āra* 'altar', *ātrium* 'first main room in a Roman house'
ETYM: Only Palaic seems to preserve the underlying PIE verb *h_2eh_1-, while Celtic shows a nominal derivative with the suffix *-ti-.
REF: LEIA A-54, GPC II: 2618, EIEC 87.

***ati-daw-ino-** 'firebrand' [Noun]
SEE: *daw-yo- 'kindle'

***ati-g^{w}an-o-** 'strike again' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-goin* 'wounds again'
W: MW *atwanaf* [1s Pres.] (GPC *adwanaf*)
SEE: *g^{w}an-o- 'hit, strike'
REF: KPV 362ff., GPC I: 28.

***ati-liy-o-** 'stick, adhere to' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-len* 'adheres to, follows'
W: MW *edlynu* 'to smear, daub'
SEE: *liy-o- 'flow'
REF: KPV 453f., GPC I: 1166.

***ati-nuw-o-** 'promise, assent to' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-noí* 'entrusts, commends to'
W: MW *adneu* [m] 'inhumation, deposit (in the earth), pledge' (GPC *adnau*)
BRET: MBret. *adnou* 'deposit'
PIE: *new- 'nod, assent to' (IEW: 767)
COGN: Lat. *ad-nuo*, Gr. *neúō* 'nod', perhaps Skt. *návate* 'move, turn oneself'
ETYM: The Brittonic forms do not agree very well in meaning with the OIr. verb; for semantic develpoment see LEIA N-13. Celtic points to the zero-

grade of the PIE root (*nuw-o-). Mayrhofer (s. v. *NAV-*) doubts the existence of Skt. *návate* attributing all of the alleged instances of this verb to another root (PIE *new(H)- 'roar, bellow').
REF: LEIA N-13, GPC I: 24, LIV 410.

***attrebā** 'settlement' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *attrab* [ā f] 'possession, the act of occupying, a dwelling'
W: MW *athref* [f] 'dwelling-place, abode'
GAUL: *Atrebates* [Ethnonym]
SEE: *trebā 'settlement'
ETYM: The geminate in Celtic is doubtlessly the result of assimilation from *ad-trebā, cf. W *tref* 'home, town' < *trebā. The assimilation must obviously be posterior to the development *DD > *ss, which is Proto-Celtic. This shows that the word need not be very old.
REF: GPC I: 235, LP 123, 147, Delamarre 59.

***attyo-** 'father, foster father' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *aite* [io m]
W: MW *tat* [m] (GPC *tad*)
BRET: MBret. *tat*, MoBret. *tad* [m]
CO: OCo. *tat* gl. pater
PIE: *atta- 'daddy' (IEW: 71)
COGN: Gr. *átta*, Go. *atta*, Lat. *atta*, Croat. *tàta*
SEE: *tato- 'father'
ETYM: Cf. also the Gaul. PN *Tati-cenus*, which may be related. Nursery words not really derivable from the same prototype (the Brittonic forms are from a reduplicated root *tato-).
REF: LEIA A-52f., GPC IV: 4307f., Campanile 1974: 98, Deshayes 2003: 707.

***aw** 'from' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *ó, úa* [Aspirating, + Dat.]
W: OW *o*, MW *o*
BRET: MBret. *o*
PIE: *$h_2$ew 'away' (IEW: 73)
COGN: Lat. *au-*, Skt. *áva,* OCS *u-*
ETYM: The OIr. conjunction *ó* (and MW *o*) 'when' is the same word (in the unstressed position). There is, in OIr., also the adverb *áu* 'away' < *$h_2$ewo- (= Skt. *áva*). Celtib. *au-tom* (Bronze *reś*), which is probably a conjunction, might be comparable to Lat. *autem.*
REF: LEIA O-1, EIEC 37, Falileyev 122f., Deshayes 2003: 543, MLH V.1: 56f.

***aw-** 'negative prefix and particle' [Particle]
GOID: OIr. *ua-*

PIE: *$h_2$ew- (IEW: 72)
COGN: OCS *u-*, e.g. in *u-bogъ* 'poor'
SEE: *aw- 'from'
ETYM: This is perhaps the same entry as *aw- 'from' (see Hamp, 1990).
REF: LEIA U-1, Hamp 1990.

***aw-bero-** 'vain' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *óbar, úabar* gl. inanis [o]
W: MW *ofer*
BRET: MoBret. *euver* 'lazy'
CO: Co. *ufer* 'vain'
ETYM: In principle, these words can be derived from the negative prefix *aw- and the verbal root *ber-o- 'carry', but both the semantic connection and the word formation are difficult. The original meaning could have been 'not carrying' hence 'lazy' and 'vain'.
REF: LEIA O-4, GPC III: 2629, Deshayes 2003: 223, Schrijver 1995: 194f.

***awe-C-** 'inspiration, insight' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *aui, aí* [t m> f] 'poetic inspiration'
W: MW *awen* [f] 'poetic inspiration, talent'
SEE: *awelā 'breeze, wind'
ETYM: MoBret. *awen* 'inspiration' is a loanword from W. The PCelt. reconstruction is difficult because word formations of OIr. *aui* and MW *awen* do not agree.
REF: LEIA A-19, GPC I: 240, Deshayes 2003: 83, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 172.

***awelā** 'breeze, wind' [Noun]
W: MW *awel* [f] 'breeze'
BRET: OBret. *avelou* gl. aurarum, MBret. *avel, auel* 'wind', MoBret. *awel*
CO: OCo. *auhel* gl. aura
PIE: *h_2uh_1-el- (IEW: 81ff.)
COGN: Gr. *áella* 'stormwind'
ETYM: The Celtic forms presuppose the full grade of the root, *h_2ewh_1-el, while Gr. *áella* can be both from *$h_2uh_1$el- and *h_2ewh_1-el-. We are probably dealing with an archaic neuter l-stem here, with Nom. sg. *h_2ewh_1l, Gen. sg. *$h_2uh_1$el-s. Both the Greek and the Celtic reflexes may be from the old (collective) plural.
REF: DGVB 77, GPC I: 240, Campanile 1974: 11.

***awislo-** 'wish, desire' [Noun]
W: MW *ewyllys* [m and f] 'will, appetite, lust'
BRET: OBret. *aiul* gl. ultro, MBret. *eoull, youll* 'eagerness, appetite'
CO: Co. *awell* 'will'
PIE: *$h_2$ewH- 'wish' (IEW: 77f.)

COGN: Lat. *aueo* 'be eager', Skt. *avasá-* 'refreshment, food', Arm. *aviwn* 'lust'
ETYM: Cf. also W *awydd* 'eager desire, lust, greed' which may represent *awēdo- < *$h_2$ew-eydo- parallel to Lat. *auidus* 'eager' < *$h_2$ew-ido- (rather than being borrowed from Latin, as is often assumed).
REF: GPC I: 243, 1264, Schrijver 1991: 47.

***awon-tīr, *awon-tro-** 'uncle' [Noun]
W: MW *ewythyr, ewythr* [m]
BRET: MBret. *eontr*
CO: OCo. *euitor*, MoCo. *ewnter*
PIE: *$h_2$ewh_2-on- (IEW: 89)
COGN: Lat. *auunculus* 'maternal uncle'
SEE: *awyo- 'grandfather'
ETYM: OIr. *amnair* [r m] 'maternal uncle' is derived from the same root in the oblique cases, but with a different suffix (*awn-er), by analogy with other kinship terms in *-r.
REF: LEIA A-67, GOI 214, GPC I: 1265f., Deshayes 2003: 217, McCone 1992b, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 128, Schrijver 1995: 365ff., Stüber 1998: 110.

***awsetlo-** '(flesh-)fork' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *aél* [o m, perhaps originally n] gl. fuscina
PIE: *$h_2$ews- 'draw water, scoop up' (IEW 90)
COGN: Pal. *hussīnta* 'they draw water for themselves', Lat. *haurio* 'draw up', ON *ausa* 'scoop up'
ETYM: OIr. *aél* is considered to have been borrowed from OE *awul* 'fork' by LEIA A-20, but the phonetics of this comparison are difficult, and the OIr. word is attested earlier than other loanwords from OE (already in the Sanktgallen Glosses). Watkins 2005 derives OIr. *aél* from the PIE root *$h_2$ews- 'to draw water' and assumes PCelt. *aws-elo- or *aws-ilo-, but the suffix *-tlo- in a *nomen instrumenti* is inherently more probable. For the sound development cp. OIr. *scél* 'story' < *sk^{w}etlom. The initial *h-* in Lat. *haurio* is due to hypercorrection.
REF: LEIA A-20, LIV 246, Watkins 2005.

***awsos-** 'ear' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *au,* (DIL *ó*) [s n]; *ae* [Gen s]
GAUL: *Su-ausia* [PN]
PIE: *$h_2$ews- 'ear' (IEW: 785)
COGN: Lat. *auris*, Gr. *oũs,* Av. *uši* [Dual], OE *ēare*, Lith. *ausìs*, OCS *uxo*, Alb. *vesh*
ETYM: OIr. presupposes a PCelt. s-stem *awsos, cf. the parallel formation in Slavic (OCS *uxo*, Nom. pl. *ušesa*). This is much more probable than the

other possibility, namely that PCelt. preserved the PIE neuter root-noun (*$h_2$ows > Gr. *oũs*).
REF: LEIA A-102, EIEC 173. de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 35, 148.

***aw-tīto-** 'scarce' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *óthath* 'a few'
W: MW *odid* 'scarce, rare, exceptional'
ETYM: These words are derived with the negative/ablative prefix *aw- from the verbal base *ti-nā- of OIr. *tinaid* 'fades away'. Further etymological connections are unclear. PCelt. *ti-nā- can be derived from PIE *d^hg^{wh}i- 'perish' (Gr. *phthínō*, Skt. *kṣi-*) only if one assumes a form of the root with s-mobile, hence *sd^hg^{wh}i-nā- > *stinā- > *ti-nā- (with *st- > *t- as in OIr. *tá* < *stā-, which is perhaps due to a generalization of one sandhi form).
REF: GPC III: 2616, Greene 1971, Hamp 1975.

***awV-** (?) 'liver' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *óa* [f] gl. iecur, *óeib* [Dat p]
W: MW *ahu, auu, afu* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *auu,* MoBret. *avu* [m]
CO: OCo. *aui*
ETYM: OIr. *óa* is not well attested in the early period, so the stem formation is unknown. The MIr. form is *ae*. Cf. also the derivatives W *euad, afuad* 'liver-rot, speedwell', *euod* 'liver fluke, worms in the liver of sheep'. The reconstruction of the PCelt. form is very uncertain, so it is impossible to offer a plausible IE etymology. Speculatively, one may consider the possibility of a derivation from the PIE root *h_2eh_1- 'be warm' (Pal. *hā-*, cf. LIV 229); for the semantic connection, cf. Russ. *péčen'* 'liver' < *pek^w- 'cook, bake' (Lat. *coquo*, etc.).
REF: LEIA O-2, GPC I: 46, 1256, Pedersen I: 313, Deshayes 2003: 82.

***aw-yo-** 'protect' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *con-ói* 'protects'
PIE: *$h_2$ewH- 'help, protect' (IEW: 77)
COGN: Skt. *ávati* 'helps'
ETYM: OIr. *con-ói* is from the compound *kom-aw-yo- (the simplex is unattested). The compound PNs Gaul. *Aui-cantus* and OBret. *Eucant* might contain the same verbal root. The closest cognate to this Celtic verb is found in Skt. *ávati*, but it is possible that this is the same PIE root as *$h_2$ewH- 'wish' (see *awislo- 'wish, desire'). For the root-final laryngeal cf. the Skt. past participle *ūta-*. Lat. *iuuo, iuuāre* 'help' may also belong here (de Vaan 2008: 318; he reconstructs the root as *$h_1$ewH-).
REF: LEIA O-2, de Vaan 2008: 318.

***awyo-** 'descendant, grandchild' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *aue* > *ua, ó* [io m], Ogam *AVI* [Gen s]
CO: OCo. *eviter* gl. patruus
GAUL: *aua* (Cavaillon) 'granddaughter'
PIE: *h_2ewh_2o- 'grandfather; maternal uncle' (IEW: 89)
COGN: Hitt. *hūhha-* 'grandfather', Lat. *auus* 'grandfather', *auunculus* 'maternal uncle', OIc. *áe* 'great-grandfather', OCS *ujь* 'maternal uncle', Arm. *haw* 'grandfather'
SEE: *awon-tīr 'uncle'
ETYM: MW *ewythr* 'maternal uncle', MBret. *eontr*, and MCo. *eviter* < PCelt. *awontīr, *awontro-, another derivative from the same PIE root. PCelt. *awyo-, implied by OIr. *aue* (and perhaps by MW *wy-r* 'descendant') is derived from PIE *h_2ewh_2o- 'grandfather'.
REF: LEIA A-103f., U-1, EIEC 237, Schrijver 1995: 301, Delamarre 60.

***āwyo-** 'egg' [Noun]
W: OW *ui,* MW *wy* [m]
BRET: MBret. *uy*, MoBret. *ui* [m]
CO: OCo. *uy* gl. ovum, MCo. *oy*
PIE: *$h_2ōwyo$- 'egg' (IEW: 783)
COGN: Lat. *ōuum*, Gr. *ōión*, Av. *aēm* [Acc. s], OCS *ajьce*, Russ. *jajcó*, Arm. *ju*, OHG *ei*, Alb. *ve*
ETYM: The OIr. word for 'egg', *og* [s n, later m and f] probably does not belong here (some consider it to be a loanword from Brittonic). PIE *$h_2ōwyo$- is a vṛddhi derivative from *h_2ewi- 'bird' (Skt. *váy-*, Lat. *auis*, Gr. *aietós* 'eagle', etc.). MW *hwyat* 'duck' and MBret. *houat* 'duck' are sometimes derived from the same PIE root, but the initial *h-* (< PIE *s-) is unclear, so I doubt whether this etymology is correct.
REF: LEIA O-13, GPC III: 3739, EIEC 176, Falileyev 153, Campanile 1974: 104, Deshayes 2003: 755, Schrijver 1995: 300ff., Schindler 1969.

***axsi-** 'back' [Noun]
SEE: *axsilā 'axis'

***axsilā** 'axis' [Noun]
W: MW *echel* [f]
BRET: MBret. *ahel* [m]
PIE: *$h_2eḱs$- 'axis' (IEW: 6)
COGN: Lat. *axis*, Lith. *ašìs*
ETYM: OIr. *ais* [f] 'back' might be related, but the semantic connection is unclear. The development 'axis' > 'spine' > 'back' is at least imaginable, and the development from PIE *$h_2eḱsi$- > PCelt. *axsi- > OIr. *ais* would be regular.
REF: LEIA A-50, GPC I: 1160, Deshayes 2003: 53, LP 20, EIEC 39.

***axto-, *axtīno-** 'furze, gorse' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *aitten* [o m]
W: MW *aeth,* (GPC *aith*), *eithin*
BRET: OBret. *ethin* gl. rusci
CO: OCo. *eythinen* [Singulative] gl. ramnus
PIE: *$h_2$ék-sti-
COGN: Lith. *akstìs* 'spit (for roasting)', Russ. *ost'* 'awn, bristle'
ETYM: MW *aeth* probably preserves the original underived noun (*axto-). The British forms presuppose a feminine noun (presumably old collective) *axtīnā, while OIr. *aitten* points to *axtīno-.
REF: LEIA A-57, GPC I: 73, 1203, DGVB 168, Zimmer 2000: 521, Mallory & Adams 2006: 165.

***ay-sso-, *ay-to-** 'life, age' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *áes, óes* [o n]
W: OW *ois* [f] 'age', MW *oes*; OW *oit* [f and m] 'time, period', MW *oed*
BRET: OBret. *oit,* MBret. *oet*
CO: OCo. *huis* gl. seculum, Co. *oys*
PIE: *$h_2$ey-(wo)- 'age' (IEW: 17f.)
COGN: Lat. *aeuum*, Go. *aiws,* Gr. *aién* 'always'
ETYM: Celtib. *aiuizas* is often adduced as a cognate, but the meaning of this word is quite uncertain, and the connection would be possible only if PIE *-s- can give Celtib. *-z-*, which is improbable (*s is generally preserved in Celtiberian, and *z* < *d). The forms within Brittonic differ to some extent. Perhaps we should reconstruct both PCelt. *ayto- (> MW *oed*) and *aysso- < *ayt-to- (MW *oes*). Cf. also Ogam PN *AVITTO-RIGES* and OBret. *Oed-ri.* The IE comparanda in IEW (Lat. *aeuum*, etc.) are derived from the u-stem seen in Skt. *áyu-* 'lifetime' < PIE *$h_2$oyu-. Celtic seems to preserve the original root form *$h_2$ey- with different suffixes.
REF: LEIA A-21, LP 9, Falileyev 124, DGVB 275, Campanile 1974: 66, Schrijver 1995: 194, MLH V.1: 13.

***aydu-** 'fire' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *áed* [?u n]
W: W *aidd* [m and f] 'ardor'
BRET: MBret. *oaz* [m] 'ardor, jealousy'
PIE: *$h_2$eyd^{h}os 'firewood' (IEW: 11)
COGN: Skt. *édhas-*, OE *ád* 'bonfire', Lat. *aedes* 'building, temple'
ETYM: The vocalism of the two Brittonic forms does not agree (MBret. *oaz* may perhaps regularly come from *aydu-, but in W *oedd would be expected). See LEIA s. v. *aed.* It is possible that the ethnonym *Aedui* is derived from the same PCelt. form (Delamarre 35). OIr. *áed* is not well attested, but it appears to be an u-stem (the Gen. sg. is *áeda*).
REF: LEIA A-20, GPC I: 69, EIEC 87, Delamarre 35f., Deshayes 2003: 543.

B

***bā-, *ba-yo-** 'die' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *baïd, -bá; bebaid* [Fut.]; *bebais* [Pret.]; *-bath* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *g^weh_2- 'tread' (IEW: 463f.)
COGN: Skt. *jígāti* 'steps, goes', Arm. *kam* 'stand', Lith. dial. *góju, góti* 'go'
ETYM: The present stem of OIr. *ba¨id* is from PIE *g^wh_2-ye- (the zero grade of the root seems to have been generalized in the whole paradigm). It appears that the meaning was changed euphemistically from 'go away' to 'die' (cf. Eng. *to pass away*).
REF: LIV 205, KPV 214ff., McCone 1991: 109.

***bād-ī-** 'dive, drown' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *báidid, -báidi; bádfid* [Fut.], *-báided* [Part. Pass.] 'submerge, drown'
W: MW *boddi*
BRET: MBret. *beuziff*, MoBret. *beuziñ*
CO: Co. *buthy, bedhy*
PIE: *$g^weh_2d^h$- 'tread, wade' (IEW: 465)
COGN: Skt. *gādhá-* 'ford'
ETYM: The Celtic formations can be interpreted as causatives or iteratives, derived from *$g^woh_2d'^h$-eye-. Gr. *bẽssa*, Dor. *bãssa* 'valley' (if from *$g^weh_2d^h$-tih_2) is possibly cognate, but the meanings are quite different. Skt. *gāhate* 'wade', Lith. *góžti* 'overthrow, overturn', Croat. *gȁziti* 'tread, wade' appear to be from the same root (*g^weh_2-, cf. Skt. *jígāti* 'goes', Gr. *ébē* 'went'), but with a different suffix (*-$ǵ^h$-).
REF: LEIA B-6, GPC I: 294f., EIEC 160, Deshayes 2003: 106.

***bakko-** 'hook, (curved) stick, hook' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bacc* [o m] 'bill-hook, angle, bend'
W: OW *bach,* MW *bach* [m and f] 'hook, peg'
BRET: OBret. *bah,* MBret. *bach* 'hook', MoBret. *bac'h* [m]
CO: Co. *bagh*
PIE: *bak- 'stick' (IEW: 93)
COGN: Lat. *baculum,* Gr. *báktron*
ETYM: According to DIL, OIr. *bacc* is used to refer to various hooked or angled tools or other articles, but its primary meaning appears to be 'angle, corner' (it also refers to an enclosed corner of the field'). The IE etymology is uncertain: if it is indeed related to Lat. *baculum*, PCelt. *bakko- must come from PIE *bak-. Because of the word-initial *b- and the vowel *a it

contained, this word is suspect of being a *Wanderwort*, a loan from some unknown source. This is possible if the original meaning was 'shepherd's staff' *vel. sim.*
REF: LEIA B-2, DGVB 77, GPC I: 246, Falileyev 13, Deshayes 2003: 85, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 513.

***balko-** 'strong' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *balc* [o] 'stout, strong, vigorous'
W: MW *balch* 'fine, proud, strong, brave'
BRET: MoBret. *balc'h*
CO: Co. *balgh*
PIE: *b^{h}el- 'swell (?)' (IEW: 120)
COGN: OE *beald* 'bold'
ETYM: Celtib. *kom-balkores* and *kom-balkez* (both in Botorrita I) are sometimes compared to this set of forms, but the meaning of these Celtiberian words is unknown. On the Indo-European side, of many forms from different languages adduced by IEW (120), few are actually related. The PIE etymology adduced here is rather speculative. It is assumed that OE *beald* and the cognate Germanic words contain the same root as PCelt. *bal-ko-, with a different suffix, cf. also OE *bealluc* 'testicle'. For a different proposal see Hamp 1990a.
REF: LEIA B-12, GPC I: 251, Deshayes 2003: 88, Hamp 1990a, MLH V.1: 187ff.

***ballo-** 'member, penis' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ball* [o m]; *ball ferda* gl. membrum uirile
GAUL: *Ballo-marios* [PN]
PIE: *b^{h}el- 'swell (?)' (IEW: 120)
COGN: Gr. *phallós* 'penis', Lat. *follis* 'bag, sack, testicles'
ETYM: The geminate *ll in PCelt. is most likely from *ln, cf. also W *balleg* 'sack, purse', which is probably derived from the same root. Gr. *phallós* and Lat. *follis* can also be from PIE *b^{h}ln-.
REF: LEIA B-12, Ellis Evans 1967: 147, Delamarre 65f., Hamp 1990a.

***bal-ni-** 'throw away, die' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *a-t-baill* 'dies'; *-bela* [Subj.]; *-béla* [Fut.]; *-balt* [Pret.]
W: MW *aballu* 'die, perish', *aballaf* [1s Pres.]
PIE: *g^{w}elh$_{1}$- 'throw' (IEW: 471f.)
COGN: Gr. *bállō* 'throw', perhaps ToAB *klā-* 'fall'
ETYM: OIr. *a-t-baill* 'dies' is from *exs-id-bal-ni- 'throws it (out)', while W *aballu* 'die, perish' < *ad-bal-. As with the verb *bā-, *ba-yo- 'die', the development of meaning was euphemistic.
REF: LP 340, LEIA B-12, GPC I: 2, KPV 212, LIV 208.

***banatlo-** 'broom-plant, broom' [Noun]

W: MW *banadl, banal* [p] 'broom, often fig. for woman's golden hair'; *banadlen* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *balazn*
CO: OCo. *banathel* gl. genesta
GAUL: *balano- > OFr. *balain*
ETYM: The instrument suffix *-tlo- makes it probable that this word has a PIE pedigree, but it is difficult to attribute it to any PIE root; a derivation from *benatlo- (by Joseph's law) < *b^henH-tlo- appears possible, if MHG *bane* 'path, way', originally 'cleared path (in a wood)' is related (cf. IEW 126); the PIE root must be reconstructed as *b^henH- 'hit, strike', but there is no other evidence for a laryngeal in this root; Co. *bony* 'axe' could, in principle, be from the same root.
REF: GPC I: 253, Delamarre 65, Lambert 1994: 187.

***bandi-, *bando-** 'melodious, harmonious' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *bind* [i] (DIL *binn*)
W: MW *bann, ban* 'high, noble, sonorous, melodious'
BRET: OBret. *bann* gl. canora
SEE: *bando- 'peak, top'
ETYM: The Brittonic forms point to PCelt. *bando-, as if from the zero-grade of the root. In W, *ban* is also a noun [m and f] 'top, tip, summit', also 'horn of animal, corner, angle'. It is possible that this word and PCelt. *bando- 'top, peak' became confused in Brit.
REF: LEIA B-51, GPC I: 253, DGVB 78.

***bando-** 'peak, top' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *benn* [ā f] 'peak, horn, mountain, crest'
W: MW *bann* [m and f] 'peak, top, horn, beam' (GPC *ban*)
BRET: MBret. *ban*, MoBret. *bann* [m] 'peak'
CO: Co. *ban*
GAUL: *Canto-bennicus (mons)* [Toponym]
PIE: *bend- 'point, pin' (IEW: 96f.)
COGN: OE *pintel* 'penis', MLG *pin, pinne* 'pin, nail'
SEE: *bandi-, *bando- 'melodious, harmonious'
ETYM: Cf. also Pr. *banno* 'horn' < Gaul. *bannā. The a-vocalism is best explained if one assumes PIE zero-grade of the root, *bnd- > PCelt. *band-; Gaul. *Canto-bennicus* might contain the full-grade (*bend-), or represent one of the few instances of *CnC > Gaul. *CenC*. The Germanic parallels pointing to initial *b- make borrowing from some non-IE source quite possible.
REF: LEIA B-35f., GPC I: 253, Deshayes 2003: 90, Pedersen I: 40, Schrijver 1995: 455, Lambert 1994: 43, Sims-Williams 2006: 44f.

***bandyo-** 'drop' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *banne* [io ?m] (DIL *bannae*) 'drop, pustule'
W: MW *ban* [m]

BRET: MBret. *banne* [m]
CO: OCo. *banne* gl. gutta
ETYM: These words are not related to Skt. *bindú-* 'drop' for reasons clearly stated in EIEC 477 (the vocalism of Skt. makes the equation impossible).
REF: LEIA B-7f., GPC I: 253, EIEC 477, Deshayes 2003: 81.

***bāno-** 'white, shining' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *bán* [o]
PIE: *b^heh_2- 'shine' (IEW: 104)
COGN: Skt. *bhā́ti* 'shines', Av. *bānu-* 'beam of light', Gr. *phaínō* 'show, appear', perhaps Arm. *banam* 'open'
ETYM: PCelt. *bāno- is from a deverbal adjective PIE *b^heh_2-no-.
REF: LEIA B-13, EIEC 115, 513, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 253, LIV 54, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 7f.

***banssu-** 'custom, habit'
GOID: OIr. *bés* [u m]
W: MW *moes* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *boas* [m and f], MoBret. *boas*
PIE: *b^hend^h- 'bind' (IEW: 127)
COGN: Skt. *bandh-*, Go. *bindan* 'tie'
SEE: *bondyo- 'armband, bracelet'
ETYM: The meaning of Gaul. *bessu* gl. more feritatis (Virgil. Gramm. 14), which is sometimes compared with these nouns, is quite uncertain (the gloss could just as easily refer to *feritas* as to *mos*). W *moes* probably has its *m-* because of the analogical influence of Lat. *mōs* 'custom'. The vocalism is best explained if one starts from PIE zero grade of the root *b^hnd^h-tu- > PCelt. *banssu- 'bond, custom established by mutual trust'; for the sound development cf. PCelt. *fanssā 'footprint' (but the Brit. vocalism remains unclear). The connection with the root *b^heyd^h- 'trust' (IEW 117, cf. Lat. *fīdēs*, Gr. *peithō*, etc.) is less probable. OIr. *bés* cannot be from *boyssu- (we would expect **báes), nor from *bēssu- < *b^heyd^h-tu- (we would expect **bías).
REF: LEIA B-43, GPC III: 2476, Deshayes 2003: 117, Bammesberger 1989.

***banwo-** 'young pig, piglet' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *banb* [o m]
W: MW *banw* [m and f]; *beinw* [p]
BRET: OBret. *ban* gl. scrofa, MoBret. *banò, banw* [f]
CO: OCo. *baneu* gl. sus
GAUL: *Banuus* [PN]
ETYM: There do not seem to be any clear cognates in other IE languages, so this word is, in all likelihood, a loanword from some non-IE source.

REF: LEIA B-14, GPC I: 255, LP 6, Ellis Evans 1967: 149, Delamarre 66f., Deshayes 2003: 91, Campanile 1974: 12.

***barag(en)o/ā** '(barley) bread' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bairgen* [ā f] 'bread, loaf'
W: MW *bara* [m]
BRET: MBret. *bara* [m]
CO: OCo. *bara* gl. panis, *bara can* 'white bread'
PIE: *b^har- 'barley' (IEW: 111)
COGN: Lat. *far* 'grain, coarse meal', OE *bere* 'barley', Latv. *barîba* 'food', Russ. *bórošno* 'ryemeal'
ETYM: The PCelt. reconstruction is based on OIr., but *baraginā appears equally possible; in any case, this is a nominalized adjective, originally meaning *farreus (sc. panis)*; the Brittonic forms could be from underived *barago- (cf. Lat. *farrāgō* 'mixed crop of inferior grains'). The a-vocalism in PIE *b^har- points to non-IE origin.
REF: LEIA B-9, LP 31, GPC I: 256, EIEC 51, Campanile 1974: 12, Deshayes 2003: 92.

***bar(an)-** 'fury, anger' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *barae* [n f]
W: MW *bar* (GPC *bâr*) [m], *baran* [m]
BRET: OBret. *bere-hic* gl. furibundus, *baran*
GAUL: ? *Ambi-barii* (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* VII 75 4).
ETYM: Cf. also OBret. PN *Bleid-bara* 'furious as a wolf'. These words might be from the PIE root *b^herH- 'pierce, injure' (Lat. *ferio*, OCS *borenie* 'fight', Gr. *pháros* 'plough', etc.), but this is uncertain (one would have to start with the n-stem *b^herōn / *b^herHnos, which would give PCelt. *beran-, then *baran- by Joseph's rule; Stüber's stem *barn- is impossible, since this is a root in laryngeal, cf. the acute in Lith. *bárti* 'scold').
REF: LEIA B-17, GPC I: 256, DGVB 79, Stüber 1998: 171f.

***bardo-** 'bard, poet' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *bard* [o m]
W: MW *bardd* [m]; *beirdd, beirddion, beirddiaid* [p]
BRET: MBret. *barz* [m]
CO: OCo. *barth* gl. mimus, scurra
GAUL: *bardos, *bardus* (Festus), *Bardo-magus* [Toponym]
PIE: *g^werH- 'praise' (IEW: 478)
COGN: Skt. *gṛṇā́ti* 'calls, praises', Lat. *grātus* 'grateful, pleasant, delightful', Lith. *gìrti* 'praise'
SEE: *bar-na- 'proclaim'
ETYM: The PCelt. form is an old compound, PIE *g^wrH-$d^h$$h_1$o- 'praise-maker' (the second element is the verbal root *d^heh_1- 'do, make' (Skt. *dádhā-ti*, etc.). Since PIE *g^wrH-$d^h$$h_1$o- should have given PCelt. **brādo- we

should either assume that the compound is recent, and posit a PCGPC elt. root-noun (?) *bar- < *g^{w}rH-, or rather the loss of the first laryngeal in the compound and derive *bardo- from *g^{w}r-$d^{h}h_{1}$o- regularly.
REF: LEIA B-18, GPC I: 257, LP 33, LIV 188f., EIEC 436, 449, Delamarre 67, Campanile 1974: 12, Deshayes 2003: 95, Schrijver 1995: 143.

***bārego-** 'morning' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bárach* [o ?] 'tomorrow'
W: MW *bore* [m] 'morning'; *boreau, boryau, boreuau* [p]
BRET: MBret. *beure* [m]
CO: Co. *bore*
SEE: *bāno- 'white, shining'
ETYM: A persuasive IE etymology is lacking. Hamp's derivation of these words from *bā-rigo- 'cow-tying' is not impossible, but it is semantically far-fetched. From the formal side, *bārego- can be a compound, consisting of PIE *$b^{h}eh_{2}$- 'shine' (Skt. *bhā-*, Gr. *phaínō*, Gr. Hom. *pháos* 'light, daylight', etc., cf. PCelt. *bāno-) and *$h_{3}reǵ$- 'extend, stretch, rule' (Skt. *rāṣṭi* 'rules', Gr. *orégō* 'extend', Lat. *rego* 'rule', cf. PCelt. *reg-o-). Note that reflexes of the verb *$b^{h}eh_{2}$- are regularly connected with dawn (Skt. *uṣás-*, Gr. Hom. *ēṓs*) in both Greek and Vedic. A compound *$b^{h}eh_{2}$-$h_{3}reǵo$- 'light-extending' would be similar to the Gr. type *phaes-phóros*, *phōt-agōgós* 'light-bringing' (Frisk, II: 989ff.). If this is correct, PCelt. *bāregois in origin a nominalized adjective, perhaps originally an epithet of dawn.
REF: LEIA B-16, GPC I: 301, Deshayes 2003: 106, Hamp 1983, 1998.

***barinā** 'rock, rocky ground' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *bairenn* [ā f]
W: MW *brennig* [Collective]; *brennigen* [Singulative] 'barnacle, limpet'
BRET: MBret. *brennik*, MoBret. *brennig* [Collective]
CO: Co. *brennik*
PIE: *g^{w}rH- 'hill, mountain' (IEW: 477f.)
COGN: OCS *gora* 'mountain', Lith. *girià* 'wood', Alb. *gur* 'rock'.
ETYM: It is assumed here that MIr. preserves the original formation, while the Brittonic forms represent derivatives with a velar suffix. English *barnacle* is ultimately derived from Brittonic *baranāko-, cf. also Gallo-Latin *bernacca (Port. *bernaca*, Fr. dial. *barnache*), *bernicca (Sp. *berneca*, Gamillscheg 86f.). Celtic preserved the zero-grade of the PIE root noun *g^{w}ōrHs / *g^{w}rH-os 'woody mountain' and added the adjectival suffix *-ino- which is common in Celtic, cf. *magino- 'stone' (W *maen*), *dragenā/*draginā 'sloetree' (OIr. *draigen*), *kasninā 'garlic' (OIr. *cainenn*), *worīnā 'troop' (OIr. *foirenn*), etc.
REF: LEIA B-9, GPC I: 320, Deshayes 2003: 135, De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 459.

***bar-na-** 'proclaim' [Vb]

W: MW *barnu* 'judge, proclaim'; *barn* [Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *barn*
PIE: *g^{w}erH- 'praise' (IEW: 478)
COGN: Skt. *járate* 'sings', Lat. *grātus* 'pleasing, beloved', Lith. *giriù, gìrti* 'praise'
REF: GPC I: 260, KPV 213, Deshayes 2003: 94, LIV 210f.

***barro-** 'point, top' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *barr* [o m], Ogam *CATA-BAR*
W: MW *barr* [m] (GPC *bar*) 'top, crest'
BRET: OBret. *barr*, MBret. *barr*
CO: Co. *bar*
GAUL: *Cuno-barrus* [PN]
PIE: *b^{h}ers- 'point' (IEW: 109)
COGN: Skt. *bhṛṣṭí-* 'tip, point', OHG *borst*
ETYM: The Celtic forms may be derived from the zero-grade *b^{h}rso- of an ablauting root-noun with the Nom. sg. *b^{h}ōrs, Gen. sg. *b^{h}rs-os, Acc. sg. *b^{h}ors-m.
REF: LEIA B-20, GPC I: 256, EIEC 439, Pedersen I: 44, Delamarre 68, Ziegler 1994: 100.

***baski-** 'bundle' [Noun]
W: MW *beich* [m] 'load, weight, burden' (GPC *baich*)
BRET: MBret. *bech*, MoBret. *bec'h* [m and f] 'bundle, load'
CO: Co. *begh*
PIE: *b^{h}ask- 'bundle' (IEW: 111)
COGN: Lat. *fascis* 'bundle, faggot', perhaps Alb. *bashkë* 'fleece'
ETYM: OIr. *basc* 'necklace' is often related to these words, but it is scarcely attested, and its meaning does not agree well with the meanings of *baski- in other Celtic languages. A Gaulish reflex of PCelt. *baski- may be preserved in Fr. dial. *basse* 'net for carrying load' (Gamillscheg 69). The fact that the root *b^{h}ask- is limited to Italic and Celtic (and, possibly, Albanian), as well as its a-vocalism, make it probable that it was borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA B-21f., GPC I: 250, Deshayes 2003: 98.

***basko-** 'red' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *basc* [o m]
PIE: *b^{h}as- (IEW: 105)
COGN: OHG *beri* 'berry', OE *basu* 'purple'
ETYM: MIr. *basc* is attested only in glossaries, and DIL relates it to *basc* 'necklace' (cf. PCelt. *baski- 'bundle'. The IE etymology is very uncertain, relying, as it does, only on Celtic and Germanic. The a-vocalism would imply that the word was borrowed from some NW European substrate.

Kluge (s. v. *Beere*) doubts the connection and derives OHG *beri* from PIE *h_3g^{wh}-os-, relating it to Lith. *úoga* 'berry', OCS *jagoda*, Lat. *ūva*, etc.
REF: LEIA B-22, Hamp 1990a.

***bāsto-** 'death' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bás* [o n]
PIE: *$g^{w}eh_2$- 'go' (IEW: 480)
SEE: *bā-, *ba-yo- 'die'
ETYM: OIr. *bás* is actually the verbal noun to *baïd* 'die'. The stem formation of *bāsto- is unclear, since the suffix *-sto- is unlikely. Note that ll the forms could also be derived from *bāsso- < *$g^{w}eh_2$-d^{h}-to-, where *-d^{h}- is either the (present stem?) suffix, or part of the root cf. PCelt. *bād-ī- 'dive, drown' (the meaning 'die' could have developed from 'drown'). Another possibility is to relate OIr. *bás* to PIE *(s)g^{w}es- 'put out, quench' (OCS *gasiti,* Gr. *sbénnymi* etc.). We would then have to posit PIE *$g^{w}ōs$-to- > PCelt. *bāsto-. The lengthened grade would have its parallel in Slavic.
REF: LEIA B-20, Schrijver 1995: 406, 409.

***bato-** 'death' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bath* [o n] 'death'
W: MW *bad* 'pest, plague' [f]
SEE: *bā- 'die', *bāsto- 'death'
ETYM: OIr. *bath* (also *baath, báth*) is an archaic word, occurring besides the more usual *bás* < *bāsto- < *$g^{w}eh_2$-sto- (hence the analogical length in *báth*). It can be derived from the zero-grade of the same root, *$g^{w}h_2$-to-. Perhaps related are OCo. *badus* gl. *lunaticus* and MoBret. *bad* 'stupor, giddiness', but the semantic side of this connection is a problem.
REF: LEIA B-22f., GPC I: 247, Irslinger 2002: 261f., 413.

***bebru-** 'beaver' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *Bibar* [PN]
BRET: OBret. *beuer* gl. castor (?)
GAUL: *Bebriacum* [Toponym] 'locus castorum' (Tacitus), *Bibracte* [Toponym]
PIE: *$b^{h}eb^{h}$ru- 'beaver' (IEW: 136)
COGN: Skt. *babhrú-* 'brown', Av. *baβra-* 'beaver', Lat. *fiber,* OE *beofer*, Lith. *bebrùs*
ETYM: It is uncertain whether OBret. *beuer* is originally Breton, or rather from VLat. *biber*, which is itself a Gaulish loanword (cf. also OFr. *bièvre*, It. *bevero*, OSp. *befre*).
REF: DGVB 82, Delamarre 69f., Lambert 1994: 188f.

***bedo-** 'grave, ditch' [Noun]
W: MW *bedd* [m]; *beddau, beddi* [p]
BRET: MBret. *bez* [f]

CO: Co. *beth*
GAUL: *bedo- > Fr. *bief* 'canal'
CELTIB: *(arkato-)bezom* (K.0.7)
PIE: *b^hed^h- 'dig' (IEW: 113f.)
COGN: Hitt. *padda^i*-, Lat. *fodio*, Go. *badi* 'bed', Lith. *bedù, bèsti*, OCS *bosti, bodetъ* 'prick, stab'
ETYM: Celtib. *arkatobezom* is plausibly interpreted as 'silver mine', but, as with most Celtiberian forms, the interpretation is not completely certain. The same word is preserved in toponymy, e.g. in the hydronyms *Le Bé, Le Bez,* etc. in France, as well as in some substrate words in French and Italian dialects (see Delamarre 70).
REF: GPC I: 267, LP 36, Delamarre 70, Deshayes 2003: 107, Villar 1997: 906, Lambert 1994: 188, MLH V.1: 41f.

bego- 'break' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-beig, co-toibget* [3p Pres.]
PIE *b^heg- 'break' (IEW 114f.)
COGN: Skt. *bhanákti,* Arm. *ebek* 'broke', Lith. *bengiù* 'end'
SEE: *bekko- 'small'
ETYM: This verb was confused in OIr. with its near-homonym, *do-boing* (DIL) 'wrests, plucks, breaks' < PCelt. *bung-o- < *b^hungo-. PIE *b^heg- 'break' is also attested in MW *di-fo, diuo* 'destroying' (< *dī-bogo-) and in the OIr. compound *ráth-buige* 'builder of ramparts' (< *bogyo-). Finally, OIr. *bocht* 'poor' can represent *boxto- < *b^hog-to- from the same root.
REF: KPV 216f, McCone 1991, LIV 66f.

bek(k)o- 'beak, snout'
BRET: MBret. *bec*, MoBret. *beg* [m]
GAUL: *beccus* (Suetonius), *bekko- > Fr. *bec*
ETYM: This appears to be an 'expressive' word, comparable to Lat. *bucca* 'mouth'.
REF: Lambert 1994: 188, Deshayes 2003: 98f.

bekko- 'small' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *bec* [o]
W: MW *bach, bychan*
BRET: MBret. *bihan*
CO: Co. *boghan*
SEE: *beg-o- 'break'
ETYM: These words could originally be adjectives derived from the verb 'to break', PIE *b^heg- (Skt. *bhanákti*, Arm. *bekanem*, IEW 114f.). The semantic development 'broken into pieces' > 'small' is possible, and PIE *b^heg-ko- would yield PCelt. *bekko- regularly. However, an adjective *b^heg-ko- does not seem to be formed according to the rules of PIE word formation.

REF: LEIA B-24, GPC I: 246, Deshayes 2003: 109.

***bel-o-** 'strike' [Vb]
W: MW *bel* [3s Pres.]; *belu* 'pierce, strike'
PIE: *g^{w}elH- 'suffer' (IEW: 470f.)
COGN: OE *cwelan* 'suffer', OPr. *gallintwei* 'kill', Lith. *gélti* 'stab', perhaps Arm. *kełem* 'suffer'
SEE: *bal-ni- 'die'
ETYM: Following LIV and KPV, these forms are to be separated from PIE *g^{w}elh_1- 'throw', Celt. *bal-ni-.
REF: GPC I: 271, KPV 218, LIV 185, Isaac 1996: 309.

***belyo-** 'tree' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *bile* [io n] 'large tree, tree trunk'
PIE: *b^{h}olh$_3$yo- 'leaf' (IEW: 122)
COGN: Lat. *folium*, Gr. *phýllon*
SEE: *blātu- 'flower'
ETYM: The fact that the vocalism of OIr. does not agree with the (expected) o-grade in Gr. and Lat. presumably shows that these are parallel formations from the root *b^{h}elh$_3$-. The laryngeal probably dropped before *y in PIE (Pinault's rule).
REF: LEIA B-50f.

***benā, *bena** 'woman' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bé* [n], *ben* [f], *mná* [Gen s],
W: OW *ben* [f]
BRET: MBret. *e-ben* 'other', lit. 'his wife'; OBret. *ban-leu* gl. lene
CO: OCo. *benen* gl. sponsa
GAUL: *bnanom* [Gen p] (Larzac)
PIE: *g^{w}enh$_2$ 'woman' (IEW: 473)
COGN: Skt. *jáni, gnā́*, Gr. *gynḗ*, (Cuneiform) Luv. *wānā-*, OE *cwen*, OPr. *genno*, ToB *śana*, OCS *žena*
ETYM: OIr. neuter *bé* is an archaic, poetic word, later replaced by *ben*, which also has an irregular inflection. LEIA derives *bé* from a putative proto-form *g^{w}epes- (cf. German *Kebse* 'concubine'), which is very unconvincing. I assume that the OIr. word *bé* is the regular reflex of *ben < *bena < *g^{w}enh$_2$, while the 'regularized' form *benā (by analogy with the ā-stems) yielded *ben*. OW *ben* is a hapax, and in OBret. we have *ban-doiuis* gl. musa, literally 'woman-goddess'. Cf. also W *banon* [f] 'queen, young woman', Gaul. PN *Bano[na]*, *Banonias* [Gen. sg.], which may represent PCelt. *banonā.
REF: LEIA B-23f., B-31f., GPC I: 271, DGVB 78, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 29, 32, Lambert 1994: 16, Delamarre 72f., Campanile 1974: 13, Matasović 2004: 83, Ahlqvist 1980, Hamp 1979, Jasanoff 1989, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 177ff.

***bergā** 'pillage, robbery' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *berg* [ā f]
W: MW *beryf, bery* [m] 'bird of prey'
ETYM: In MW, the compound *difer* 'treachery' is parallel to OIr. *diberg* 'raid, pillage'< PCelt. *dībergā. OBret. *barcot* gl. caragios 'sorcerer' and MoBret. *barged* 'fool' are probably also related. A connection with the root *b^{h}er- 'carry' appears plausible (for the semantics, cf. Lat. *fūr* 'thief'), but the formation with the suffix *-gā is unusual.
REF: LEIA B-41, GPC I: 276, DGVB 79.

***ber-o-** 'carry, bear, bring' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *beirid*; *beraid* [Subj.]; *béraid* [Fut.]; *birt* [Pret.]; *brethae* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *beryt* 'flows' [3s Pres.]; *beru* [Verbal Noun]
BRET: MBret. *beraff* 'flow', MoBret. *berañ*; *ber* [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. *kemmeres* 'take, receive'
PIE: *b^{h}er- 'carry' (IEW: 128-132)
COGN: Skt. *bhárati*, Lat. *fero*, Gr. *phérō,* Go. *bairan*
ETYM: Co. *kemmeres* < *kom-bero-. Cf. also OBret. *diuer* gl. influit, W *beru* 'flow'. Nominal derivatives from this root include, e.g., W *-fer* (cf. *lleu-fer* 'light, luminary') < PCelt. *bero-, OIr. *-baire* 'bearer' < PCelt. *boryo- (cf. e.g. *deog-baire* 'cup-bearer, drink-bearer') and OIr. *birit* [ī f] 'sow' < *berantī < PIE *b^{h}erntih$_2$ (cf. ToB *preṃtsa* 'pregnant').
REF: KPV 218ff., GPC I: 273, DGVB 145, LIV 76f, Deshayes 2003: 102, Morris Jones 1913: 79, 372f., McCone 1991: 67f.

***beru-** 'spit' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bir, biur* [u n]
W: MW *ber* [m] 'spear, lance, shaft, spit'
BRET: MBret. *ber* [m]
CO: OCo. *ber* gl. ueru
PIE: *g^{w}eru- 'spear, spit' (IEW: 479)
COGN: Lat. *uerū*, Umbr. *berva*, Av. *grava-* 'staff'
ETYM: Go. *qaíru* 'pole, sting' is often compared to these Italo-Celtic words, but it does not belong here, since the correct reading is *paíru* (de Vaan 2008: 668, with references).
REF: LEIA B-51f., GPC I: 272, EIEC 536., Campanile 1974: 13, Deshayes 2003: 102.

***beruro-** 'watercress' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *biror* [o m] (DIL *birar*)
W: MW *berwr* [Collective]
BRET: OBret. *beror*, MBret. and MoBret. *beler* [m]
CO: OCo. *beler*

GAUL: *berula* (Marcellus of Bordeaux)
SEE: *berw-ā- 'brew, cook'
ETYM: This word is unattested in Gaulish, but we have Gallo-Latin *berula* > Fr. *berle* 'watercress'. It is probable that the Celtic words for watercress should be derived from *beru- 'water, spring, well' > OIr. *bir*. The segmentation is, therefore, presumably *beru-ro-. OIr. *bir* is, in turn, probably related to PCelt. *berw-ā- 'cook, brew'. For the semantic development cf. Croat. *kljùčati* 'boil' vs. *kljûč* 'well, spring'.
REF: LEIA B-52., GPC I: 275, DGVB 82, Delamarre 73, Deshayes 2003: 100, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 318, Meid 1996: 35.

***berw-ā-, *berw-ī-** 'brew, cook' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *berbaid*; *-berba* [Subj.]; *berbais* [Pt.]
W: MW *berwi, berw*
BRET: MBret. *bervi, birvi, biruiff*, MoBret. *berwiñ*
PIE: *b^{h}erw- 'boil, brew' (IEW: 132)
COGN: Lat. *ferueo* 'boil', OE *brēowan*
SEE: *brutu- 'fermentation'
ETYM: This is a denominative verb, derived from *berwo- > W *berw* 'stew'. Cf. also Gaul. *Boruo* 'a name of Apollo as god of warm sources', cf. Delamarre 83; Fr. *bourbe* 'mud' may be derived from Gaul. *borwo- (Gamillscheg 136), but the semantic connection is weak. The zero-grade of the root is attested in OIr. *bruth* [o m] 'heat' < PCelt. *bru-to- (= ON *broð* 'stew, broth').
REF: LEIA B-40f., LIV 65, EIEC 76, GPC I: 275, Delamarre 83, Deshayes 2003: 104.

***berwo-** 'stew' [Noun]
SEE: *berw-ā- 'brew, cook'

***berxto-** 'bright, beautiful' [Adj]
W: MW *berth* 'beautiful, fine, rich'
BRET: MBret. *berz*, MoBret. *berzh* [m] 'prosperity'
PIE: *b^{h}er(H)ǵ- 'bright' (IEW: 139)
COGN: Skt. *bhrā́jate* 'shine', Go. *bairhts* 'bright', OHG *beraht* 'bright', Russ. *bérest* 'elm-tree', Alb. *bardhë* 'white'
ETYM: If the IE etymology is correct, PCelt. *berxto- would seem to reflect a form of the root without laryngeal, PIE *b^{h}erǵ-to-. The accentuation of Russ. *bérest*, Gen. sg. *béresta* may also point to a form of the root without the laryngeal, since it presupposes a fixed accent on the root, rather than an acute that had been lost in a mobile accentual paradigm (but cf. Derksen 2008: 37f.). The reasons why the laryngeal should drop are unclear, but de Saussure's rule would account for *b^{h}orHǵo- > *b^{h}orǵo- (= Alb. *bardhë*), and the form of the root without the laryngeal could have been generalized in Celtic. Otherwise, we may want to reconstruct a different PIE root,

*b^{h}erǵ^{h}- 'enlighten' (ON *bragr* 'poetic talent', Skt. *brahmán-* 'priest'), cf. PCelt. *brixtu- 'magical formula, incantation'.
REF: GPC I: 274, Deshayes 2003: 104, Schrijver 1995: 67.

***bē-sman** 'blow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *béimm* [n n]
BRET: MBret. *boemm*, MoBret. *boem* [m]
CO: Co. *bom*
PIE: *b^{h}eyH- 'hit, strike' (IEW: 117f.)
COGN: OCS *biti* 'hit', Lat. *per-fino* 'shatter'
SEE: *bi-na- 'hit, strike'
ETYM: In OIr. *béimm* is the verbal noun of the verb *benaid*. Its gender cannot be established with full certainty, it might have been variable.
REF: LEIA B-27, Deshayes 2003: 118, Stüber 1998: 63.

***bēto-, *biyato-** 'food' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bíad* [o n]
W: MW *bwyd* [m]
BRET: MBret. *boet,* MoBret. *boued* [m]
CO: OCo. *buit* gl. cibus vel esca
PIE: *g^{w}eyh$_{3}$- 'live' (IEW: 468)
COGN: Lat. *uīta* 'life', Lith. *gyvatà*
SEE: *biwo- 'alive'
ETYM: OIr. *bíad* is attested as a bisyllable in early sources, which implies that the proto-form was *biwoto- < *g^{w}ih$_{3}$-wo-to- (cf. Lat. *uīta* < *wiwotā, Lith. *gyvatà*), or, slightly more probably, *biyato-, with the suffix *-ato- added to the zero-grade of the root (cf. PCelt. *riyatro- 'torrent' < *ri-atro-); the Brittonic words can be derived from *bēto-, ultimately form PIE *g^{w}eyh$_{3}$-to-.
REF: LEIA B-47f., GPC I: 358, LIV 192f., Deshayes 2003: 124, Hamp 1976.

***betu-** 'birch' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *beithe* [io m]
W: MW *bedw-en* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *bezu, bezv-en* [Singulative]
CO: OCo. *bedewen* gl. populus
GAUL: *betyo- > Pr., Cat. *bez*, Sp. *biezo* 'birch'
PIE: *g^{w}etu- 'pitch' (IEW: 480)
COGN: Skt. *játu,* OHG *cuti,* OE *cwidu*
ETYM: The formations within Celtic do not agree. The u-stem in Brit. appears to be more archaic, since it has parallels in other IE languages. Perhaps OIr. *beithe* can be from a derivative *betwiyo- if the development of *-tw- in Goidelic is not parallel to the development of *-dw- > OIr. *db* (cf. *Medb* < *medwā), but cf. *k^{w}etwores > *cethir*. The Gaul. source of Sp. *biezo*

and the related Romance words could also have been a yo-stem, because of the palatalization of *ty > [s]. The semantic connection of this Celtic etymon with the related words in other IE languages is possible if one assumes that 'birch' was originally a 'sap tree' (birch sap is used in the production of glue). Lat. *bitūmen* is also related (it is a borrowing from some Italic dialect with *g^w > *b*), and Lat. *betulla* may be from the Gaul. equivalent of PCelt. *betu- (Porzio Gernia 1981: 105).
REF: LEIA B-28, GPC I: 266, EIEC 65, Campanile 1974: 13, Mallory & Adams 2006: 158.

***bibud-** 'guilty' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *bibdu* [d m] 'culprit, enemy'
W: OW *bibid* gl. rei
BRET: MBret. *bevez* 'guilty'
PIE: *b^hewd- 'strike' (IEW: 112)
COGN: OE *bēatan* 'strike'
ETYM: The OIr. form is actually a perfect participle *bibūdwōt- from a verbal root which is unattested in Celtic. OW *bibid* is a hapax in Welsh.
REF: LEIA B-48, GPC I: 363, DGVB 82, EIEC 549, LIV 66, Falileyev 15, Deshayes 2003: 106.

***biko-** 'bee' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bech* [o m]
W: MW *begegyr, bygegyr* [m] 'drone'
GAUL: *biko- > Fr. dial. (Limousin) *bec*
PIE: *b^hi-ko- 'bee' (IEW: 116)
COGN: OE *bēo*, OCS *bьčela*
ETYM: Lat. *fūcus* 'drone' can be derived from *b^hoy-ko-, with the o-grade of the same root, while Lith. *bitė* 'bee' has a completely different suffix. Perhaps we should reconstruct a root noun with Nom. sg. *b^hōyk-s / Gen. sg. *b^hik-os / Acc. sg. *b^hoyk-m in PIE. However, since this particular word is attested only in European languages, it is more probable that it is a loanword from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA B-24f., GPC I: 363, EIEC 57, de Bernardo Stempel 44, Hamp 1971.

***bi-na-** 'strike, hit' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *benaid; -bia* [Subj.]; *bíu* [1s Fut.]; *bí* [Pret.]; *-bíth* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *kymynu* 'hit, cut down'; *kymyn* [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *benaff* 'cut'
GAUL: *biietutu* 'should strike' [Impv.] (Larzac)
CELTIB: *ne-bintor* 'should not be hit' [3p Impv. Med.] (Botorrita I)
PIE: *b^heyH- 'strike' (IEW: 117f.)
COGN: OLat. *perfines* 'you should strike', OCS *biti* 'strike'

ETYM: MW *kymynu* is from *kom-bi-na- (the simplex verb is unattested in Welsh). The interpretation of Celtib. *nebintor* is dubious, but it appears probable that it is a verbal form with the middle ending, and the etymological connection with the root *b^{h}eyH- is accepted by most specialists.
REF: LIV 72, KPV 226ff., LEIA B-32-34, McCone 1991: 11, 125, RIG II.2: 251-266, Lambert 1994: 160-172, 214f., MLH V.1: 271f.

***birro-** 'short' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *berr* [o], Ogam *BIRI*
W: MW *byrr* (GPC *byr*)
BRET: OBret. *berr*, MBret. *berr*
CO: Co. *ber*
GAUL: *Birrus* [PN], (Gallo-Latin) *birrus* or *birrum* 'short cloak' (e.g. Isidore of Seville, *Orig.* XIX, 24, 18)
REF: LEIA B-42, GPC I: 364, DGVB 82, Lambert 1994: 188, Delamarre 76, Deshayes 2003: 103, Ziegler 1994: 100.

***bisli-** 'gall' [Noun]
W: OW *bisl,* MW *bystyl*
BRET: OBret. *bistlou* gl. humores nigri, MoBret. *bestl* [f]
CO: OCo. *bistel* gl. fel
COGN: Lat. *bīlis* 'gall'
ETYM: The consonant *-t-* in Brittonic is epenthetic, cf. PCelt. *gēsslo- 'surety, hostage' > W *gwystl.* De Vaan (2008: 72) considers the possibility that this word was borrowed from Celtic into Italic (because of the initial *b), but this is unlikely, since words for organs and body fluids are almost never borrowed.
REF: DGVB 84, Campanile 1974: 14, Falileyev 16, Deshayes 2003: 105, Schrijver 1995: 438, Morris Jones 1913: 140.

***bisti-** 'finger' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *bissib ega* [Dat. p] 'icicle'
W: MW *bys* [m]
BRET: MoBret. *biz, bis* [m]
CO: OCo. *bis, bes*
PIE: *g^{w}ist- 'twig, finger' (IEW: 481)
COGN: ON *kvistr* 'branch', perhaps Alb. *gisht* 'finger'
ETYM: MIr. *bis* is not well attested; it is once glossed as *mér* 'finger', and it may have been an i-stem, or a yo-stem. IEW (481) compares also the Celto-Germanic PN *Bissula.* Although almost generally accepted, the etymology relating Alb. *gisht* to PCelt. *bisti and ON *kvistr* is doubtful, since we would expect *g^{w} > *z* in Albanian before a front vowel. Moreover, Demiraj (1997: 178f.) reconstructs an original bisyllable (*gV-isht-), which makes the connection to the Celtic forms difficult.

REF: LEIA B- 53, GPC I: 367, Deshayes 2003: 111, Demiraj 1997: 178f.

***bitu-** 'world' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bith* [u m]
W: OW *bid* [m], MW *byd* [m]
BRET: OBret. *bit, bet*
CO: OCo. *bit* gl. mundus, *bys*
GAUL: *Bitu-riges* [Ethnonym]
PIE: *g^{w}iH-tu- 'life' (IEW: 468)
COGN: Lat. *uīta* 'life', OCS *žiti* 'to live'
SEE: *biwo- 'alive'
ETYM: It is possible that the expected long *ī < *iH was shortened by Dybo's law, but there is no indication that this u-stem was originally oxytone. However, the short vowel in *bitu- might also be due to the analogy with *biwo-, where the shortening is regular by this rule (cf. Skt. *jīvá-*).
REF: LEIA B-54, GPC I: 360f., DGVB 84, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 288, Delamarre 76f., Falileyev 15, Campanile 1974:14.

***biwo-** 'alive' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *béo* [o], Ogam *BIVI-TI*
W: MW *byw* 'living, alive'; 'life' [m]
BRET: MBret. *beu*, MoBret. *bew*
CO: OCo. *biu* gl. uita, *byw, bew*
GAUL: *Biuonia* [PN]
PIE: *g^{w}iHwo- 'alive' (IEW: 468)
COGN: Lat. *uīus*, Skt. *jīvá-*, Go. *qius*, OCS *živъ*, Lith. *gývas*
SEE: *bitu- 'world'
ETYM: The short *i is the result of the regular development by Dybo's rule (cf. Skt. *jīvá-*).
REF: LEIA B-37, GPC I: 369, EIEC 356, Delamarre 77, Campanile 1974: 14, Deshayes 2003: 106, Schrijver 1995: 246, Ziegler 1994: 100.

***bīwV-** 'pitch' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bí* [?f]
PIE: *g^{w}iHu- 'pitch' (IEW: 482)
COGN: Russ. *živíca*, Arm. *kiv* (Gen. *kvoy*)
ETYM: The OIr. word is too short and too poorly attested for this etymology to have any degree of certainty. It may, in principle, represent PCelt. *bīwā or *bīwi-.
REF: LEIA B-45f.

***blātu-** 'flower' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bláth* [u m]
W: MW *blawd* [m]

BRET: MBret. *bleuzff*, MoBret. *bleuñv* [Collective] 'flowers'
CO: OCo. *blodon* Co. *bledzhan*
PIE: *$b^{h}leh_{3}$- 'blossom, flower' (IEW: 122)
COGN: Lat. *flōs*, OHG *bluot*
ETYM: Gaul. PN *Blatuna* is probably derived from the same root (Meid 2005: 187), cf. also the toponym *Blato-magus*. PCelt. *blātu- presupposes PIE *$b^{h}leh_{3}$-tu-, an abstract nominal derivative ('blossoming'), but it is also compatible with *$b^{h}lh_{3}$-tu-, and the zero-grade of the root is expected.
REF: LEIA B-58, GPC I: 384, Deshayes 2003: 114, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 289, Meid 2005: 187, Sims-Williams 2006: 45.

***blāwo-** 'yellow' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *blá* [o]
PIE: *$b^{h}leh_{2}$- (?) 'yellow' (IEW: 160)
COGN: Lat. *flāuus*
ETYM: OIr. *blá* matches the meaning of Lat. *flāuus* perfectly, so they should be connected, but the OIr. word could also be a loanword from Latin. The Germanic words often related to these adjectives, OHG *blao*, OIc. *blár*, etc., all mean 'blue', but color terms often change their meaning. However, the Germanic proto-form was *blēwa-, and the only way to relate it to the Italo-Celtic adjective for 'yellow' is to posit a vṛddhi *$b^{h}lēh_{2}wo$-, with *ē remaining uncolored by the laryngeal through Eichner's law; such a solution would clearly be *ad hoc*. One should also compare W *blawr* 'grey', which might be the same word as MIr. *Blár* (name of a horse), and Scot. Gael. *blàr* 'horse with a white spot, white-faced horse'. All of these, if related, could represent PIE *$b^{h}leh_{2}ro$- > PCelt. *blāro-. For a different PIE etymology of these words see Schrijver (1991: 147, 177, etc.).
REF: LEIA B-55, B-58, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 213, Schrijver 1991: 147, 177, 298, 301.

***blVdV-** 'wolf, ?large predator' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bled* [ā f] 'monster, large animal, whale'
W: MW *bleidd* [m] 'wolf, hero' (GPC *blaidd*)
BRET: OBret. *bleid*, MBret. and MoBret. *bleiz* [m]
CO: OCo. *bleit* gl. lupus
ETYM: OIr. *bled* could be both from *blidā and from *bledā, but the Brittonic forms appear to be from *blad-i- (with *a > *ei* by raising). A derivative from the same root is OIr. *blesc* [ā f] 'prostitute' < *bled-skā, or *blid-skā, cf. LEIA B-59. The semantic motivation is the same as in Lat. *lupa* 'prostitute' from *lupus* 'wolf' (the OIr. word might actually be a calque of the Latin word). Quite probably, PCelt. *blVd- was borrowed from some non-IE substrate.
REF: LEIA B-58, GPC I: 283, DGVB 85, Campanile 1974: 14, Deshayes 2003: 113.

***blēdā** 'year' [Noun]
SEE: *blēdanī 'year'

***blēdanī** 'year' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bliadain* [ī f]
W: OW *bloidin,* MW *blwyddyn* [f]
BRET: OBret. *blid, blidan, bliden,* MBret. *blizen*
CO: OCo. *bliþen*
ETYM: The correspondence between OIr. and MW allows us to reconstruct an ī-stem for PCelt. However, there is also W *blwydd* [f], OBret. *blid,* MoBret. *bloaz* [m], Co. *bloth* 'year', presumably from an underived *blēdā, or *blēdom (note the divergence of gender within Brittonic). W *blynedd* and OBret. *blened* point to the zero grade *blid-niyo-. I cannot make much sense of these formations and their relationships. The etymology by Pennaod (1986), relating PCelt. *blēd-/*blid- to OCS *blědъ* 'pale', OE *blāt* 'pale', Lith. *blaĩvas* 'whitish' from PIE *b^{h}leyd- (IEW 155) is possible formally (note that there is no laryngeal in the root, cf. Derksen 2008: 42f.). However, the semantic connection is weak.
REF: LEIA B-59, GPC I: 291, DGVB 85f., Pennaod 1986, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 79, 85.

***bodaro-** 'deaf' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *bodar* [o]
W: MW *byddar* 'deaf, numb'
BRET: OBret. *bodaran,* MBret. *bouzar*
CO: OCo. *bothar* gl. surdus, Co. *bodhar*
PIE: *b^{h}od$^{(h)}$Hro- 'deaf' (IEW: 112)
COGN: Skt. *badhirá-* 'deaf'
REF: LEIA B-64f., GPC I: 362, DGVB 87, EIEC 148., Campanile 1974: 16.

***bodiyā** 'pleasure' [Noun]
SEE: *bodo- 'pleasure'

***bodo-** 'pleasure' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *buide* [iā f] 'satisfaction, pleasure, thanks'
W: MW *bodd* [m] 'goodwill, satisfaction, favour, consent, pleasure'
BRET: OBret. *bod-lon* gl. contentus
CO: Co. *both* 'good will'
ETYM: It is assumed here that W *bodd* is inherited directly from PCelt. *bodo-, while OIr. *buide* represents a derivative *bodiyā. IEW (151) relates these words to PIE *b^{h}ud^{h}- 'be awake' (Skt. *bódhati*, etc.), which is possible if one assumes PCelt. *budyā > OIr. *buide* and *budā > W *bodd*, but the meanings are quite different, and the masculine gender of the Welsh word has to be secondary.

REF: LEIA B-115, GPC I: 294, DGVB 87.

***bodwo-** 'crow' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *bodb* [o m and ā f] (DIL *badb*) 'crow, war-goddess'
BRET: OBret. *bodou* gl. ardea
GAUL: *Boduus* [PN], *Boduo-gnatus* [PN]
PIE: *b^{h}od^{h}-wo- 'battle' (IEW: 114)
COGN: OE *beadu* 'fight, battle'
ETYM: The original meaning of the root *b^{h}od^{h}- is presumably 'to pierce, to fight', hence *b^{h}od^{h}wo-'battle, fight'. The meaning 'crow' in Celtic must be secondary (the crow is the bird symbolizing the carnage in battle).
REF: DGVB 88, Delamarre 81, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 215, Birkhan 1970: 502ff.

***bodyo-** 'yellow' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *buide* [io]
GAUL: (?) *Bodio-casses* [Ethnonym], *Baius* [PN]
PIE: *bodyo- 'yellow' (IEW: 92)
COGN: Lat. *badius* 'bay, chestnut brown'
ETYM: Lat. *badius* can be derived from *bodyos (with *o > *a* after labials, as in *mare* < *mori), but the initial *b-, and the fact that this adjective is limited in its distribution to Italic and Celtic, make it likely that we are dealing with a loanword from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA B-113, EIEC 85, Delamarre 63.

***bolgo-** 'sack, bag, stomach' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bolg* [o m] 'bag, belly, bellow'
W: MW *bol, boly, bola*; *boliau, byly* [p]
BRET: MoBret. *bolc'h* 'cosse de lin'
GAUL: *bulga (bulgas Galli sacculos scorteos appellant, P. Fest. 31.25)
PIE: *b^{h}olǵ^{h}- 'skin bag, bolster' (IEW: 125f.)
COGN: Av. *barəziš* 'bolster, cushion', OE *belg* 'stomach', OPr. *balsinis* 'cushion', Croat. dial. *blàzina* 'pillow'
ETYM: PIE *b^{h}elg^{h}- 'skin bag, bolster' should be distinguished from *b^{h}elǵ- 'beam' (OHG *balko*), pace Derksen 2008: 54.
REF: LEIA B-66f, GPC I: 296, EIEC 45, Delamarre 94, Porzio Gernia 1981: 106.

***bondyo-** '(arm-)ring, circlet, bracelet' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *buinne* [io] 'bracelet, sprig, stalk, torrent'
PIE: *b^{h}end^{h}- 'bind' (IEW: 127)
COGN: Skt. *bandh-*, Go. *bindan*
ETYM: It is not clear whether all of the words adduced under *buinne* in DIL have the same etymology, because it is difficult to explain how all of the

meanings developed. The IE etymology proposed here is based on the assumption that the meaning 'bracelet' is the oldest one.
REF: LEIA B-115, LIV, EIEC 64, 196.

***bonu-** 'foundation, base, butt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bun* [u m] 'foundation, base, estuary (of a river)'
W: MW *bon* [m] (GPC *bôn*)
ETYM: Gaul. toponyms such as *Vindo-bona* (today Vienna, *Wien*), *Bonna* (Bonn), etc. might also be from this root (Sims-Williams 2006: 46f.).
REF: LEIA B-115f., GPC I: 298, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 249, Schrijver 1995: 36, Sims-Williams 2006: 46f.

***bostā** 'palm, fist' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bos, bas* [ā f]
W: OW *bos*, MW *bos* [f]
BRET: MBret. *boz*
PIE: *gwos-to-, *gwos-d^{h}o- 'branch' (IEW: 382, 480)
COGN: MHG *quast* 'branch', Alb. *gjethe* 'leaf, foliage'
SEE: *buzdo- 'penis'
ETYM: Fr. *boisse* 'measure of grain, bushel' can be derived from Gaul. *bostiā (Gamillscheg 124). Some linguists derive these Celtic words from non-IE sources, comparing them, e.g., to Basque *bost* 'five' (allegedly from 'the number of fingers on a palm'), but these are mere speculations, and a good IE etymology is available. If the Basque word is related at all, it could have been borrowed from Celtiberian. The Proto-Celtic form presupposes PIE *gwos-to-, which should be a derivative from the same root as *gwos-d^{h}o-, with a different suffix (cf. OCS *gvozdъ* 'nail'), from which it may be possible to derive PCelt. *buzdo- 'penis'.
REF: LEIA B-20f., GPC I: 302, Falileyev 17, Gamillscheg 124.

***bow-** 'cow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bó* [irregular f]
W: MW *bu, buw* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *bou-tig* 'stable'
GAUL: *Bo-marus* [PN]
CELTIB: *bou-stom* (?) 'stable' (Botorrita I)
PIE: *g^{w}ōw- 'cow' (IEW: 482)
COGN: Lat. *bōs*, OHG *chuo*, Skt. *gáu-*, ToA *ko*, Arm. *kov*
ETYM: The exact interpretation of Celtib. *bou-stom* is uncertain, but it is probable that it contains the root *bow- 'cow'. It might be formally identical to OIr. *búas* [o ?n] 'riches, wealth (in kine)' < *bow-sto-. The MW form *bu* is used only in counting cows; otherwise, the derivative *buch* is used, with parallels in MBret. *buch*, Co. *buch* (from *bow-sko-). The attested forms allow the reconstruction of a root-noun in PCelt., with Nom. sg. *bāws, Gen.

sg. *bow-os, Acc. sg. *bow-am (instead of PIE *g^{w}ōm which would yield PCelt. **bām), etc.
REF: LEIA B-61, GPC I: 342, DGVB 88, LHEB 641, EIEC 98, 134, Delamarre 79f., Jordán Cólera 1998: 14, 39, Villar 1997: 907, MLH V.1: 87.

***bowdi-** 'booty, victory' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *búaid* [i n] 'victory, gain, profit'
W: MW *budd* [m] 'profit, advantage'
BRET: OBret. *bud* gl. bradium
GAUL: *Boudi-latis, Boud-icca* [PN]
ETYM: In OW, there is a compound from this root, *budi-caul* 'victor, conqueror', exactly parallel to OBret. *budicol*. Germanic forms, such as German *Beute* 'booty', Du. *buit*, are sometimes considered to be loanwords from Celtic (Kluge 105), but they could also be inherited from the same root *b^{h}ewd-, the reflexes of which are limited to the NW Indo-European dialects (cf. also OIc. *býta* 'to deal out').
REF: LEIA B-107, GPC I: 345, DGVB 91, Lambert 1994: 59, Delamarre 83f., Falileyev 20, Schmidt 1987: 268, Meid 2005: 188.

***bowd-ro-** 'dirty' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *buaidir* [?i] 'confusion'
W: MW *budyr* 'filthy, dirty, mean' (GPC *budr*)
PIE: *g^{w}ew-d^{h}- 'excrement, defecate' (IEW: 484)
COGN: Skt. *guváti* 'cacat', OE *cwéad* 'dirt'
ETYM: The meaning of MIr. *búaidir* is not completely clear (it is compatible with the meaning 'confusion'). Cf. also OIr. *búaidre* [iā f] 'trouble, confusion'. The meaning 'confusion' could have developed from something like 'mess' and 'filth' which may be posited for Brittonic.
REF: LEIA B-108, GPC I: 344.

***bow-koli-** 'cowherd, herdsman' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *búachaill* [i m]
W: MW *bugeil* (GPC *bugail*)
BRET: MBret. *buguel, bugel*
CO: Co. *bugel*
PIE: *g^{w}ow-k^{w}olo- 'shepherd' (IEW: 639)
COGN: Gr. *boukólos*
ETYM: As in Greek, the second labiovelar was dissimilated (*k^{w} > *k after *w) in Celtic. It is possible that this dissimilation occurred already in PIE.
REF: LEIA B-107, GPC I: 347, LP 44, Uhlich 2002: 417.

***brāgant-** 'neck, throat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *brágae* [t f] (DIL *brága*)
W: MW *breuant* [f] (cf. OW *abal-brouannou* gl. gurgulionibus exsectis, 'Adam's apples')

BRET: OBret. *Brehant (Dincat)* [PN]
CO: Co. *briansen*
PIE: *$g^{w}erh_3$- 'swallow' (IEW: 476)
ETYM: The Celtic forms seem to reflect *$g^{w}rh_3$-gnt-, where the first morpheme is the zero-grade of the PIE root 'to swallow, devour' (Lat. *uoro*, Gr. *bibrṓskō*, etc.). But what is the suffix, or the second element of this compound? Or is *-go- a suffix? Kluge (s. v. *Kragen*) compares Germ. *Kragen* 'collar, neck' deriving it also from *$g^{w}erh_3$- 'devour, swallow' but does not discuss the original word formation.
REF: LEIA B-76, GPC I: 321, EIEC 64, Falileyev 2.

***bragno-, *bragni-** 'rotten, faul' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *brén* [o]
W: MW *braen* 'putrid, corrupt'
BRET: MBret. *brein* 'putrid, rotten'
PIE: *b^{h}reHg- (IEW: 165f.)
SEE: *brag(y)o- 'to fart'
ETYM: Although these words are sometimes derived from the same root as Lat. *marceo* 'be withered' (PIE *merk-, IEW 739), this is unsatisfactory from the formal point of view, since *mrk-no- would give PCelt. *mrikno-.
REF: Schrijver 1995: 170f., GPC I: 305, Deshayes 2003: 134, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 252, 258.

***brag-(y)o-** 'fart' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *braigid; -bebraig* [Pret.]
PIE: *b^{h}reHg- (IEW: 165f.)
COGN: Lat. *fragrāre* 'smell', OHG *bracko* '*Spürhund*', MLG *bracke* 'hound'
SEE: *braxsman- 'fart'
ETYM: Another IE etymology can be found in LIV 91f, where these words are related to PIE *b^{h}reg- 'break' (cf. the English expression 'to break the wind'). However, the zero-grade of that root would be reflected as **barg- in Proto-Celtic, rather than *brag-. On the other hand, PIE *b^{h}rHgyé- would regularly yield PCelt. *bragye- by Dybo's law, so the derivation from a PIE root ending in a laryngeal is preferable.
REF: KPV 232f, Schrijver 1995: 170f., LEIA B-77.

***brano-** 'raven' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bran* [o m], Ogam *BRANI*
W: MW *bran* [f] (GPC *brân*); *brain* [p]
BRET: OBret. *mor-bran*, MoBret. *bran* [f]
CO: Co. *bran*
GAUL: *Brano-dunum* [PN]
ETYM: A convincing IE etymology is lacking. S. Zimmer (p. c.) suggests that a connection may exist to Russ. *voróna* 'raven', Lith. *várna* 'raven' (<

*worno-, with a secondary BSl. lengthened grade), but this is difficult from formal point of view (the change *wr- > *br- would be irregular). I think it better to treat PCelt. *brano- as a loanword from some unknown source.
REF: LEIA B-77, GPC I: 309, DGVB 89, Deshayes 2003: 131, Delamar 85, Ziegler 1994: 100.

***brasso-** 'great, violent' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *bras* [o] 'great, boastful, defiant'
W: MW *bras* 'fat, thick'
BRET: MBret. *braz, bras* 'great'
PIE: *g^{w}roD-to-, *g^{w}rD-to- (IEW: 485)
COGN: Lat. *grossus* 'fat'
ETYM: Although this etymology is disputed, the formal and semant parallelism between these Celtic words and Lat. *grossus* is too obvious to b dismissed lightly. If one starts from PIE *g^{w}rD-to- > *brsso- we woul expect PCelt. *barso- > *barro-. These words show the same 'liqui metathesis' between labials and a dental cluster, as in *malsto- 'taste (instead of *malsto- < *mlsto-). MIr. *bres* 'mighty' might preserve the sam root with the e-grade (*g^{w}reD-to-). It is treated as a variant of *bras* in DIL The nature of the dental stop in PIE cannot be ascertained, since the reflexe are limited to Italic and Celtic; if W *breddyn* 'nobleman, yeoman' is fron the same root, we should reconstruct *g^{w}red$^{(h)}$- (for the semantic connectio cf. Croat. *velìkaš* 'nobleman' from *vèlik* 'great').
REF: LEIA B-79, GPC I: 308f., Deshayes 2003: 132, Schrijver 1995: 55.

***brātīr** 'brother' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bráthir* [r m]
W: MW *brawt* (GPC *brawd*) [m]; *brodyr, broder, brodorion* [p]
BRET: OBret. *brotr,* MBret. *breuzr*, MoBret. *breur* [m]
CO: OCo. *broder .l. braud* gl. frater
GAUL: *Bratronos* [PN]
PIE: *b^{h}reh$_2$tēr 'brother' (IEW: 163f.)
COGN: Skt. *bhrā́tar-*, Lat. *frāter,* Gr. *phrátēr* 'member of a *phratri* (brotherhood)', Go. *broþar*, Lith. *brólis*, OCS *bratrъ*
REF: LEIA B-80f., GPC I: 311, DGVB 91, RIG II.1 L-6, Campanile 1974 18, Deshayes 2003: 136.

***brātu-** 'judgement' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bráth* [u m]
W: OW *braut*, MW *brawd* [f]; *brodiau* [p]
BRET: MBret. *breut* 'debate, litigation, discussion', MoBret. *breud* [m]
CO: Co. *bres*
GAUL: *bratou* (? in the dedicatory formula *bratou dekantem*, RIG G-28)
PIE: *g^{w}rH-tu- 'proclamation' (IEW: 478)
COGN: Lat. *grātus* 'thankful'

REF: LEIA B-80, GPC I: 311, Lambert 1994: 43, 52, Deshayes 2003: 136, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 291f., Delamarre 85f., Falileyev 18

***bratto-, *brattino-** 'mantle, cloak' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bratt* [o m]
W: MW *brethyn* [m] 'cloth'
BRET: OBret. *brothrac* gl. taxam, MBret. *broz,* MoBret. *brozh* [f] 'skirt'
ETYM: W *brat* 'cloak' is a loanword from Irish (the final *-t* cannot be original). Fleuriot (DGVB) believes OBret. *brothrac* also to be a loanword from OIr., and adduces Ir. *brothrach* 'a rich garment'. The IE etymology is a mystery; Lane 1931 contains a very speculative proposal. The geminate *tt means that the formation is new (old *tt > PCelt. *ss), and that this word might be a loanword from some unknown source. A similar word is Gaul. *bracae* 'trousers, breeches' > Fr. *braies*.
REF: LEIA B-81, GPC I: 320f., DGVB 91, Deshayes 2003: 143, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 351, 513, 519, Lane 1931.

***brawon-** 'quern, millstone' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *brao, bró* [n f]
W: MW *breuan* [f]
BRET: MBret. *breo*
CO: OCo. *brou* gl. mola
PIE: *g^{w}reH(w)ōn, *g^{w}rHn- 'quern' (IEW: 447)
COGN: Skt. *grā́van-*, Arm. *erkan,* Go. *-qairnus*, Lith. *gìrnos* [p], OCS *žьrny*
ETYM: Ancient British toponym *Brav(o)niacum* could be from the same root (Sims-Williams 2006: 49). It is unclear whether PCelt. *brawon- is from PIE *g^{w}reH(w)on-, with the full grade, or from *g^{w}rH(w)on-, with the zero grade of the root. The loss of laryngeal is unexpected by Dybo's law (note the position of the accent in Skt.), but if the PIE ablaut paradigm was *g^{w}réH(w)ōn / *g^{w}rHnós (note the zero-grade of the root in Lithuanian), then we would have the Celtic paradigm *brāwū / *barnos. However, the stem *brawon- could have the new, analogical full grade with *-ra-, which sometimes occurs in roots of the shape *CreC / *CrC (cf. PCelt. *drageno-).
REF: LEIA B-92, GPC I: 321, LP 12, EIEC 474, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 105, Campanile 1974: 18, Stüber 1998: 94f.

***braxsman-** 'fart' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *broimm* [n n]
W: MW *bram* [f]
BRET: MBret. *bramm* [m]
CO: Co. *bram*
SEE: *brag-(y)o- 'to fart'
REF: LEIA B-95, GPC I: 308, Deshayes 2003: 131, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 412, Stüber 1998: 52.

***brē-/*brī-** 'cut, crumble' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *-bria* [3s Subj.] (suppletive to *broinnid*)
PIE: *b^hreyH- 'cut' (IEW: 166f.)
COGN: Lat. *frio, friāre* 'pulverize', crumble', OCS *briti* 'shave'
REF: LIV 77, Schumacher 2004: 235, Campanile 1982.

***brem-o-** 'bleat, bellow, roar' [Vb]
W: MW *brefu, brefad*
GAUL: *Bremia, Bremenium* [Toponyms]
PIE: *b^hrem- 'roar' (IEW: 142f.)
COGN: Lat. *fremo* 'utter a deep dull sound', MHG *brimmen* 'roar'
REF: GPC I: 314f., Sims-Williams 2006: 114.

***brend-o-** 'flow, spurt out' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-eprinn* [3 s Pres.), *do-eprannat* 'flows, gushes' [3p Pres.]; *do-bré* [3s Subj.] < *to-brend-s-o-; *do-bibuir* [3s Fut.]; *bebarnatar* [3p Pret.]
PIE: *b^hrend$^{(h)}$- 'spurt out, gush forth' (IEW: 167f.)
COGN: Lith. *brę̀sti*
ETYM: OIr. *do-eprinn* represents PCelt. *to-exs-brend-o-, and *do-bibuir* [3s Fut.] < *to-bibrand-s-o-. MIr. *bruinnid* is a causative built to this root (PIE *b^hrond$^{(h)}$eye-). The acute in Baltic does not imply a laryngeal in this root. It is the result of metatony expected in sta-presents. Cf. also Lith. *brìsti* 'wade', 3 sg. pres. *breñda*, Russ. *bredú, brestí* 'drag oneself along' (Derksen 2008: 61).
REF: KPV 232ff, LIV 95, LEIA B-103f., D-122, LP 347.

***brenk-** 'bring' [Vb]
W: MW *hebrwng, hebryngaf* [1 s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *hambrouc*, MoBret. *ambroug*
CO: Co. *hembronk*
PIE: *b^hren-k- 'bring' (IEW: 168)
COGN: Go. *briggan*, OHG *bringan*, perhaps ToB *prāṅk-* 'take away'
ETYM: The prefixed *he-, hem-, ham-* in Brittonic is usually identified with PIE *sem- 'once'. The unusual shape of this root, combining an aspirated and a voiceless stop, makes one think that it is a contamination of PIE *b^her- 'carry' (see PCelt. *ber-o-) and *$h_2$neḱ- 'reach' (see PCelt. *ank-o-).
REF: GPC II: 1831.

***brestā** 'fight, combat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bres* [ā f]
W: OW *Con-bresel* [PN]
BRET: MBret. *brezel, bresel* 'war', MoBret. *bresel* [m]
CO: Co. *bresel* 'war'
PIE: *b^hres-t- 'break'
COGN: OE *berstan*, OHG *brestan*

ETYM: In OIr., there is the denominative verb *brissid* 'break' from this root, cf. also Fr. *briser* 'break', presumably from Gaul. The derivation from the zero-grade *b^hrst- in LEIA B-86, 91 is improbable, since the syllabic *r would give *ar before *s. OIr. *-i-* in *brissid* is due to raising.
REF: LEIA B-86, B-91, Deshayes 2003: 135.

***brētrā** 'word' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bríathar* [ā f]
W: MW *brwydyr, brwydr* [f] 'fight, combat'
PIE *b^hrey- (IEW: 166)
ETYM: The formal parallelism of these words is too obvious for this etymology to be dismissed, despite differences in meaning. On the semantic connection between the OIr. and the W words, see LEIA B-88. The development in W might have been 'words' > 'conversation' > 'quarrel, dispute' > 'fight'. On the other hand, if it is possible to derive *brētrā from the PCelt. root *brē-/*brī- 'to cut' (IEW 166), then the meaning observed in Brittonic would be original, and the semantic evolution occurred in Goidelic, cf. a similar semantic connection between MIr. *scoth* [ā f] 'a word, saying' and MIr. *scoth* [ā f] 'point, edge, sharp-edged' (presumably from the same etymon *skutā).
REF: LEIA B-88, GPC I: 336.

***brig-** 'hill' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *brí* [g f]
W: MW *bre* [f]
BRET: MBret. *bre* [m]
CO: Co. *bre*
GAUL: *-briga* [in Toponyms], *Brig-antes* [Ethnonym]
PIE: *b^herǵ^h- 'be high, hill' (IEW: 140f.)
COGN: Av. *bərəz-*, OHG *berg*
SEE: *brigā 'might, power'
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from the zero-grade of the PIE root *b^herǵ^h-, and the observed vowel alternations point to a PIE root noun (Nom. sg. *b^hērǵ^{h}s, Gen. sg. *b^hrǵ^{h}os, Acc. sg. *b^herǵ^{h}m). Celtic generalized the stem of the oblique cases, hence the paradigm PCelt. Nom. sg. *brig-s, Gen. *brig-os. The root noun is preserved in OIr. *brí*, while the Brit. and Gaul. forms point to a derivative *brigā.
REF: LEIA B-87, GPC I: 313, LP 30, LIV 63, EIEC 269, Lambert 1994: 20, 37, Delamarre 87, Deshayes 2003: 133, Sims-Williams 2006: 50ff.

***brigantīno-** 'chief' [Noun]
SEE: *brigo/ā 'might, power'

***brigo/ā** 'might, power' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bríg* [ā f]

W: MW *bri* [m] 'prestige, authority'
BRET: MBret. *bry* 'respect'
CO: Co. *bry* 'respect, honor'
SEE: *brig- 'hill'
ETYM: Note that the genders of W and Goidelic do not match. Maybe we should reconstruct a PCelt. root noun *brig-s, Gen. *brig-os 'top, peak, authority', from the same root as *brig- 'hill'. In any case, reflexes of *brig- and *brigā influenced each other in the individual languages. OIr. *Brigid* 'dea poetarum' (Cormac), OW *brennhin, brennin*, MW *brenhin* 'king' are from the same root; they presuppose *brigantī (= Skt. *bṛhatī-* 'the high one', an epithet of Uṣas), and *brigantīnos, respectively. The latter word is attested in Gaul. as *birikantin* on a coin sometimes falsely attributed to Celtiberian, because it is written in Iberian script. However, it is discovered in Southern France, so it is presumably Gaulish (MLH V.1: XII).
REF: LEIA B-90, GPC I: 323, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 30.

***brikko-** 'speckled' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *brecc* [o]
W: MW *brych*
BRET: MoBret. *brec'h* 'variola'
CO: Co. *brygh*
GAUL: *Briccus* [PN]
PIE: *prḱ- 'speckled' (IEW: 820f.)
COGN: Skt. *pṛśni-*, Gr. *perknós*
ETYM: Cf. also W *brithyll* 'trout', MoBret. *brezhell* 'mackerel', Co. *brythel*, 'mackerel' < *brixtilo-. The initial *b- from PIE *p- is expected before *r, cf. *gabro- 'goat' < *kapro-. A different etymology is proposed by EIEC 514, relating the Celtic forms to Hitt. *parkui-* 'clean', which is unconvincing for semantic reasons.
REF: LEIA B-82, GPC I: 338, EIEC 514.

***brisko-** 'weak, fragile' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *brisc* [o]
W: W *brysgar* 'vivid, busy, quick'
BRET: MBret. *bresq* 'fragile', MoBret. *bresk*
ETYM: It is somewhat doubtful whether W *brysgar* belongs here. GPC I: 340 derives it from *brys-gar* and compares W *brys* 'haste, speed, hurry'. PCelt. *brisko- cannot be related to OIr. *brissid* 'breaks', since this is a denominative from *brestā (v.).
REF: LEIA B-90f., GPC I: 340, Deshayes 2003: 135, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 278.

***bristi-** 'haste' [Noun]
W: MW *brys* [m] 'hurry, haste'
BRET: MBret. *bresic, brezec* 'swift'

PIE: *b^{h}ris-ti- 'haste'
COGN: Lat. *festīno* 'hurry'
ETYM: Latin *festīnāre* is built on an unattested ti-stem *festis (Schrijver 1990), which, just as PCelt. *bristis, must come from PIE *b^{h}ris-tis.
REF: GPC I: 340, Schrijver 1990, de Vaan 2008: 216.

***briti-** 'carrying, judgement' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *brith, breth*
W: MW *bryd* [m] 'thought, mind, intent, aim'
CO: Co. *brys* 'thought'
GAUL: *Britus* [NP]
PIE: *b^{h}r-ti- 'carrying' (IEW: 130)
COGN: Skt. *bhṛtí-*
SEE: *ber-o- 'carry'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *brithem* [n m] 'judge' < PCelt. *briti-mon-.
REF: LEIA B-86f., GPC I: 338, Delamarre 89, Remmer 2002-3: 188.

***brīwā** 'bridge' [Noun]
GAUL: *brio* gl. ponte (Endlicher's Glossary), *-briua* (in toponyms, e.g. *Briuo-durum* > *Biare*.
PIE: *b^{h}reh$_{1}$w-o- (IEW: 173)
COGN: OE *brycg* 'bridge', ON *brú* 'bridge', Croat. *brv* 'large plank'
ETYM: The Germanic and Slavic cognates point to an ablauting paradigm in PIE, presumably with Nom. sg. *b^{h}rōh$_{1}$us (ON *brú* < PGerm. *brōwō), Acc. sg. *b^{h}reh$_{1}$um, Gen. sg. *b^{h}rh$_{1}$wos (Croat. *brv*). Celtic, to judge by the only reflex in Gaulish, generalized the full grade from the Accusative sg. It is possible that this word is from the same PIE root as PCelt. *brū 'brow' (the semantic connection would lie in the similarity of the shapes).
REF: Delamarre 90f., Sims-Williams 2006: 54f.

***brixtilo-** 'trout' or 'mackerel' [Noun]
SEE: *brikko- 'speckled'

***brixtu-** 'magical formula, incantation' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bricht* [u n]
W: MW *-brith* in *lled-frith* 'magical charm'
BRET: OBret. *brith*
GAUL: *brixtia* (Chamalières)
PIE: *b^{h}erǵ^{h}- 'enlighten (?)'
COGN: ON *bragr* 'poetic talent', Skt. *brahmán-* 'priest'
SEE: *berxto- 'bright, beautiful'
ETYM: The PIE root must be reconstructed without the laryngeal, otherwise we would expect *CrHC > CrāC, PCelt. **brāxtu-). Therefore, it is doubtful whether this is the same root as *b^{h}erHǵ- 'bright' (IEW 139, cf. Skt. *bhrā́jate* 'shines', Go. *bairhts* 'bright', etc.); we may want to compare

PCelt. *brixtu- with *berxto- 'bright, beautiful', which also has to be from a root without a laryngeal.
REF: LEIA B-89, Delamarre 90, Fleuriot 1976-7: 181, Lambert 1994: 154, de Vaan 2002.

***brokko-** 'badger' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *brocc* [o m], Ogam *BROCI*
W: MW *broch* [m]
BRET: MoBret. *broc'h* [m]
CO: OCo. *broch* gl. taxo
GAUL: *Broco-magus* [PN]
ETYM: This word has no known cognates in other IE languages, and it has all but replaced the inherited word for 'badger', *tasko-. It may have been borrowed from some non-IE language into Proto-Celtic.
REF: LEIA B-94, GPC I: 330, LHEB 567, Lambert 1994: 191, Delamarre 90, Campanile 1974: 18, Deshayes 2003: 140, Ziegler 1994: 100, Sims-Williams 2006: 56.

***brozdo-** 'point, tip' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *brot* [o m] 'goad, spike'
PIE: *$b^hrosd^hh_1o$- 'point' (IEW: 110)
COGN: OE *brord* 'point', Lith. *bruzdùklis* 'bridle', OCS *brъzda* 'bit'
ETYM: MIr. *brot* might be from *brozdo-, but W *brath* [m] 'stab, wound, injury, sting, prick', which is often compared, has the unexpected *-a-*, as well as OCo. *brath-ky* gl. molossus (from *brozdo- we would expect W **broth). Could these words be loanwords from Goidelic? Or should we separate these words, and derive W *brath* from *b^hrs-d^ho- > *bars-do- (cf. *barro- 'point, top'), with the 'liquid metathesis' between labials and a dental cluster (cf. PCelt. *mlasto-)? OE *brord* and the Germ. cognates are from PGerm. *bruzðaz 'spike, shaft' (Orel), but the u-vocalism is secondary (G. Kroonen, p. c.).
REF: LEIA B-98, GPC I: 310.

***brū-** 'brow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr.-*brú* (*for-brú*) [u f]
PIE: *(h_3)b^hrewH- 'brow' (IEW: 172f.)
COGN: Skt. *bhrū́-*, Gr. *ophrýs*, OE *brú*, Lith. *bruvìs*, Russ. *brov'*
ETYM: PCelt. *brū- is certainly related to PCelt. *abrant- 'eyelid' (OIr. *abrae* [nt m], MW *amrant*, MoBret. *abrant*, Co. *abrans*), but the exact nature of the relationship is unclear. A connection may also exist with the word for 'bridge', PCelt. *brīwā. The word-initial *h_3- in the PIE reconstruction can be posited only on the basis of Gr. *o-* in *ophrýs*.
REF: LEIA B-75, EIEC 188, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 41ff.

***brugno-** 'sadness, pain' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *brón* [o m]
W: MW *brwyn* [m]
ETYM: The derivation of this Celtic word from PIE *g^{w}rewH$ǵ^{h}$- 'bite' (IEW 486) is difficult, as Gr. *brýkhō*, Lith. *gráužiu*, OCS *gryzetъ* 'bites' etc. clearly point to a laryngeal in the root, of which there is no trace in Celtic. Perhaps we should assume PIE *g^{w}ruH$ǵ^{h}$-nó- and subsequent shortening of the first vowel by Dybo's law. Note, however, that W *brwyn* is also compatible with PCelt. *brugino- and *brogino-, and OIr. *brón* can be from *brogno- (cf. OIr. *srón* 'nose' < *srognā). Thus, one may want to connect PCelt. *brogno-, *brogino- to PIE *b^{h}reg- 'break' (Lat. *frango*, Go. *brikan*).
REF: LEIA B-96, GPC I: 336.

***bruso-** 'fragile' [Adj]
SEE: *brustniyo- 'faggot'

***bruson-** 'abdomen, womb' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *brú* [n f]
W: MW *bru* [m] 'womb, belly', *bron* [f] 'breast'
BRET: OBret. *bronn* 'breast', MBret. and MoBret. *bronn* 'breast, teat' [f]
CO: Co. *bron* 'breast'
PIE: *b^{h}rews- 'belly' (?)(IEW: 170f.)
COGN: OE *breost* 'breast', Russ. *brjúxo* 'belly, paunch'
PCelt. *bruson- is an n-stem derived from the zero grade of the PIE root (PIE *b^{h}rus-on-).
REF: LEIA B-100, GPC I: 334, DGVB 90, EIEC 561, Deshayes 2003: 142, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 100.

***brustniyo-** 'faggot, (bundle of) firewood' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *brosnae* [io m]
PIE: *b^{h}rews- 'break' (IEW: 171)
COGN: Lat. *frustum* 'fragment'
'break'
ETYM: The correct reconstruction of the proto-form of OIr. *brosnae* must contain the cluster *-stn- because *-sn- would give *-nn- in Irish, cf. *k^{w}resno- 'tree' > OIr. *crann*. OIr. *bruid* 'breaks' is from the same root (PCelt. *brus-yo- < *b^{h}rus-yo-), as well as *bronnaid* 'damage, injure' (*brus-na- < *b^{h}rus-neh$_2$-). W *brau* 'brittle, fragile', Co. *brew*, MoBret. *brev, brew* 'broken' can represent nominal derivatives (PCelt. *bruso-). Cf. also OFr. *bruisier* 'break' which might be from the Gaulish cognate of these words. W *bryn* [m] 'heap, mound' might be related, but the semantic connection is weak.
REF: LEIA B-97, GPC I: 339, Deshayes 2003: 136f.

***brutu-** 'fermentation, (boiling) heat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bruth* [u n] 'raging, boiling heat, vehemence'

W: MW *brwd* 'hot', OW *brut* gl. animus
BRET: OBret. *brot* 'heat'
CO: OCo. *bredion* gl. coctio
PIE: *b^{h}erw- 'ferment, brew' (IEW: 145)
COGN: Lat. *dē-frutum* 'boiled wine', OHG *briuwan* 'brew'
SEE: *berw-ā- 'brew, cook'
ETYM: This is an abstract noun formed with the suffix *-tu- from the same root as *berw-ā- 'boil, cook'. The zero-grade of the root is usual in such formations.
REF: LEIA B-106, GPC I: 334, DGVB 91, LP 38, LIV 65.

***bruwo-** 'quantity, multitude' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *bró* 'multitude, dense mass'
W: MW *bryw* 'lively, strong, powerful'
ETYM: DIL (s. v.) treats *bró* 'multitude, dense mass' as the same word as *bró* 'quern', which might be correct, in which case this etymology is simply wrong. The vocalism of W *bryw* is unclear to me; it could point to PCelt. *bruwyo- (cf. W *cyw* 'small animal' < *kuwyo-). GPC relates this word to Lat. *grauis* 'heavy', which is not helpful, since the meanings are very divergent.
REF: LEIA B-93, GPC I: 342.

***budīnā** 'troop, host' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *buiden* [ā f]
W: MW *byddin* [f]
BRET: OBret. *bodin* gl. manus
GAUL: *budīnā > Late Latin *bodina* 'frontier'; *Budenicus (Mars)* [Theonym] (CIL XII 2973)
ETYM: These words might be related to PCelt. *bowdi- 'booty, victory'.
REF: LEIA B-114, GPC I: 362, DGVB 87, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 459, Schrijver 1995: 24, Delamarre 93.

***buggo-** 'soft, tender' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *boc* [o]
BRET: OBret. *buc* gl. putris, MBret. and MoBret. *boug* 'tender'
PIE: *b^{h}ewg$^{(h)}$- 'bend' (IEW: 152)
COGN: Skt. *bhujáti* 'bends', Go. *biugan*
ETYM: The semantic development that has to be assumed for this etymology to work ('bent' > 'kneaded' > 'softened') is quite complex. Go. *biugan* and the related Germanic words (Germ. *biegen*, etc.) point to the PIE root with a word-final voiced stop (*b^{h}ewg^{h}-), while Skt. *bhujáti* must be from PIE *b^{h}ewg-. Note also that the geminate in Celtic is unexpected (positing a suffix *-go- added to the zero-grade *b^{h}ug- would be quite *ad hoc*). All of this makes this makes this etymology rather dubious.
REF: LEIA B-62, EIEC 62, LIV 68, Deshayes 2003: 125.

***bukko-** 'goat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *boc* [o m]
W: MW *bwch* [m]
BRET: MBret. *bouch*, MoBret. *bouc'h* [m]
CO: OCo. *boch* gl. caper .l. hyrcus
PIE: *b^{h}uǵo- 'goat, buck' (IEW: 174)
COGN: Av. *būza-*, Arm. *buc* 'lamb', Eng. *buck*
ETYM: Fr. *bouc* 'goat, buck' (and the derivative *boucher* 'butcher') are reflexes of the Gaulish cognates of this PCelt. word. The Celtic forms might be early loanwords from Germanic, since they have voiceless *-kk- (as if per Grimm's law). However, the geminate *kk could still be explained if one starts from *bug-ko-, with a velar suffix, as in *bekko- 'small' (if from *beg-ko-).
REF: LEIA B-62f., GPC I: 351, EIEC 98, 229, Campanile 1974: 15, Deshayes 2003: 118.

***bundo-** 'sole of foot, base, floor' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bond* [o m] (DIL *bonn*)
PIE: *b^{h}u-n-d^{h}-o- 'bottom' (IEW: 174)
COGN: Skt. *budhná-*, Lat. *fundus,* OHG *bodam*
ETYM: MLat. *bonda*, Fr. dial. *bonnier* < *bunnarium* 'measure of the surface of a field' may be from Gaul. *bundā, cf. also Fr. *bonde* 'plug (of cask), sink' (Gamillscheg 126).
REF: LEIA B-69, Kroonen 2006.

***bu-n-do-** 'proclaim, give notice' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-boind*; *a-t-bóis* [2s Subj.]; *ad-buib* [3s Fut.]; *at-bobuid* [3s Pret.]
BRET: OBret. *dogurbonnue* [3s Pres. Subj.]
PIE: *b^{h}ewd^{h}- 'be awake' (IEW: 150-152)
COGN: Skt. *bódhati* 'wakes, notices', OE *bodian* 'announce', Gr. *peúthomai* 'give notice'
ETYM: OIr. *ad-boind* is from *ad-bund-o-, while the preterite *at-bobuid* < *uss-bu-bud-. OBret. *dogurbonnue* presupposes *to-ufor-bunde-. The meaning and etymological connection of the OBret. form *dogurbonnue* are not fully ascertained, cf. KPV 237. If OIr. *ad-boind* is indeed from PIE *b^{h}ewd^{h}- 'be awake', we must assume a complex evolution of meaning, as in Gr. *peúthomai* and OE *bodian*: 'be awake' > 'make oneself noticed' > 'give notice'. The same PIE root may be attested in OIr. *ro-bud* [u and o m] 'a notice beforehand', W *rhybudd* [m] 'warning, caution' < PCelt. *fro-bowdo- < PIE *b^{h}owd^{h}o-.
REF: KPV 236f, LIV 82f, LP 347, LEIA B-69, Delamarre 81, McCone 1991: 43, Schumacher 2000: 180.

***bu-n-g-o-** 'break' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *-boing* 'breaks, cuts, reaps'; *-ba* [Subj.], *do-m-bibsat* < *to-bibug-s-e- [3p Fut.]; *co-m-bobig* [Pret.]; *-bocht* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *diwung* 'attacks' [3s Pres.]
PIE: *b^{h}ewg$^{(h)}$- 'bend' (IEW: 152f.)
COGN: OE *būgan* 'to bend', Russ. *bgat'*
ETYM: MW *diwung* is from *dī-bungo-. Attempts to relate Gaulish *-bogio-* in names like *Ad-bogios*, *Com-bogio-marus* to this Celtic etymon are doubtful (Meid 2005, Delamarre 81), because the root vocalism does not match. For the doubts about the exact form of the PIE root see PCelt. *buggo- 'soft, tender'.
REF: KPV 238ff, LIV 85f, LEIA B-70ff, McCone 1991: 43.

***bunno-** 'owl, bittern' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bonnán* [o m] 'bittern'
W: MW *bun, bwn* [m]
BRET: OBret. *bonn* gl. grus .i. auis, MoBret. *bonn* [m] 'crane'
ETYM: OIr. *bonnán* represents a derivative (augmentative?) *bunn-āno-. The IE etymology is unknown, as well as the source of the geminate *nn. Like many bird-names, the PCelt. word for 'bittern' could also be a loanword from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA B-70, DGVB 88, Deshayes 2003: 120.

***burro-** 'inflated, swollen' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *borr* [o]
W: MW *bwrr, bwr* 'fat, strong, big'
CO: OCo. *bor* gl. pinguis
ETYM: One could, rather speculatively, derive PCelt. *burro- from *brur(r)o-, and relate it to the root *b^{h}erw- 'boil, ferment' (see *brutu-).
REF: LEIA B-73, GPC I: 354, Campanile 1974: 16.

***bussu-** 'lip' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *bus*
W: MW *gwe-fus*
BRET: MBret. *gweuz, gueus*, MoBret. *gweus* [f]
CO: OCo. *gueus* gl. labia
GAUL: *Bussu-gnata* [PN]
ETYM: MIr. *bus* is not well attested (it belongs to the poetic language, *bérla na filed*). Its stem and gender are unknown. The element *bussu-* of Gaul. *Bussu-gnata* could also mean 'penis', cf. PCelt. *buzdo- 'penis'. For the prefix-like *gwe-* in MBret. and MW cf. *wewlo- 'lip'.
REF: LEIA B-118, Delamarre 95, Deshayes 2003: 308, Meid 2005: 128f.

***butā** 'place, dwelling, hut' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *both* [ā f] 'hut'

W: MW *bod* [f] 'dwelling, place'
BRET: OBret.*Bot-* (in place-names), MoBret. *bod* [f]
CO: Co. *bod, bos*
ETYM: There is a possible connection to Lith. *bùtas* 'home, house', OLith. *butà*, OIc. *búð* 'house, residence'. One could reconstruct PIE *b^huh_2tó- (from the root *b^hewh_2- 'be', cf. PCelt. *bu-yo-) and derive the Celtic form by Dybo's law (note that the the Lithuanian words have mobile accentuation, implying a PIE oxytone). However, Baltic also has short *u, so a reconstruction *b^hh_2uto- has also been proposed to account for it, but to me this seems *ad hoc*. In light of these difficulties it may be assumed that PCelt. *butā was borrowed from some unknown language, IE or non-IE (words for huts and houses are often *Wanderwörter*).
REF: LEIA B-74, GPC I: 293, DGVB 88, Deshayes 2003: 118.

bu-yo- 'be, become' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *biid* 'is wont to be' [Consuetudinal Pres.]; *-bé* [Subj.]; *bieid, -bia* [Fut.]; *boí* [Pret.]; *-both* [Pret. Pass.]
W: OW *bot* (GPC *bod*); *bez* [3s Pres.]; *bit* [3s Pres.]; *bei* [Impf. Subj.]; *bu* [3s Pret.]
BRET: OBret. *bout; bei* [3s Impf. Subj.]; *boe, boue* [3s Pret.]
CO: Co. *bos; beth* [3s Pres.]; *be* [3s Impf. Subj.]; *bue* [3s Pret.]
GAUL: *biiete* [2p Impv] (Inscription from Limé)
PIE: *b^hewh_2- 'be, become' (IEW: 146-150)
COGN: Skt. *bhávati*, Lat. *fuī* 'I was', Lith. *būti*, OCS *byti*
SEE: *es- 'be'
ETYM: These forms are suppletive to *es- 'be'; OIr. *biid* (disyllabic) 'is wont to be' and Gaul. *biiete* point to PCelt. *bīye- < *b^hwiye- (< *b^huh_2i(H)ye-), cf. Lat. *fio* 'become, be' (Kortlandt 2007: 136). There is considerable disagreement about the reconstruction of the paradigm of the OIr. and W preterite; OIr. 3 sg. *boí* and W *bu* can be from PCelt. *bowe < PIE *b^howe (perfect without reduplication), but OIr. 1sg. *-bá* is a problem. Kortlandt (2007: 125) now reconstructs the PIE root as *b^heh_3u- and derives *-bá* from *bōum < *b^heh_3um.
REF: KPV 241-256, GPC I: 292, LP 325-331, LEIA B-46f, McCone 1991: 115-135, RIG II.2: 269-280, Morris Jones 1913: 346-353, Kortlandt 2000, 2007: 136, Wodtko *et alii* 46ff.

buzdo- 'tail, penis' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *bot* [o m] 'penis, tail'
W: MW *both* [f] 'umbo, nave, boss of shield'
GAUL: *buđđutton* (?) 'penis'
PIE: *gwosd^{h}o- 'piece of wood, sprig' (IEW: 485)
COGN: MHG *quast* 'scrub', Alb. *gjeth(e)* 'foliage', OCS *gvozdъ* 'nail'
ETYM: MIr. *bot* comes from *buzdo- straightforwardly, but W *both* must be from the corresponding feminine *buzdā. Gaul. *buđđutton* has also been

interpreted as 'kiss' (see *bussu- 'lip'): it boils down to the proble
indecent is the Gallo-Latin inscription *Moni gnatha gabi buđđutton*
Révérien, cf. Meid 1980: 15f.). Does it mean 'Come, girl, give me
'Come, girl, take my penis'? Both interpretations are possible. Cf.
PN *Bussu-maros* which is slightly more probably interpreted as
large penis' than 'big kiss'. The PIE etymology is uncertain; it pre
an ablauting paradigm, perhaps PIE *$g^{w}\bar{o}sd^{h}$-s / *$gwosd^{h}$-m / *gus
the lengthened grade cf. Alb. *gjeth(e)*, with *e* < *ō, though Demi
187f. presupposes an umlauted variant of *gath), and that *g^{w} > I
in the Nom. and Acc., whereas the u-vocalism of the root is from th
cases. A paradigm *bozd- / *guzdo- would have been regular
thematicized into PCelt. *buzdo-.
REF: LEIA B-73, Meid 1980: 15f., Meid 1994.

D

***dā-** 'give' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *-tartat* 'could give' [3s Pres.] *do-rat* 'has given' [Perf.]
GAUL: *dede* [Pret.] (Orgon, etc.)
LEP: *tetu* (Prestino)
CELTIB: *tatuz* [Imp.] (?) (Botorrita I)
PIE: *deh_3- 'give' (IEW: 223ff.)
COGN: Skt. *dā-*, Lat. *do, dare*, Gr. *dídōmi,* Lith. *dúoti*, OCS *dati*
SEE: *dānu- 'gift'
ETYM: OIr. *tartat* < *tu-fro-ad-dā-. On Celtib. *tatuz* (Botorrita I)
1989: 142); some derive this form from the root *$d^{h}eh_1$- 'do' (Lat.
títhēmi, etc.); the root *deh_3- is probably also attested in Celtib. *zi*
give' (by assimilation from *dizonti) and *taunei* 'to give'. Gaulish
Lepontic *tetu* might also be from PIE *$d^{h}eh_1$- rather than from *
this appears less probable. Gaul. *readdas* (Saint-Marcel near Arge
Creuse) has also been analysed as *fr(o)-e-ad-dā-s 'he has gi
(Schrijver 1997: 178f.), but this is just a possibility. Finally, OI
-íada 'closes' is certainly an old compound with the prefix *ef
*$h_1$epi-, cf. Gr. *epí*), but it is unclear whether the verbal root is *de
(as assumed by Schumacher in KPV), or *$d^{h}eh_1$- 'do, make, put'.
appears more probable from the semantic point of view.
REF: KPV 265 ff., LIV 105, Delamarre 138f., Lambert 199
Lejeune 1971: 94, Prosdocimi 1984: 73, MLH V.1: 365ff.

***dago-** 'good' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *dag-*

W: MW *da*
BRET: OBret. *da-*, MBret. *da*
CO: Co. *da*
GAUL: *Dago-marus* [PN]
ETYM: No convincing IE etymology has been proposed so far. However, it is at least tempting to see *dago- developed by assimilation from *dako-, which could, in turn, be derived from PIE *dḱo- (with epenthetic *a in the initial cluster of two stops, cf. *dakro- 'tear'). The PIE root would be as in PCelt. *dekos- 'honor' > OIr. *dech* (note that *dech* serves as a suppletive superlative to *maith* 'good').
REF: Stokes 140, GPC I: 866, LEIA D-7f., DGVB 126, Delamarre 134, Campanile 1974: 35, Deshayes 2003: 167, Meid 2005: 82.

***dakro-** 'tear' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dér* [o n]
W: MW *deigr* [m], *deigryn* [Singulative]; *dagrau* [p]
BRET: OBret. *dacr-lon* 'full of tears', MBret. *dazrou* [p], MoBret. *dàer* [m]
CO: Co. *dagrow* [p]
PIE: *dh$_2$ḱru- 'tear' (IEW: 23)
COGN: Hitt. *ishahru-*, Skt. *áśru-*, Gr. *dákry,* Lat. *lacrima*, OE *tēar*, Lith. *ãšara*, ToB *akrūna* [p]
ETYM: The PIE form of this word is notoriously difficult to reconstruct. One possibility (Matasović 2004: 126) would be to posit PIE *h$_2$eḱru- (or perhaps an old heterocliton, PIE *h$_2$eḱwr / *h$_2$ḱwen-s) and to explain the word initial *d- in some branches as the result of false word division with the neuter pronoun *tod (*tod h$_2$eḱru- > *to(d) dh$_2$eḱru- > *dakru). The root involved may be PIE *h$_2$eḱ- 'sharp' (>'bitter' > 'tear'). Another possibility (Matasović 2000) is to start from PIE *doḱwr / *dḱwen-s and explain the *a in Celtic (and other branches) as epenthetic (breaking up the difficult Anlaut *dḱ-). Word-initial *d- could then have been lost in some branches through false word division (*tod daḱwr- > *tod aḱwr), and the word could have been reshaped as a u-stem in Celtic, Indo-Iranian, Greek, etc. (perhaps through regular PIE metathesis of *-wr > *-ru, but cf. Lubotsky 1994a). Needless to say, both possibilities are highly speculative.
REF: Stokes 140, LEIA D-53f., GPC I: 921, DGVB 126, LP 42, EIEC 567, Deshayes 2003: 167, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 237, Hamp 1971, Matasović 2000, Matasović 2004: 126.

***dallo-** 'blind' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *dall* [o], Ogam *DALI*
W: MW *dall*
BRET: OBret. *dall*, MBret. *dall*
CO: OCo. *dal* gl. cecus
ETYM: Probably related are Gaul. PN *Tri-dallus, Dallo* (cf. Delamarre 135, Meid 2005: 192). The IE etymology of these Celtic words is uncertain (see

IEW 266); however, the relationship with OHG *tol* 'silly', G 'foolish, stupid' seems probable, but details of the phonetic develop difficult: PIE *d^hwolno- would presumably give PCelt. **dwollo **doll). Therefore, if the Germanic-Celtic etymology is correct, w start from PIE *d^hwlno-, with the zero grade of the root, whic develop to PCelt. *dwallo- regularly, and hence to OIr. *dall*, MW *da* REF: LEIA D-18, GPC I: 882, DGVB 128, LP 11, Delama Campanile 1974: 35, Deshayes 2003: 169, Meid 2005: 192, Zieg 101.

***dal-n-** 'come into being, turn into something' [Vb]
W: MW *deillyau* (GPC *deillio*) 'emanate, proceed, derive, com originate'
PIE: *d^helh_1- (IEW: 234)
COGN: Gr. *thállō* 'blossom' [Vb], OE *dile* 'dill', Arm. *dalar* perhaps Alb. *dal* 'flow out, exit, grow'
SEE: *dolisko- 'seaweed'
ETYM: Schumacher (KPV 257f.) derives the OIr. verbal noun *d* 'going' from the same PIE root, but this is dubious on semantic Some linguists reconstruct the PIE root as *d^helh_1- (e.g. KPV and Ll do not believe that the evidence warrants that reconstructio generalized the zero-grade of the root in *dal-n- (< *d^hl-n-eh_1), b grade is probably attested in *dolisko- 'seaweed' and *dol-V- 'leaf grade seems to be attested in PGerm. *delja- (OE *dile*, Germ. *Dill*, et
REF: KPV 257f., GPC I: 922, LIV 132, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 83f.

***dālo-** 'share, part' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dál* [o n]
W: OW *daul* [m]
PIE: *deh$_2$- 'divide' (IEW: 175f.)
COGN: Skt. *dáyate* 'divides', Gr. *daíomai*
ETYM: OW *daul* is a hapax. The Celtic forms represent derivatives suffix *-lo-, PIE *deh$_2$-lo-.
REF: LEIA D-16, LIV 87, Falileyev 41.

***dam-na-** 'subdue, break a horse' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *damnaid, -damna* 'binds, subdues'
PIE: *demh$_2$- 'subdue, tame' (IEW: 199f.)
COGN: Hitt. *damaszi* 'press, push', Skt. *damāyáti* 'subdue, tar *domo*
SEE: *damo- 'bull'
REF: EIEC 565, LIV 99f.

***dāmo/ā-** 'retinue' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dám* [ā f]

W: OW *daum* 'client', W *daw* [m] 'son-in-law' (GPC *daw, dawf*)
BRET: MBret. *deuff*, MoBret. *deuñv* [m] 'son-in-law'
CO: OCo. *dof* gl. gener
PIE: *domo- 'household, home' (IEW: 198f.)
COGN: Lat. *domus* 'home', Gr. *dómos,* OCS *domъ*
ETYM: The OW hapax *daum* has an alternative reading *dauu* (Falileyev, 41). As shown by Campanile 1974a and McCone 1992, the Celtic forms continue PIE vṛddhi built from *domo- (itself a thematicization of the original root-noun *dōm); the original meaning was 'belonging to the household', whence 'retinue' (collectively), and the subsequent narrowing of the meaning to 'son-in-law' in Brittonic. Another derivative from the same PIE word is probably OIr. *déis* [i m] 'client', built from the PIE Genitive sg. of the original root noun, *dems, remodelled as an i-stem (*dems-i-). Celtib. *tamai* [Dat./Loc. sg.] (Botorrita I) has been connected with this set of forms, but with little justification. In PIE, the original root-noun *dōm may have been connected with the root *demh$_2$- 'build' (Gr. *démō*, Dor. *neódmātos* 'newly built'), if the development was *domh$_2$s > *dōm (as assumed by LIV).
REF: LEIA D-20, Stokes 142, GPC I: 906, LP 6, Falileyev 41, Hamp 1978, Campanile 1974a, McCone 1992, LIV 98, Matasović 2004: 84f., MLH V.1: 360f.

***damo-, *damato-** 'bull' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dam* [o m] 'bull, deer'
W: MW *dafad* [f] 'sheep'; *defaid, defeidiau* [p]
BRET: MoBret. *dañvad*
CO: OCo. *dauat* gl. ouis
GAUL: *Damona* (?) [Theonym], Gallo-Lat. *damma* (> Fr. *daim*) 'roe'
PIE: *dmh$_2$o- 'the tamed one' (IEW: 199f.)
COGN: Skt. *damya-* 'young bull to be tamed', Alb. *dem* 'bull, steer'
ETYM: The Celtic a-vocalism is best explained by starting from a proto-form *dm-Ho-, with syllabic *m. The Brit. forms point to a derivative *damato- (< *dmh$_2$eto-) rather than *damo- > OIr. *dam*. The PIE root *demh$_2$- is presumably also reflected in the British tribal name *Demetae* (> MW *Dyfed*), which can be interpreted as 'Tamers'.
SEE: *dam-yo- 'allow, permit, endure', *dam-na- 'subdue, break a horse'
REF: LEIA D-19f., GPC I: 878, EIEC 136, Campanile 1974: 36, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 43, 47.

***dam-yo-** 'allow, permit, endure' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *daimid, -daim*; *-dama* [Subj.]; *-didam* [Fut.]; *-dámatar* [3p Pret.]; *-dét* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *goddef* 'suffer, permit'
BRET: MBret. *gouzaff* 'suffer, permit', MoBret. *gouzañv*
CO: Co. *godhaff* 'suffer'

PIE: *demh$_2$- 'subdue, tame' (IEW: 199f.)
COGN: Hitt. *damaszi* 'forces, pushes', Skt. *damáyati* 'forces, tames', La *domo, domāre* 'to tame'
ETYM: The simplex *dam-yo- is attested only in OIr., the Brit. form pointing to PCelt. *ufo-dam-, cf. also OIr. *fo-daim, -fodaim* 'suffer, endur < *ufo-dam-yo-.
SEE: *damo-, *damato- 'bull', *dam-na- 'subdue, break a horse'
REF: KPV 260ff, LIV 116f., LP 357, LEIA D-10f, GPC II: 1425, Deshay 2003: 288, McCone 1991: 30, 159-163.

***dānu-** 'gift' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dán* [u m] 'gift, bestowal, skill'
W: MW *dawn* [m and f]
PIE: *deh$_3$r / *deh$_3$n-os 'gift' (IEW: 225)
COGN: Lat. *dōnum*, Gr. *dõ̃ron*, OCS *darъ*, Arm. *tur*
SEE: *dā- 'give'
REF: LEIA D-22, GPC I: 906, LIV 105, EIEC 185, de Bernardo Stemp 1999: 249, 353.

***danto-** 'tooth [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dét* [o n]
W: MW *dant* [m]
BRET: OBret. *dant*, MBret. and MoBret. *dant*
CO: OCo. *dans* gl. dens
PIE: *h$_1$dont- 'tooth' (IEW: 289)
COGN: Lat. *dēns*, Skt. *dánt-*, Gr. *odṓn,* Lith. *dantìs*, OHG *zand*
ETYM: The Celtic forms preserve the zero-grade of the root (PIE *h$_1$dnt- *dant-). The nature of the initial laryngeal is uncertain: if the word fo 'tooth' is originally the part. pres.of the verb *h$_1$ed- 'to eat', then it was *h$_1$ but many linguists reconstruct *h$_3$-, from which Gr. *o-* in *odṓn* is derive straightforwardly.
REF: Stokes 154, GPC I: 889f., DGVB 128f., EIEC 594, Deshayes 200 170, Campanile 1974: 35, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 432.

***darno-** 'piece, part' [Noun]
W: MW *darn* [m]
BRET: MBret. *darn*
CO: Co. *darn*
GAUL: *darnā > Fr. *darne* 'piece, slice of fish'
PIE: *der(H)- 'tear' (IEW: 206ff.)
COGN: Gr. *deírō* 'tear', Lith. dial. *dìrti*
ETYM: The Celtic words adduced here seem to be originally adjective from the root 'to tear', but the phonetic development is not completely clea From *drH-no- we would expect PCelt. *drāno-. Invoking Dybo's la would not help, since this would give *drano- (cf. *sfraxto- 'eloquent

*frati- 'fern'), which means that we must start from an anit-form of the PIE root. The derivation *drno- > *darno- is then straightforward. LIV (*s. v.*) also distinguishes two roots, *der- and *derH-, and both may be attested in Lith. *dir̃ti* 'peel' (< *der-) vs. Lith. dial. *dìrti* 'tear'.
REF: Stokes 147, GPC I: 896, Pedersen I: 52, LIV 104, Deshayes 2003: 172, Lambert 1994: 194.

***daru-** 'oak' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *daur, dair* [u f]
W: MW *dar* (GPC *dâr*) [f]; *deri, deiri* [p]
BRET: OBret. *dar*
CO: OCo. *dar* gl. quercus
PIE: *doru- 'tree, wood' (IEW: 214ff.)
COGN: Hitt. *tāru*, Gr. *dóry* 'tree, trunk, spear', ToAB *or* 'wood', Av. *dāuru*
SEE: *derwo- 'firm, true'
ETYM: The OIr. i-stem *dair* is younger than the old u-stem *daur*. It was reshaped since feminine u-stems are otherwise exceptional in Celtic. The a-vocalism of the Celtic forms can be explained if we posit an ablauting paradigm Nom sg. *doru / Gen. sg. *drw-os; after the regular development *drwo- > *darwo- in the oblique cases, this shape of the root was analogically extended to the Nominative, hence *daru.
REF: Stokes 148, GPC I: 891f., DGVB 129, EIEC 598, Campanile 1974: 35, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 237.

***dar(y)o-** 'bull' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *dairid*; *daraid* [Subj.]; *-dart* [Pret.]
PIE: *$d^{h}erh_{3}$- 'jump, leap' (IEW: 256)
COGN: Gr. *thrṓskō* 'leap, attack', Skt. *dhā́rā-* 'flood, rush'
ETYM: The present stem of OIr. *dairid* contains the zero-grade of the PIE root. The laryngeal was lost in the pre-vocalic position (*drh_{3}-o- > PCelt. *dar-o-), or regularly before *y (Pinault's rule).
REF: KPV 264f, LIV 146f., LP 357, LEIA D-13, EIEC 323, McCone 1991: 30, McCone 1996: 53.

***dasti-** 'heap, pile' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *daiss* [?i f]
W: OW *das,* MW *das* [f and m]
BRET: OBret. *desi*
PIE: *$d^{h}eh_{1}$- 'make, do' (IEW: 238)
COGN: Lat. *facio,* Gr. *títhēmi*, Skt. *dádhāmi*, OCS *dě̀ti*, Lith. *dė́ti*
SEE: *datlā 'assembly, meeting'
ETYM: The Irish word is attested late, and its original stem formation is uncertain, but it was probably an i-stem. The PCelt. word *dasti- must be derived from the zero-grade *$d^{h}h_{1}$-sti-, cf. also the common Gaul. toponym *Condate* (Fr. *Condé*) < *kom-dati- 'confluence' < *kom-$d^{h}h_{1}$-ti-.

REF: LEIA D-13f., DGVB 136, Falileyev 40, de Bernardo Stempel 199
268.

***datlā** 'assembly, meeting' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dál* [ā f] 'meeting, encounter'; *i ndáil* 'near, along with'; *i nd*
n- 'towards'
W: MW *dadl, dadyl* [m]
BRET: OBret. *dadl* gl. concio, MoBret. *dael* [f] 'dispute'
CO: OCo. *datheluur* gl. concionator
PIE: *$d^{h}eh_1$- 'make, do' (IEW: 237)
COGN: Lat. *facio*, Gr. *títhēmi,* Skt. *dádhāmi*, OCS *děti*, Lith. *dė́ti*
SEE: *dasti- 'heap, pile'
ETYM: OIr. *dál* 'assembly' is sometimes treated as the same etymon as *d*
'share, part', but this has a completely different etymology (see *dālo-). T
PIE etymology of *datlā is disputed, but it may contain the root *$d^{h}eh_1$- 'p
together, make' (Lat. *facio*, etc.), and the suffix *-tlo-, so we may start fro
PIE *dh_1-tlo-.
REF: LEIA D-16f., Falileyev 40, Schrijver 1995: 80, GPC I: 87
Delamarre 123f., DGVB 127, Deshayes 2003: 167.

***dawnā** 'poem' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *dúan* [ā f]
PIE: *dh_2p-no- 'offering' (IEW: 176f.)
COGN: Lat. *daps*, Hitt. *tappala-* 'person responsible for court cooking', O
tafn 'sacrificial animal'
ETYM: ON *tafn* is the exact correspondence of OIr. *dúan*. The sou
development in Celtic is the same as in *kapno- > *kawno- > OIr. *cú*
'harbour'. Another, less probable etymology relates MIr. *dúan* to P
*$d^{h}ewǵ^{h}$- 'be useful' (IEW 271, Gr. *týkhē* 'fortune, chance' etc.), cf. EIE
614.
REF: LEIA D-209, EIEC 614, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 255f., Watki
1970.

***daw-yo-** 'kindle, burn' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *doud* [Verbal Noun Dat. s] 'burning'
W: MW *deifyaw* (GPC *deifio*)
BRET: OBret. *deuu*, MBret. *devo* 'burn', *dev* 'burned'
CO: Co. *dewy, dywy*
PIE: *deh_2u- 'burn, kindle' (IEW: 179f.)
COGN: Skt. *dunóti,* Gr. *daiō*, ToB *tu*
ETYM: W *etewyn* 'torch, firebrand', MoBret. *etew* and Co. *itheu* go back
*ati-daw-ino- from the same root. Cf. also PCelt. *kom-daw-to- 'firewoo
(MIr. *connad*, W *cynnud*, MoBret. *keuneud*, Co. *kunys*).
REF: GPC I: 796, 920, EIEC 87, LIV 88, Deshayes 2003: 180.

***dā-yo-** 'ail, trouble' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *dáthair, daas* [Relative]
W: MW *-dawr* [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *-deur* 'is important' [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. *-duer* [3s Pres.]
ETYM: In OIr. this verb was confused with *tā- 'be, find oneself' < PIE *steh$_2$-, see KPV 266ff. The IE etymology of PCelt. *dā-yo- is uncertain, but a derivation from PIE *deh$_1$- 'bind' (IEW 183, LIV 86, cf. Gr. *déō*) has been proposed. In my opinion, the semantic connection is too weak for this etymology to be plausible.
REF: KPV 266ff., LP 164, Morris Jones 1913: 373.

***dedmV-** 'rite, ceremony, usage' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *deidmea* [Gen. s] 'law, usage'
W: MW *deuawt, defawt* 'rite, ceremony, law'; *deddf* [f] 'rite, decree, ordinance, law'
BRET: OBret. *domot* gl. ritum
ETYM: Some attested forms (e.g. OBret. *domot*) point to PCelt. *dedmāto-, while OIr. *deidmea,* if it is the Gen. s. of an i-stem, must imply PCelt. *dedmi-. Outside Celtic, a probable cognate is Gr. *thesmós* 'custom' < PIE *d^{h}ed^{h}(h$_1$)mo-.
REF: GPC I: 912, Schrijver 1995: 37.

***deg^{w}i-** 'flame, blaze' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *daig* [i f]
W: MW *goddeith* [m and f] 'big flame, blaze' (GPC *goddaith*)
PIE: *d^{h}eg^{wh}- 'burn' (IEW: 240f)
COGN: Skt. *dáhati,* Lat. *febris* 'fever', ToAB *tsäk-* 'burn', Alb. *djeg* 'burn'
ETYM: The development in OIr. is straightforward, with *e > *a* before palatalized *g* as in *aig* 'ice' < *yegi-. MW *goddeith* is from *ufo-dextā < *upo-deg^{w}-tā, cf. also W *deifio* 'burn' < PCelt. *deg^{w}-ye-. OIr. *daigen* 'firm' may be from *deg^{w}ino- 'burned, baked' (see *di-n-g-o- 'knead, form'), but the semantic connection is weak.
REF: GPC II: 1425, EIEC 87, LIV 115f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 64ff., Schrijver 1995: 140, McCone 1996: 23, 40, 111ff.

***dekam** 'ten' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *deich* [Nasalizing]
W: MW *deg*
BRET: OBret. *dec*, MBret. *dek*, MoBret. *deg*
CO: Co. *dec*
GAUL: *decan-, decometos* 'tenth'
CELTIB: *tekametam* 'tenth' (Botorrita I)
PIE: *dḗkm 'ten' (IEW: 191)

COGN: Lat. *decem,* Gr. *déka*, Skt. *dáśa*, Go. *taihun,* OCS *desętь,* Lith. *dẽšimt*, ToA *śäk*
ETYM: For the possible derivation of OIr. *deëc, deac* '-teen' from *dekan-k^{w}e 'ten and' see *k^{w}enk^{w}e 'five'.
REF: Stokes 145, GPC I: 916, DGVB 131, EIEC 403, Delamarre 137, Deshayes 2003: 174, MLH V.1: 373, Schrijver 1993.

***dekos** 'honor, pride' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dech* [Comparative of *maith* 'good]
PIE: *dekos 'honor'
COGN: Lat. *decus*, Arm. *tasanem* 'see', Av. *dasa-* 'goods, possessions'
ETYM: The indeclinable superlative *dech* in OIr. is best taken as the petrified form of old neuter noun meaning 'honor, pride', and this meaning is here posited for PCelt. The similarity with PCelt. *dago- 'good' could be accidental, but cf. the discussion under that lemma. Originally, PIE *dekos probably meant 'that which is received', cf. Gr. *dékhomai, dékomai* 'take, accept', Skt. *daśasyati* 'renders service'.
REF: LEIA D-31, EIEC 271, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 128, 241.

***delg-o-** 'hold, contain' [Vb]
W: MW *daly, dala* 'hold' (GPC *dal, dala, daly*)
BRET: OBret. *delgim*
GAUL: *delgu* [1s Pres.] (Banassac)
ETYM: In OIr. there is a possible cognate in *coindelg* [o and ā, n and f] 'contract, comparison' < *kom-delgo- (cf. also W *cynnal* 'maintain'); a deverbal nominal stem (*delgo-) is probably preserved in OBret. *dalg* (MoBret. *dalc'h*) 'maintenance, tenure'. The connection to PIE *delh$_1$g^{h}o- (Skt. *dīrghá-*, etc.), suggested by IEW (197), appears improbable because of the difference in meaning, but Alb. *ndal* 'halt, stop' may be related.
REF: KPV 271ff., GPC I: 881f., DGVB 134, Schrijver 1995: 142f., RIG II.2: 152-155., LEIA C-150.

***delgo-** 'pin, needle' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *delg* [o m]
W: MW *dala* [m] 'sting'
CO: OCo. *delc(h)* gl. monile
PIE: *d^{h}elg- 'sting' (IEW: 247)
COGN: Lat. *falx* 'curved blade, hook, scythe', OIc. *dálkr* 'pin, dagger', Lith. *dilgùs* 'stinging, smarting', *dìlgė* 'nettle'.
ETYM: A Gaulish reflex of PCelt. *delgo- may be preserved in Fr. dial. *dail* 'sickle', Pr. *dalh* (Gamillscheg 294). These words could be from *dalglā. de Vaan (2008: 200) shows that Lat. *falx* is most probably a loanword from some IE language of Italy.
REF: LEIA D-48, GPC I: 880, EIEC 424, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 141.

***delto-** 'moist' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *delt* [o m] 'dew'
BRET: MBret. *delt*, MoBret. *delt* 'sweaty'
PIE: *del- 'sprinkle' (IEW: 196)
COGN: ON *tolgr* 'tallow', Eng. *tallow*, Germ. *Talg*, Arm. *teł* 'strong rain'
ETYM: The Germanic forms presuppose a velar suffix, presumably PGerm. *talgo-, *tulgo- (ON *tolgr*). They have been also connected with Go. *tulgus* 'firm, steadfast' (Orel 2003: 411) and derived from PIE *dlh_1g^h- 'long' (IEW 197, cf. Skt. *dīrghá-*, Gr. *dolikhós*, etc.), so the IE side of this etymology is uncertain.
REF: Deshayes 2003: 177.

***delwā** 'form, appearance, image' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *delb* [ā f (later also u m)]
W: OW *delu,* MW *delw* [f]
CO: Co. *del*
PIE: *del- 'carve, split' (IEW: 194ff.)
COGN: Lat. *dolo* 'hew, chop into shape', Lith. *dalýti* 'divide', Alb. *dalloj* 'cut'
ETYM: MoBret. *delw* is a loanword from Welsh. OIr. *dolb* [o m] 'magic, illusion, appearance' is another derivative from the same root (PCelt. *dolwo-)
REF: Stokes 150, LEIA D-47f., GPC I: 972, EIEC 143, Falileyev 42, LHEB 387, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 216

***demi-** 'dim, dark' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *deim* [i]
PIE: *d^hem- 'dim, dark' (IEW: 148)
COGN: Eng. *dim*, Norw. *daam*, OFris. *dimme* 'darker'
ETYM: MIr. *deim* is not well-attested; it may be a back-formation to *deime* [iā f] < *demyā 'darkness'. This word is attested only in Germanic and Celtic. The etymology in IEW 247f. (a connection with the PIE root *d^hemH- 'smoke') is doubtful on semantic grounds.
REF: LEIA D-42, Stokes 147.

***demyā** 'darkness' [Noun]
SEE: *demi- 'dim, dark'

***dēno-** 'fast' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *dían* [o] gl. creber
PIE: *$deyh_1$- 'fly, move swiftly' (IEW: 187)
COGN: Skt. *dīyati* 'fly', Gr. *díemai* 'hasten'
ETYM: The OIr. form can be regularly derived from PIE *$deyh_1$no-.
REF: LEIA D-68, EIEC 208, LIC 91, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 252, 372.

***dergo-** 'red, blood-red' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *derg* [o]
PIE: *d^{h}erg- 'dark' (IEW: 251)
COGN: OE *deorc* 'dark', Lith. *dárgana* 'bad weather', *dérgti* 'to become dirty', (?) ToB *tarkär* 'cloud'
ETYM: Delamarre (140) mentions the possibility that the PN *An-dergus,* attested in Lusitania, is related to the same PCelt. root.
REF: LEIA D-57, Delamarre 140.

***derk-** 'see' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *-darc*, *a-t-chondarc* [1s Pres.]; *ad-chon-dairc* [3s Pret. relative]
PIE: *derḱ- 'glance at' (IEW: 213)
COGN: Skt. *darś-,* Gr. *dérkomai*, OE *torht* 'bright, clear', Alb. *dritë* 'light'
SEE: *k^{w}is-o- 'perceive', *drikā 'face, appearance'
ETYM: OIr. *a-t-chondarc* < *ad-kom-dark-. The stem *derk-/*dark- formed some suppletive forms to the root *k^{w}is-o- 'see', cf. KPV 270. From the same root we have OIr. *derc* [o n] 'eye, face', MBret. *derch* 'beautiful' (PCelt. *derko-), and OIr. *drech* 'face', W *drych* 'appearance' (see PCelt. *drikā, with the zero-grade of the root). Cf. also Gaul. *uoderce* (Larzac), which might be 2 sg. Ipv. of *ufo-derk-o- (Lambert 1994: 167), and the PNs Gaul. *Derc-illus* and Celtib. *Terk-inos*.
REF: KPV 270f., LEIA D-55f., LIV 122, EIEC 505, Ellis Evans 1967: 344f., MLH V.1: 378f.

***derwo-** 'firm (as an oak)' [Adj]; 'oak' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *derb* [o] 'sure, certain, fixed'
W: MW *derwen* [Singulative] 'oak'; *derw* [p]
BRET: OBret. *daeru*, MBret. *deru, derw* 'oaks'
GAUL: *Dervo* [Toponym]; *derwo- > OFr. *dervée* 'oak wood'
PIE: *derw-o- 'oak' (IEW: 214f.)
SEE: *daru- 'oak'
ETYM: The semantic development in OIr. was 'firm as an oak' > 'firm, strong' > 'true', as explained by Benveniste, (1969: I, 8). OIr. *derb* 'vessel' is a feminine ā-stem, derivable from *derwā 'made of oak-wood', the feminine-collective of *derwo-, cf. also MIr. *drochta* 'tub, vessel', which may be from *druxto- < *dru-k-to- (cf. PGerm. *trugan, *trugaz 'trough' > OHG *trog*, ON *trog*, PIE *dru-ko-).
REF: LEIA D-12, 54f., GPC I: 932f., EIEC 36, Deshayes 2003: 179, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 216f., Sims-Williams 2006: 69.

***dēwo-** 'god' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *día* [o m]
W: OW *duiu*, W *duw, Duw* [m]
BRET: MBret. *doe,* MoBret. *doue* [m]
CO: OCo. *duy*, Co. *dew*

GAUL: *Deuo-gnata* [PN], *teuo-xtonio-* (Vercelli)
CELTIB: *Teiuo-reikis* (K 6.1), DEOBRIGA [Toponym]
PIE: *deyw-o- 'god, sky-god' (IEW: 184f.)
COGN: Skt. *devá-*, Lat. *deus*, OPr. *deiwas*
REF: LEIA D-64, GPC I: 1101, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44, Delamarre 143, Deshayes 2003: 197, Birkhan 1970: 324, Villar 1997: 900ff., Sims-Williams 2006: 70ff., MLH V.1: 371f.

***dexs(i)wo-** 'right, south' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *dess* [o]
W: MW *dehau*, *deheu* (GPC *deau, de*)
BRET: OBret. *dehou*, MBret. *deho, dechou*, MoBret. *dehou, dehow*
CO: Co. *dehow, dyghow*
GAUL: *Dex(s)iua* [Theonym]
PIE: *deḱs-wo- 'right' (IEW: 190)
COGN: Lat. *dexter*, Gr. *deksiterós*, OCS *desnъ*, Alb. *djathtë*
ETYM: The Insular Celtic forms are derivable from *dexswo-, while the Gaulish name *Dexsiua* points to *dexsiwo-, which is the expected form, in light of the cognates in other IE languages (cf. also Gr. *deksiós* < *deḱsiwo-). The meaning 'south' is derived from the main principle of orientation in the Celtic and IE tradition, by facing the rising sun (cf. also OIr. *túath* 'left, north' < PCelt. *towto-.
REF: Stokes 145, GPC I: 999, DGVB 133, LEIA D-61f., EIEC 458, LHEB 535, Deshayes 2003: 174, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 212, Delamarre 143, Beekes 1994.

***dī** 'from, of' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *di, de* [Aspirating, +Dat.], *dí-*
W: MW *di, di-*
BRET: OBret. *di*
PIE: *h_2d-eh_1 'from' (IEW: 181ff.)
COGN: Lat. *dē*
ETYM: In OIr. the long *í* was shortened in unstressed position, but the length is generally preserved before consonants in compounds, cf. e.g. *dígal* < *dī-galā 'vengeance'. The root in this Italic and Celtic preposition could be the same as in *$h_2$ed-, but with a different suffix (or instrumental case-ending) *-eh_1; see *ad 'to'.
REF: LEIA D-27, Stokes 143, GPC I: 943, EIEC 37, Falileyev 43 LEIA D-27, GOI 504f., Delamarre 143, DGVB 136.

***dī-ākV-** 'lazy, lit. un-swift' [Adj]
W: OW *diauc* gl. *segnem*, MW *diawg* (GPC *diog*)
BRET: OBret. *diochi*, MBret. *diek*, MoBret. *dieg*
CO: OCo. *dioc* gl. piger
PIE: *h_1ōḱu- 'swift' (IEW: 775)

COGN: Skt. *āśú-* 'quick', Gr. *ōkýs* 'quick', Lat. *ōcior* 'swifter', perhaps Croat. *jàstreb* 'hawk'
ETYM: The existence of this compound (with the prefix *dī-) presupposes the simplex meaning 'swift'; parallels in other IE languages point to an u-stem, but this cannot be demonstrated for Celtic. The PIE root is reconstructed as *h_1ōḱu- and interpreted as a vṛddhi formation related to *h_1eḱwo- 'horse', but this is quite uncertain. The accentuation of Croat. *jàstreb* (accentual paradigm a) and the related Slavic words points to a root ending in a laryngeal (PIE *h_1oh_1ḱú- or *Heh$_3$ḱú-), but the position of the accent in Gr. *ōkýs* and Skt. *āśú-* shows that the shortening of the first vowel by Dybo's law would be expected in Celtic.
REF: LP 6, GPC I: 1026, Falileyev 43f., Deshayes 2003: 183.

dī-bergā 'robbery, brigandage' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *díberg* [ā f]
W: MW *diuer* (GPC *difer*) [m] 'treason, betrayal'
SEE: *bergā 'pillage, robery'
ETYM: In OIr., there is also the simplex *berg* [ā f] 'robbery', cf. *bergā.
REF: LEIA B-41, GPC I: 980, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 314.

dī-bi-na- 'take away' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *do-ben* 'take away'
W: MW *difyn* [m] 'fragment, splinter'
SEE: *bi-na- 'hit, strike'
REF: LEIA D-121, KPV 228, GPC I: 988.

dī-galā 'vengeance' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dígal* [ā f]
W: MW *dial* [m]
CO: Co. *dyal*
SEE: *gal-n- 'be able'
ETYM: This word is a compound of PCelt. *dī- 'from, of' and *galā (presumably the same word as *galā 'valour, ability', q. v.).
REF: LEIA D-79f., GPC I: 946.

dig-ed- 'chafer, beetle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *dega* [d]
PIE: *di$ǵ^h$- 'tick' (IEW: 187f.)
COGN: OE *ticia* 'tick', Arm. *tiz* 'bug'
ETYM: Could this noun be a compound containing, as the second element, the root *$h_1$ed- 'eat'? In that case, the correct reconstruction would be *d^{h}i$ǵ^h$-$h_1$ed-, with *d^{h}i$ǵ^h$- possibly the root of Germ. *Teig* 'dough', etc. Of course, this is mere speculation.
REF: LEIA D-38.

***dilā** 'teat, dug'
GOID: MIr. *deil* [?ā ?f] (DIL *dela*)
PIE: *$d^{h}eh_{1}(y)$-l- (IEW: 242)
COGN: Lat. *fēlix* 'fruitful, happy', OHG *tila* 'nipple'
SEE: *di-na- 'suck'
ETYM: The MIr. form *deil* is not well attested. In Cormac's glossary we seem to have the plural *dela*. It is probably the same noun as MIr. *deil* 'young sow, sow aged three years'. Is may be possible to derive PCelt. *dilā from PIE *$dh_{1}i$-l-, with the zero-grade, and without laryngeal metathesis, but such a derivation seems slightly *ad hoc*. Another possibility is to assume laryngeal metathesis and shortening by Dybo's law (*$dh_{1}i$-$léh_{2}$- > *$dih_{1}léh_{2}$- > *dilā). Short *-i-* is also found in *di-na- 'suck' and this verb may also have influenced other derivatives from the same root. OIr. *dil* [i] 'dear, beloved, precious' may be from the same root (PCelt. *dili-), but the meaning is quite different. Perhaps the meaning 'dear' developed from 'fruitful' (cf. Lat. *fēlix*).
REF: LEIA D-42.

***di-na-** 'suck' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *denaid, denait* [3p Pres.]; *did* [Pret.]
W: MW *dynu, denu*
BRET: MBret. *denaff,* MoBret. *denañ*
CO: Co. *dena*
PIE: *$d^{h}eh_{1}y$- 'suck' (IEW: 241f.)
COGN: Luv. *titaimi-* 'fed', Skt. *dhāyati*, Lat. *fēlāre,* Go. *daddjan,* OCS *dojiti* 'suckle', Arm. *diem*
SEE: *dilā 'teat'
ETYM: The PCelt. present stem *di-na- cannot be derived from *$d^{h}i$-neh_{1}- (this would have given OIr. **dinid rather than *denaid*), so the suffix *-na- was extended analogically after the large class of Celtic presents with that suffix. The root *$d^{h}i$- is the result of laryngeal metathesis (*$dh_{1}i$-C- > *$d^{h}ih_{1}$C-).
REF: KPV 273ff., LEIA D-49, GPC I: 1140, LP 36, EIEC 556, LIV 138f., Deshayes 2003: 178, McCone 1991: 14f.

***di-n-g-o-** 'knead, form, press' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *dingid, -ding; didis* [Fut.]; *dedaig* [Pret.]; *-decht* [Pret. Pass.]
CELTIB: *a]mbitinkounei* 'build' (Botorrita I) [Inf]
PIE: *$d^{h}eyǵ^{h}$- 'knead, form' (IEW: 244f.)
COGN: Lat. *fingo* 'form, shape', OCS *zidъ* 'wall', Go. *daigs* 'dough'
ETYM: The connection of Celtib. *a]mbitinkounei* (as if from *ambi-dingo-) with this stem is not certain (MLH V.1: 250f.); it has also been compared to *tenk- 'be firm', PCelt. *tanko- 'peace'; see, however, KPV 277. The OIr. adjective *daigen* 'firm, fast, solid' (occasionally spelled *daingen*) is also sometimes connected with this root. The form *daigen* points

to a proto-form *degino- (with e > a before palatalized *g*, as in *daig* 'wall') < PCl. *deg^{w}i-. This change was prior to raising and lowering, so one cannot derive *daigen* from **digino- and relate it to the PIE root *d^{h}eyǵ^{h}-. It could, however, be from *deg^{w}ino- < PIE *d^{h}eg^{wh}- 'burn, heat' (see *deg^{w}i- 'flame').
REF: LEIA D-92f., KPV 276ff., LIV 140, LP 357f, McCone 1991: 41, 46f., Meid 1993: 81-83, MLH V.1: 250f.

***dīro-** 'proper, needed' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *dír* [o] 'proper, fitting'
W: MW *dir* 'sure, certain, necessary'
ETYM: A derivation from PIE *d^{h}eh$_{1}$- 'do make' (Lat. *facio*, Gr. *títhēmi*, OCS *děti*, etc.) with the suffix *-ro- is formally straightforward and semantically possible. The development of meaning of *d^{h}eh$_{1}$ro- would have been from 'established' to 'customary, proper' and 'needed, necessary'. On the other hand, if vowel lengthening before the cluster *xsL is accepted, *dīro- would also be derivable from *dīxsro- < *dēxsro- < *deḱ-sro-, cf. PCelt. *dekos 'honour'.
REF: LEIA D-95, GPC I: 1030.

***dis-smi-** 'something, anything, a small quantity' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *dim* gl. quippiam 'something, anything'
W: MW *dim* 'thing, any matter, aught'
SEE: (?) *dus- 'bad'
ETYM: The OIr. word is scarcely attested (in the Ml. glosses) and it might be a borrowing from Brit. PCelt. *dis-smi-, if this is the correct reconstruction, could have been assimilated from *dus-smi- 'a bad one', where *smi- is from PIE *sem- 'one' (Gr. *hén*, etc.).
REF: LEIA D-86, GPC I: 1018.

***dī-wed-o-** 'stop' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-ruid* [3s Perf. Relative]
W: MW *dywedd(u)* (GPC *diweddu, diwedd*)
SEE: *wed-o-, *dī-wedo- 'end'
ETYM: The OIr. form *do-ruid* contains the perfective preverb *fro- (*dī-fro-wed-o-)
REF: KPV 656ff., GPC I: 1056.

***dī-wedo-** 'end' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *díad* [o n, later ā f] (DIL *dead*)
W: OW *diued,* MW *diued, diwet* [m] (GPC *diwedd*)
BRET: OBret. *diued,* MBret. *divez,* MoBret. *diwez* [m]
CO: Co. *deweth*
PIE: *wed^{h}- 'lead' (IEW: 1115f.)
COGN: OCS *vesti, vedetъ*, Lith. *vèsti, vẽda*

SEE: *wed-o- 'lead'
ETYM: This verb contains the PCelt. prefix *dī- 'from, away', and the same root as in *wed-o- 'lead'.
REF: LEIA D-29, GPC I: 1056, DGVB 145, Falileyev 48, Deshayes 2003: 193.

***dī-wik-o-** 'punish, avenge' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-fich, -dích*
W: MW *difwyn, diwyn* (GPC *difwyno*) 'spoil, defile, pollute, violate'; *diwc* [3s Pres.] 'improve, pay wergeld'
SEE: *wik-o- 'fight'
REF: LEIA D-140, KPV 683ff., GPC I: 987.

***dīy(w)o-** 'day' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dïe* (DIL *día*)
W: OW *did* [m], MW *dit, dyt, dyd(d)* (GPC *dydd*) [m]; *dyddiau, dieuoedd* [p]
BRET: OBret. *ded, did,* MBret. *dez*, MoBret. *deiz* [m]
CO: OCo. *det*
PIE: *diy-ew- 'day' (IEW: 184f.)
COGN: Lat. *diēs*, Arm. *tiv*
ETYM: Gaul. abbreviation D. in the Coligny Calendar may stand for *diyon 'day'. Cf. also OBret. *diu-mercer* 'Wednesday', W *heddiw* 'today', MBret. *hizio*, Co. *hethew*, OIr. *indíu* 'today'; we probably have to reconstruct an ablauting paradigm for PCelt. *diyēws / *diywos, but see Hamp 1974-5a. OIr. *denus* [u m] 'space of a day, period' probably comes from *dinostu- and preserves a trace of PIE *deyn- / *din- 'day' (Skt. *su-dína-* 'dawning beautifully', OCS *dьnь* 'day', Lith. *dienà* 'day').
REF: LEIA D-64f., GPC I: 119f., DGVB 138, LHEB 351, Deshayes 2003: 179, Falileyev 45, Hamp 1974-5a: 472-477, Schrijver 1995: 256.

***dlig-o-** 'owe, be entitled to' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *dligid, -dlig*; *-dlis* [2s Subj.], *dlicht* [Pret.]
W: MW *dylyu, dyly* [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *dleout* 'must'
PIE: *$d^{h}elg^{h}$- (IEW: 271f.)
COGN: Go. *dulgs* 'debt', Russ. *dólg*
ETYM: The Celtic forms reflect the zero-grade of the PIE root (*dlg^{h}-o-).
REF: Stokes 155, GPC I: 1135, KPV 280ff., LP 358, LEIA D-107f, EIEC 123, Morris Jones 1913: 379.

***dligito-** 'duty, debt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dliged* [o n]
W: MW *dled, dyled, dylyed, dlyed* [m and f]
SEE: *dlig-o- 'owe'

ETYM: This is a derivative (with the suffix *-eto-) from the same root as the verb *dlig-o- 'owe'.
REF: LEIA D-107, GPC I: 1136.

***dlo-n-g-o-** 'split' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *dlongaid, -dloing* 'splits, cuts, cleaves or cuts away'; *-didlastais* [3p Cond.]
PIE: *delg^{h}- 'hew' (IEW: 196)
COGN: ON *telgja* 'hew, cut', Lith. *dalgis* 'scythe', OCS *glodati* 'gnaw'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *dluige* 'splitting' < *dlogyo-, without the nasal infix of the present stem in *dlongaid.* OCS *glodati* is the result of metathesis (from *dlogati)
REF: KPV 284f., LEIA D-108f., LIV 97, McCone 1991: 45.

***do** 'to' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *do, du* [Aspirating, +Dat.]
PIE: *do, *de (IEW: 181ff.)
COGN: OLat. *en-do* 'in', OHG *zuo*, OCS *do* 'up to'
ETYM: This PCelt. preposition should be distinguished from the preverb (old preposition) *to- which merged with it in Old Irish when *t > *d* in pretonic syllables. Archaic Old Irish still distinguishes *do-* and *to-, tu-* in spelling.
REF: LEIA D-110f., EIEC 590, GOI: 506.

***doklo-** 'hair, lock of hair' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *dúal* [o m] 'plait, fold, lock of hair'
PIE: *doḱ-lo- 'thread, hair' (IEW: 191)
COGN: Skt. *daśā-* 'fringe', Go. *tagl* 'a single hair', Croat. *dlàka* 'a single hair'
ETYM: While Sanskrit points to the root *deḱ-, Celtic agrees well with Germanic and Slavic (cf. the regular depalatalization in Proto-Slavic *doklā and subsequent metathesis *dolkā > Croat. *dlaka*).
REF: Stokes 152, LEIA D-208, EIEC 252, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 227.

***dol-V-** 'leaf' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *duilne, duille* [iā f] 'leaf, foliage'
W: MW *deil*, (GPC *dail*) [p] 'leaves, foliage'; *deilen* [Singulative]
BRET: OBret. *dol,* MoBret. *del* [Collective] 'leaves'
CO: OCo. *delen* [Singulative] gl. folium
GAUL: *pompédoula* (Pseudo-Dioscorides IV, 42), read *pempe-dula* 'a plant (with five leaves)'
PIE: *d^{h}elh$_{1}$- 'blossom' (IEW: 234)
COGN: OE *dile* 'dill', Arm. *dalar* 'green'
SEE: *dal-n- 'come into being'

ETYM: The formations of these Celtic words do not match. OIr. *duille* should be derived from *dolnyā, while the Brittonic forms are from *dolyā, and Gaulish seems to have a reflex of *dolā. In all of these cases the Celtic forms preserve the o-grade of the PIE root in the o-grade, reconstructed here as *dolh$_1$- (the loss of the laryngeal in Celtic can be the result of de Saussure's law, *oRH > *oR).
REF: LEIA D-216f., GPC I: 879, Delamarre 146, Deshayes 2003: 176, André 1985.

***dolā** 'meadow, dale' [Noun]
W: MW *dol* [f] (GPC *dôl*)
BRET: MoBret. *Dol-* [mostly in Toponyms]
CO: Co. *dol*
PIE: *d^{h}olh$_2$-o- 'valley' (IEW: 245f.)
COGN: Go. *dal,* OCS *dolъ*
ETYM: Gr. *thalámē* 'bed', if related, shows that this root ended in *-h$_2$. Otherwise, the PIE noun can be reconstructed as *d^{h}olo-.
REF: GPC I: 1073, Deshayes 2003: 194.

***dol-isko-** 'seaweed, *Palmaria palmata*'[Noun]
GOID: MIr. *duilesc* [o m]
W: MW *delysc* [m] 'fucus palmatus, edible seaweed, stuff which is cast up by the sea' (GPC *delysg, dylysg, dylusg*)
PIE: *d^{h}elh$_1$- 'blossom' (IEW: 234)
SEE: *dal-n-, *dolV- 'leaf'
ETYM: A connection with PCelt. *dolV- 'leaf' appears probable both in terms of form and meaning. For the reconstruction of the PIE root see *dal-n- 'come into being'.
REF: KPV 257, GPC I: 928f., LEIA D-216f., D-220.

***dolwo-** 'appearance' [Noun]
SEE: *delwā 'form, appearance'

***dorro-** 'harsh, rough' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *dorr* [o]
PIE: *der-s- (IEW: 206ff.)
COGN: Eng. *tarse*
ETYM: There is little doubt that OIr. *dorr* is from the PIE root *der- 'tear', but parallels with the suffix *-s- are few, and limited to Germanic. Another derivative from the same root in OIr. is *doirr* [originally ā f] 'anger', which may go back to *dorsā < *dorseh$_2$.
REF: LEIA D-159.

***dowsant-** 'arm, hand' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *doë, doe* [nt f]

PIE: *dows- 'arm, fore-arm' (IEW: 226)
COGN: Skt. *dóṣ-* 'arm, fore-arm', Latv. *pa-duse* 'armpit'
ETYM: The word formation in Celtic is unclear. In PIE, *dows- 'arm' was a root noun. The suffix *-ant- in Celtic can hardly be a petrified formative of present active participles (as in *birit* 'sow' < *b^her-nt-ih$_2$), since there is no corresponding verb. Could *dows-ant- be an old compound, whereby *-ant- is the same root as in PCelt. *anto- 'border, limit', *antono- 'forehead'? It is conceivable that the meaning 'hand' was represented as 'arm-limit', 'the end of the arm' (cf. Go. *andeis* 'end').
REF: LEIA D-133, EIEC 26, Thurneysen 208, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 433.

dragenā 'sloetree, blackthorn, *Prunus spinosa*' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *draigen* [ā f]
W: MW *draen, drain* [m and f] 'thornbush, brambles, briars'; *draenen* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *dren,* MoBret. *draen*
CO: OCo. *drain* gl. spina
GAUL: *Draganes* [PN], *drageno- > Fr. dial. *dren* 'raspberry'
PIE: *d^herg^h- 'sloetree, blackbush' (IEW: 258)
COGN: OHG *dirn-baum* 'cornea silva, cornel', Gr. *térkhnos* 'twig, branch', Russ. dial. *derën* 'cornel'
ETYM: The vocalism in Celtic is difficult, since we would expect *drig-eno- from PIE *d^hrg^h-eno- with the zero-grade. PCelt. *drageno- thus probably has the secondary, analogical full grade *ra- sometimes found in the roots of the CLeC- structure. It is based on the proportion *CeLC- / *CaLC- vs. *CLeC- / X, where X = CLaC-. Russ.dial. *derën* 'cornel' and the related Slavic words (Derksen 2008: 99) bear the neo-acute due to the retraction of the stress from the final yer; they are compatible with the reconstruction of the root without a laryngeal.
REF: Stokes 155, LEIA D-189f., GPC I: 1080, EIEC 528, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 145, 447, Delamarre 148, Campanile 1974: 40, Deshayes 2003: 201.

drikā 'face, appearance' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *drech* [ā f] 'face, front'
W: MW *drych* [m] 'spectacle, mirror, aspect'
BRET: OBret. *dre(h),* MBret. *derch* 'aspect', MoBret. *derc'h* 'pure'
SEE: *derk-o- 'see'
ETYM: The reflex of the velar in W *drych* is unexpected. However, as MoBret. *derc'h* shows, there was probably also a form *derko- in Brittonic, and *rk > W *rch* is regular. This might then be the source of analogical influence on W *drych*. MoBret. *dremm* [f] 'face' probably reflects PCelt. *drixsmā < *drḱ-sm-.

REF: LEIA D-191, DGVB 152, GPC I: 1091, Morris Jones 1913: 76, Deshayes 2003: 178.

***dri-n-g-o-** 'climb, advance' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *dringid, -dring*; *dreisi* [2s Subj.]; *dreblaing* [Pret.]
W: MW *dringo* (GPC *dringo, dringio, dringad*)
PIE: *dreg^{h}- (IEW: 212f., 254)
COGN: Av. *dražaite* 'holds', Gr. *drássomai*, Russ. *deržát'*
REF: KPV 285f., GPC I: 1085, DGVB 152, LIV 126, LP 359, LEIA D-196, McCone 1991: 47.

***dristi-** 'bramble, thornbush' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *driss* [i f] gl. *vepres* 'bramble, briar'
W: OW *drissi* [p], MW *dryssi, drissi* [p] (GPC *drysi, drys*)
BRET: OBret. *drisoc* gl. *drumentum* , MoBret. *drez*
CO: OCo. *dreis* gl. vepres
ETYM: These Celtic words were compared to Gr. *driós* 'bush, coppice', but Schrijver (1995: 410) calls this 'a mere possibility'. In any case, in the absence of comparanda from other IE languages, it is difficult to reconstruct a PIE etymon (perhaps *dris-).
REF: LEIA D-197, GPC I: 1096, Falileyev 50, Schrijver 1995: 410.

***droko-** 'wheel' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *droch* [o m]
PIE: *d^{h}rog^{h}o- 'wheel' (IEW: 273)
COGN: Gr. *trokhós*, Arm. *durgn* 'potter's wheel'
ETYM: The Celtic form might be an independent formation from PIE *d^{h}reg^{h}- 'run' (Gr. *trékhō*, etc.). It is usually interpreted as a thematic derivative of the *phorós*-type, but its voiceless velar is unexplained (we would expect PCelt. *drogo-). Therefore, I think one should start from the PIE root-noun Nom. sg. *d^{h}rōg^{h}s (cf. Arm. *durgn* < *d^{h}rōg^{h}-) / Gen. *d^{h}rog^{h}os, and Celtic simply generalized the voiceless velar realized in the Nom. before final *-s. For a different explanation, see Hamp 1982a.
REF: LEIA D-199, LIV 135, EIEC 640, Hamp 1982a, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 45, Uhlich 2002: 416.

***druko-** 'bad' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *droch-*
W: MW *drwg*
BRET: MBret. *drouk*, MoBret. *droug*
CO: Co. *drog*
GAUL: *Druca, Drucco* [PN]
ETYM: The IE etymology is quite uncertain. One may want to relate PCelt. *druko- to PIE *d^{h}rewg^{h}- 'deceive' (IEW 276, cf. Skt. *drúhyate* 'deceives', OHG *bi-triugan* 'deceive', *gi-trog* 'deceit'). The semantic evolution ('false,

deceitful' > 'bad') is unproblematic, but the voiceless *-k- in Celtic (instead of *-g-) is unexpected. Perhaps we must start from a PIE root-noun *d^hrowg^h-s / *d^hrug^h-os (attested in Skt. *drúh-* 'deceit', Av. *drug-* 'deceit, lie, principle of the Daeuua-world'); the root-final velar would have been regularly devoiced before *-s in the Nom. sg., and thence it could have spread to the oblique cases, hence thematicized PCelt. *druko-. For a similar development cf. PCelt. *gorto- 'enclosure, garden, pen' < PIE *g^hord^h-.
REF: LEIA D-198, GPC I: 1087, Delamarre 149, Deshayes 2003: 204.

***drungo-** 'detachment, troop' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *drong* [o m]
W: MW *dronn* [f] 'multitude, throng, host' (GPC *dron*)
BRET: OBret. *drogn* gl. cetus (coetus)
SEE: *dring-o- 'climb, advance'
ETYM: These Celtic words could be early borrowings from Germanic, as suggested by IEW (252ff.), cf. OE *dryht* 'companion', OHG *truht* 'troop' (otherwise the -u- in the root is unexplained). The Germanic words are related to OCS *drugъ* 'companion', Lith. *draũgas*, etc. The nasal infix might be due to the influence of the verb *dri-n-go- 'advance' (OIr. *dringid* etc.). Lat. *drungus* 'globus hostium' is a loanword from Gaulish (or directly from some Germanic source?).
REF: LEIA D-201, GPC I: 1086, Delamarre 150, DGVB 152, Birkhan 1970: 1042.

***drusli(yo)-** 'fragment' [Noun]
W: MW *dryll* [m] 'broken piece, fragment'
BRET: MBret. *druill*
CO: Co. *dral*
PIE: *d^hrews- 'grind, shatter' (IEW: 274f.)
COGN: OE *drēosan* 'rush, fall, perish', Lith. *druskà* 'salt'
ETYM: If the etymology is correct, the Celtic form is built from the zero-grade of the PIE root with the suffix *-li-.
REF: GPC I: 1095.

***drūto-** 'foolish, lewd' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *drúth* [o] 'professional jester, fool'
W: MW *drut* (GPC *drud*) 'dear, valiant, foolish, foolhardy'
GAUL: *Truti-knos* 'Druti filius' (Todi), Gallo-Latin *drudo- 'dear' > Fr. *dru*
ETYM: W *drud* has an unexpected *u*, rather than *i* < PCelt. *ū. Maybe it was influenced by Gallo-Latin *drudo- and its Romance reflexes, as Pokorny thinks. The only certain correspondence seems to be ON *trúðr* 'juggler, fool'. It remains doubtful whether these words belong together with the words derived from PIE *deru-/*drew- (IEW 215).
REF: LEIA D-205f., GPC I: 1086.

***druwid-** 'priest, druid' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *druí, druï* [d m]
GAUL: *druides* [Nom. p]
ETYM: The second element of this compound is the root of the verb *weyd- 'see, know' (Skt. *véda,* etc.). The first element is presumably PIE *derw-, *dru- 'oak' which metaphorically also meant 'strong, firm'. *druwid- is therefore the priest with 'strong insight'. The Welsh form *derwydd* and OBret. *dorguid* gl. pithonicus are actually parallel formations.
REF: LEIA D-202f., EIEC 598, Delamarre 149.

***druxto-** 'vessel' [Noun]
SEE: *derwo- 'firm (as an oak)'

***dubno-** 'deep' [Adj], 'world' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *domain, doimin* 'deep' [i], OIr. *domun* [o m] 'world'
W: MW *dwfn* 'deep'
BRET: MBret. *doun*
CO: Co. *down*
GAUL: *Dumno-rix* [PN]
PIE: *$d^hewb^{(h)}$- 'deep' (IEW: 267f.)
COGN: OE *dēop*, OCS *dъno* 'bottom', ToB *tapre* 'high', Alb. *det* 'sea'
ETYM: On the relationship of OIr. *domun* 'world' and *domain* 'deep' see Uhlich 1995. The PIE root is often reconstructed as *d^hewb-, but the final voiced stop *b is based only on Germanic evidence; note also that we would expect OCS **dyno from PIE **d^hubno- as the result of Winter's law. Cf. also PCelt. *dubro- 'dark, unclean' which points to PIE *d^hub^h- (Gr. *typhlós* 'blind', etc.).
REF: Stokes 153, LEIA D-163f., GPC I: 1104, EIEC 154, Delamarre 152, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 70, Meid 2005: 141f., Uhlich 1995, Sims-Williams 2006: 72.

***dubro-** 'dark' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *dobur* [o] 'black, unclean'
W: MW *dwfr, dwr* [m] (GPC *dŵr*) 'water'
BRET: MBret. *dour*
CO: Co. *dour*
GAUL: *Dubra, Uerno-dubrum* [Toponym]
PIE: *d^hub^h- 'black' (IEW: 263ff.)
COGN: Go. *daufs* 'deaf', Gr. *typhlós* 'blind'
SEE: *dubu- 'black'
ETYM: OIr. has also the substantivized adjective *dobur* 'water' (DIL D-218), which presumably developed from the syntagm 'dark water', or 'deep water' (cf. PCelt. *dubno- 'deep'). A similar development also occurred in Brittonic, and (probably) Gaulish.

REF: Stokes 153, LEIA D-123, GPC I: 1103f., Delamarre 152, Deshayes 2003: 198f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 228f., Sims-Williams 2006: 72.

***dubu-** 'black' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *dub* [u], Ogam *DOVA-GNI*
W: OW *Dub-*, W *du*
BRET: OBret. *du*, MBret. *duff*, MoBret. *du*
CO: OCo. *duw* gl. niger
GAUL: *Dubis* [Hydronym]
PIE: *d^hub^h- (IEW: 264)
COGN: Gr. *typhlós* 'blind', Go. *daufs*
SEE: *dubro- 'dark, unclean'
ETYM: The Gaulish forms in *-i-* are best derived from a feminine *dubwī built to the stem in *-u-, cf. OIr. (Ogam) CULIDOVI < *Kūlidubwī (with the regular development of *bw > Ogam V, see Uhlich 1989).
REF: LEIA D-210f., EIEC 115, DGVB 153, LHEB 275, Delamarre 152f., Falileyev 51, Campanile 1974: 41, Deshayes 2003: 207, Ziegler 1994: 103.

***duk-o-** 'lead, carry' [Vb]
W: MW *dwyn* (GPC *dwyn, dygyd, dygu*), *dygaf* [1 s Pres.]; *dwc* [3s Pres.]; *duc* [Pret.]
BRET: MBret. *do(u)en* 'carry'
CO: Co. *doen* 'take, bring, steal'
PIE: *dewk- (IEW: 220f.)
COGN: Lat. *dūco* 'lead', Go. *tiuhan* 'pull'
REF: KPV 286ff, LIV 124, GPC I: 1129f.

***dūno-** 'fort, rampart' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dún* [o n]
W: MW *din* [m in Toponyms], *dinas* [m and f]
BRET: OBret. *din* gl. arx, MoBret. *din* [m]
CO: Co. *dyn*
GAUL: *dunum* (in Latin authors), *-dunum* [in PN]
PIE: *d^huHno- 'enclosure' (IEW: 260)
COGN: OE *dūn* 'down, moor, height'
ETYM: Eng. *town*, Germ. *Zaun* etc. presumably represent PGerm. *tūno-, which is an old loanword from Celtic. EIEC 210, following Watkins 1990, relates Celtic *dūno- to Lat. *fūnus* 'burial' (from earlier unattested *'burial mound'). This is a speculation, but not inherently impossible.
REF: Stokes 150, LEIA D-222f., GPC I: 1019, EIEC 210, LHEB 318f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 149f., Delamarre 154f., Deshayes 2003: 187, Birkhan 1970: 232, Watkins 1990, Sims-Williams 2006: 72ff..

***durno-** 'fist' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dorn, dornn* [o m]

W: MW *dwrn* [m]
BRET: OBret. *durn,* MoBret. *dourn*
GAUL: *Dago-durnus* [PN]
ETYM: OFr. *dor*, Pr. *dorn* 'fist' are presumably Gaul. loanwords. The IE etymology of these Celtic words in IEW (203) cannot be accepted (Alb. *dorë* 'hand' is from PIE *ǵ^{h}esr 'hand', Gr. *kheír*, etc.). Probably a loanword from a non-IE language.
REF: Stokes 148, LEIA D-177f., GPC I: 1106, DGVB 153, Delamarre 156.

***dus-** 'bad, ill-' [Prefixed adjective, Adverb]
GOID: OIr. *do-, du-* (e.g. *do-chla* 'inglorious')
W: MW *dy-* (e.g. in *dyfydd* 'gloomy')
PIE: *dus- 'ill-, mis-' (IEW: 227)
COGN: Skt. *duṣ-*, Lat. *dif-ficilis* 'difficult'
ETYM: The lenition after OIr. *do-, du-* is due to the analogy with *so-, *su- < PIE *h$_1$su-. Lat. *difficilis* is from *dus-facilis.
REF: LEIA D-111, Zimmer 1995.

***du(s)bwuyo-** 'gloom, grief' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dubae* [?io n]
W: MW *dyfydd* [m] (IEW: 148)
SEE: *bu-yo- 'be'
ETYM: Cf. also Ogam DOVINIA < *du-bwīnyā (Uhlich 1989).
REF: LEIA D-212, GPC I: 1128, Uhlich 2002: 419.

***dusno-** 'dark, brown' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *donn* [o]
W: MW *dwnn* (GPC *dwn*)
PIE: *d^{h}ews- 'dark'
COGN: Lat. *fuscus* 'dusky', OE *dox* 'dark coloured, dusky'
ETYM: Gaulish names like *Dunnius, Dunnonia* might be related (Delamarre 154). OIr. *donn* 'noble' (IEW 121) is a different word. The Celtic forms can be derived from PIE *d^{h}us-no- (cf. *d^{h}us-wo- > Lat. *furuus* 'dusky').
REF: LEIA D-171, GPC I: 1105, Delamarre 154.

***duxtīr** 'daughter' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *Der-, Dar-* [elements of PN], e.g. *Dar-inill*; *Dechtir* [PN]
GAUL: *duxtir* (Larzac)
CELTIB: *tuateros* [Gen. s] (Botorrita III)
PIE: *d^{h}ugh$_2$tēr 'daughter' (IEW: 277)
COGN: Hieroglyphic Luv. *tuwatar-,* Skt. *duhitár-,* Gr. *thygátēr*, Go. *dauhtar*, Lith. *duktẽ*, OCS *dъšti*, ToB *tkācer,* Arm. *dustr*
ETYM: OIr. *der* [f] 'girl' and *der-* in compounds and PNs (MoIr. *Der-droighen*) is probably the reduced form of the word for 'daughter' in OIr. It

may be an allegro-form of the word. The loss of *x and the development of *a* in Celtiberian *tuateros* (also attested in Nom. pl. *tuateres*) is unexplained.
REF: LEIA D-53, EIEC 148, 393, Delamarre 159, de Bernardo Stempel 1997, MLH V.1: 415ff.

***dwāw** 'two' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *dáu, dóu, dó* [m, Aspirating]; *di, dí* [f, Aspirating]; *da, dá* [n, Nasalizing]
W: OW *dou,* MW *deu* (GPC *dau*); *dwy* [f]
BRET: OBret. *dou, dau,* MBret. *dou*, MoBret. *dow*
CO: Co. *dow, dew*
PIE: *dwoh$_1$ 'two' (IEW: 228f.)
COGN: Lat. *duo*, Skt. *dvā́*, Gr. *dýō*, OE *tū*, Lith. *dù*, OCS *dъva*, Arm. *erku*, ToB *wi*, Alb. *dy*
ETYM: The feminine form of PCelt. *dwāw 'two' was *dwī (< PIE *dw-ih$_1$). This form was shortened in proclisis in OIr., but the vowel length was preserved in the stressed position. Cf. also MIr. *fo-dí* 'twice' < *(ufo-)dwis (Lat. *bis*, Gr. *dís* < PIE *dwis).
REF: LEIA D-6, GPC I: 905, DGVB 151, EIEC 399, Falileyev 49f., Deshayes 2003: 200, Schrijver 1995: 331.

***dwāyo-** 'slow' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *dóe* [io] gl. *tardus* 'slow, sluggish'
PIE: *duh$_2$- 'far, long distance' (IEW: 219f.)
COGN: Skt. *dávīyas-* 'further, more distant', Gr. *dḗn* 'far' (Adv.), Lat. *dūdum* 'some time ago', Arm. *tev* 'duration', perhaps Hitt. *tūwaz* 'from afar'
ETYM: It might also be possible to derive OIr. *dóe* from PCelt. *dāwyo- < PIE *dōwh$_2$-yo- with the lengthened grade of the root (attested in Slavic, cf. Croat. *dâvnī* 'very old, ancient'). In PIE, an ablauting paradigm must be assumed: Nom. sg. *dwōh$_2$-s, Acc. sg. *dweh$_2$-m (cf. Gr. *dḗn* < *dwān), Gen. sg. *duh$_2$-os (cf. Lat. *dū-dum*).
REF: LEIA D-204, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 204, Schrijver 1991: 232.

***dwēblo-** 'double' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *diabul* [o]
PIE: *dwey-plo- 'double' (IEW: 228ff.)
COGN: Go. *tweifls*, Lat. *duplus*
REF: LEIA D-65, GOI 139.

***dweno-** 'strong' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *de(i)n* [o] 'pure, clean, firm, strong'
PIE: *dweno- 'good, favourable' (IEW: 218f.)
COGN: Skt. *dúvas-* 'worship, offering, reverence', OLat. *duenos*, Lat. *bonus* 'good'

ETYM: The meaning of MIr. *dein* is not completely clear according to DIL; it appears to be indeclinable and occurs only in poetry. LEIA (D-49) claims that MIr. *dein* can be just a variant of *dían* 'swift', but this appears less probable because of the semantic difference. Moreover, *dein* appears quite consistently spelled with short *e*, while *é* would be expected. The PIE etymology is tentative; Mayrhofer (s. v. *dúvas-*) derives this word from PIE *deh$_3$- 'give' with the suffix *-w- (PIE *dh$_3$u(w)es-). Although somewhat artificial, such a derivation might also be possible for Italic and Celtic (*dh$_3$u-eno- > *dweno-).
REF: LEIA D-49, EIEC 650, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 454.

***dwī** 'two' (f.) [Num]
SEE: *dwāw 'two'

***dwis** 'twice' [Adverb]
SEE: *dwāw 'two'

***dwītu-** 'loss, destruction' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *díth* [u ?n, m] gl. *detrimentum* 'destruction'
PIE: *d^{h}weh$_1$- 'die' (IEW: 260)
COGN: OHG *tauwen* 'die', OCS *daviti* 'strangle'
ETYM: Lat. *fūnus* 'burial' could also be related (if from *d^{h}uh$_1$nos), but it has also been connected quite persuasively with Hitt. *tuhhus^{zi}* 'to end' (de Vaan 2008: 251).
REF: LEIA D-100, EIEC 150, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 292.

***dwīyot-** 'smoke' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dé* [d f]; *díad* [Gen. s]
PIE: *d^{h}ewh$_2$- 'make smoke, fumigate' (IEW: 261ff.)
COGN: Lat. *suffio* 'fumigate', Lith. dial. *dujà* 'mist', ToB *tweye* 'dust'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *dethach* [ā f] 'smoke' < *dwit-ākā. We should probably start from PIE *d^{h}uh$_2$-yo-, which developed as *d^{h}wīyo-, the immediate proto-form of Lat. *suf-fio* (Kortlandt 2007: 136). In Celtic, a dental suffix was added to this stem, hence PCelt.*dwīyot-.
REF: LEIA D-28, Kortlandt 2007: 136.

***dworā, *duro-, *dworestu-** 'door' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dorus* [u m], *Dor, Dúir* [Toponyms]
W: OW *dor* , MW *dor* [f] (GPC *dôr*), *drws* [m]
BRET: MBret. *dor*
CO: Co. *dor, darat*
GAUL: *Augusto-durum* [Toponym] ('Forum Augusti')
PIE: *dwor- 'door' (IEW: 278)
COGN: Lat. *forēs*, Gr. *thýrā*, ToB *twere*

ETYM: The Celtic forms are actually not easy to subsume under a single etymon. We might be dealing with a PCelt. ablauting paradigm, Nom. sg. *dwār, Acc. *dwor-am (from which we have the Brittonic forms and, with a suffix, OIr. *dorus*, W *drws* < *dwor-es-tu-), Gen. sg. *dur-os (from which we can derive Gaul. *-durum* and the OIr. toponyms *Dor, Duir.*
REF: LEIA D-173, GPC I: 1089, EIEC 98, 168, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 145, 447, Delamarre 156, Falileyev 49, Matasović 2004: 103, 117, Sims-Williams 2006: 75f.

***dwosyo-** 'human being' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *doé, dae* [io? m]
PIE: *d^{h}wes- 'breathe' (IEW: 268ff.)
COGN: Lith. *dūsiù,* OCS *dyšati*, Germ. *Tier* 'animal'
ETYM: Middle Irish *doé* is attested chiefly in poetic texts. A possible parallel in Gaul. is *Dusios* 'a kind of demon, incubus', attested in the works of Lat. writers (e.g. Augustine). See Delamarre 158.
REF: LEIA D-14, Delamarre 158, Lindeman 1999.

E

***ē-** 'this, that' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *é, hé* 'he'; *ed* 'it'
GAUL: *eia* 'she'[f] (Larzac)
PIE: *(h_1)ey- 'that'
COGN: Lat. *is*, OHG *er,* Lith. *jìs*
ETYM: The masculine form of this pronoun is unattested in Gaul. In Insular Celtic, the feminine form (*ī, or *ēyā) was replaced by the pronominal stem *sih_2 > OIr. *sí* 'she'.
REF: EIEC 399, Delamarre 161.

***eburo-** 'yew' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ibar* [o m]
W: MW *efwr, ewr* [m] 'cow parsnip, hog-weed'
BRET: MBret. *heuor, euor*, MoBret. *evor* [Collective]
GAUL: *Eburo-dunum* [Toponym]
CELTIB: ? *Ebur-sunos* [PN]
PIE: *h_1eb^{h}ro- 'yew' (IEW: 334)
COGN: Germ. *Eber-esche,* Alb. dial. *bershe*
SEE: *yewo- 'yew'
ETYM: Cf. also Fr. *bourdaine* (Fr. dial. *bourdaigne*, OFr. *borjaine*) 'alder', perhaps from Gaul. *eburyenā (Gamillscheg 136). PCelt. *eburo- should not

be confused with PCelt. *yewo-, as in EIEC 654. Derivation from PIE *h_1erb^h- 'dark, brown' (Gr. *orphnós*, OE *eorp*, etc.) in IEW (334) is quite speculative.
REF: EIEC 654, Delamarre 159f, Deshayes 2003: 224, Sims-Williams 2006: 78f., MLH V.1: 103.

***ed-o-** 'eat' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ithid, -ith*; *estair, -estar* [Subj.]; *ísaid, -ísa* [Fut.]
PIE: *$h_1$ed- 'eat' (IEW: 287f.)
COGN: Skt. *ádmi*, Gr. *édomai*, Lat. *edo*, Go. *itan*, Hitt. *ēd-*, Lith. *ésti*, OCS *jasti*
ETYM: OIr. *ithid* has *th* (instead of the expected *d) perhaps because of the analogical influence of the nominal forms derived from PCelt. *fitu- 'food' (> OIr. *ith* 'grain'). Some linguists claim that this verb formed a 'Narten' (or lengthened grade) present in Proto-Celtic, in which case the correct reconstruction would be PCelt. *īd- / *ed- (with subsequent leveling to *īd- / *id-). See the discussion in KPV 378ff. for a rather complex explanation of the attested forms. On the other hand, a reduplicated present *h_1i-h_1d- (with the generalized zero-grade of the root from the plural) would also account for the i-vocalism without the need for positing a lengthened grade (the future stem of OIr. *ís-* is from the PIE desiderative *h_1i-h_1d-se-). The root *$h_1$ed- may also be attested in MW *cyfeddach* [m and f] 'feasting, banqueting' < PCelt. *kom-ed-āko-.
REF: KPV 377ff., LIV 230f., GPC IV: 3821, Zimmer 2000: 275.

***efino-** 'right, correct, equal' [Adj]
W: MW *iawn* [m] 'truth, rightness'
BRET: MBret. *effn*, MoBret. *eun* 'right, simple'
CO: Co. *ewn* 'righteous, correct'
PIE: *$h_1$ep-(i)no- 'even' (IEW: 505)
COGN: Go. *ibns* 'flat, even', OHG *eban* 'equal, same'
ETYM: There are some formal difficulties with this etymology; a pre-form *epno-, the exact match of the Germanic words, would presumably develop as *ewno- > *owno- > W **un. Could these words be derived from PIE *$h_1$epi- 'on, by' with the suffix *-no-? The vowel *-i- could have been lost in Germanic through syncope. The type of formation would be parallel to PCelt. *efirom 'behind'.
REF: VKG I: 92, GPC II: 2003, Deshayes 2003: 223, Orel 2003: 82.

***efirom** 'after, behind' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *iar* [Nasalizing, +Dat.]
PIE: *$h_1$epi-, *$h_1$opi- 'near, on' (IEW: 323)
COGN: Skt. *ápi*, Arm. *ev* 'and, also', Alb. *epërë* 'upper'
ETYM: PCelt. *efirom presupposes, first, a nominalized PIE *$h_1$epi-ro-m 'behind', which then became a relational noun, and finally a preposition. The

phonetic development was regular: *$h_1$epiro- > *efiro- > *eyro- > *ēro- > OIr. *iar*. The underived preposition *efi (Gr. *epí*, etc.) is preserved as the preverb of OIr. *iadaid* 'closes' < *efi-dā-.
REF: GOI 516, EIEC 391, McCone 1994: 190.

***ek^{w}ālo-** 'foal' [Noun]
SEE: *ek^{w}o- 'horse'

***ek^{w}o-** 'horse' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ech* [o m], Ogam *EQO-DDI*
W: MW *ebawl* 'foal' [m] (GPC *ebol*)
BRET: OBret. *eb* 'horse', *ebol* 'foal' , MBret. *ebeul* [m]
CO: OCo. *ebol* gl. pullus
GAUL: *Epos* [PN]
CELTIB: *Ekua-laku* [PN] (A.63)
PIE: *$h_1$ék^{w}o- 'horse' (IEW: 301)
COGN: Luv. *assu-*, Skt. *áśva-*, Lat. *equus*, Gr. *híppos*, OE *eoh*, Lith. *ašvà* 'mare', ToB *yakwe*, Arm. *ēš*
ETYM: Gaul. *Equos* 'name of the ninth month' (Coligny) might be an archaic form (with preserved *qu* < *kw), but it might also be a Latin loanword (although this possibility is seldom taken into consideration). The Brit. forms (except OBret. *eb*) are from a derivative *ekwālo- (cf. also Celtib. *ekualaku* and *ekualakos*, which has been interpreted as a Nom. sg. of an adjective 'belonging to *ekuala*'). MoBret. has also the compound *ken-eb* 'pregnant, inseminated mare'.
REF: GPC I: 1156, DGVB 154, EIEC 98, 274, Delamarre 163ff., Campanile 1974: 41, Deshayes 2003: 209, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 43, 219, Zimmer 1987, Ziegler 1994: 103, MLH V.1: 104f.

***elV-** 'swan' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *elu*, MIr. *elae, ela* [? f]
W: MW *alarch* [m and f]; *eleirch, elyrch* [f]
BRET: MoBret. *alarc'h* [m]
CO: OCo. *elerhc* gl. olor .l. cignus, Co. *alargh*
PIE: *$h_1$el- 'swan' (IEW: 304)
COGN: Lat. *olor*
ETYM: The Brittonic forms are derivable from *elarsko- according to Schrijver (1995: 76). W *eleirch* (also PN *Eleirch*) and OCo. *elerhc* are from the feminine *elarskī. The OIr. form might imply PCelt. *elon-, but the oblique cases are not attested, so we cannot be sure if this word was originally an n-stem. If so, the non-operation of Joseph's rule is expected in OIr., while its operation is regular in Brittonic. Russ. *lébed'*, OHG *albiz* 'swan' show what is presumably the same root with the suffix *-b^{h}-, which is common with animal and bird names.

REF: GPC I: 74, EIEC 558, Pedersen I: 40, Campanile 1974: 41, Schrijver 1995: 76.

***elan(t)ī** 'doe, hind' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *elit, ailit* [ī f]
W: MW *elein*, (GPC *elain*) [m and f]
GAUL: *Elantia* [NP]
PIE: *$h_1elh_1nih_2$ 'hind-elk, adult female *Cervus elaphus*' (IEW: 303f.)
COGN: Gr. Hom. *ellós* 'young of the deer', Lith. *álnė*, OCS *lani* 'young of the deer', Arm. *eln* 'deer'
ETYM: The OIr. and Gaul. forms are derivable from PCelt. *elantī, while MW *elain* points to *elanī, with clearer parallels in other languages. Gaul. *elembiu(os)* 'tenth month of the year' (Coligny) is often compared with these words, and interpreted as 'deer month', but I find this rather dubious. If it does belong here, Gaul. *elembiu(os)* contains the same suffix *-b^h- seen in Gr. *élaphos* 'red deer, elk'. MIr. *ell* 'herd', if related, may be from a collective *elnā (with unexpected loss of the laryngeal as in Gr. Hom. *ellós*).
REF: GPC I: 1204, EIEC 155, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 83, Delamarre 161.

***em-o-** 'take' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ar-foím* 'receive, allow'; *ar-a-foíma* [3s Subj. Relative]; *ar-fóet* [Pret.]
PIE: *$h_1$em- 'take' (IEW: 310)
COGN: Lat. *emo* 'take', Lith. *imti* 'take', ORuss. *jati*
ETYM: OIr. *ar-foím* is from *fare-ufo-em-e-; the simplex verb is unattested.
REF: KPV 290ff, LP 360, LIV 236, McCone 1991: 162.

***enātro-** 'entrails, bowels' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *inathar* [o m]
PIE: *$h_1eh_1$tro- 'internal organ'
COGN: Gr. *ẽtor* 'heart', OHG *ādara* 'vein'
ETYM: The OIr. form can be derived from PIE *$h_1$en-$h_1oh_1$tro-, with the o-grade of the root and the prefix *$h_1$en- 'in'.
REF: EIEC 359, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 425.

***enek^{w}o-** 'face' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *enech* [o n], Ogam *INEQA-GLAS* [PN]
W: OW *enep* [m], MW *wyneb*
BRET: OBret. *enep*
CO: OCo. *eneb* gl. pagina
PIE: *$h_1$en-h_3ek^wo- 'face' (IEW: 775ff.)
COGN: Skt. *ánīka-*, Gr. *ṓps, enōpḗ* 'face', OCS *oči* 'eyes'
ETYM: This is an old compound meaning something like 'that on which eyes are located', cf. Skt. *ánīka-* < *$h_1$eni-h_3k^wo-. The PCelt. form

presupposes *$h_1$en-$h_3$ek^{w}o- > *enok^{w}o- > *enek^{w}o- (by vowel assimilation). For the prefix *en- rather than *eni- in PCelt. cf. *enātro- 'entrails, bowels'. For a different explanation see Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 380 (with references).
REF: Pedersen I: 38, DGVB 160, EIEC 188, Falileyev 54, Campanile 1974: 42, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 36, 315, Hamp 1973a, 1974, Ziegler 1994: 104, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 380.

***eni** 'in' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *i* [Nasalizing, +Dat. and +Acc.], Ogam *INI-GENA* 'daughter'
W: OW *in,* MW *yn*
BRET: MBret. *en*
CO: Co. *yn*
PIE: *(h_1)eni 'in' (IEW: 311)
COGN: Gr. *éni, en,* Lat. *in,* Go. *in*
ETYM: For a possible derivation of OIr. *inne* 'essence, quality, middle' [yā f] from PCelt. *en-n-yā (an abstract based on unattested *en-no-), see Lindeman 1999a and cf. Go. *inna* 'inside'.
REF: GOI 521, EIEC 290, 395, Delamarre 163, De Bernardo Falileyev 91, Stempel 1999: 53, Ziegler 1994: 103.

***eni-fedo-** 'position, place' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ined* (DIL *inad*) [o m]
PIE: *(h_1)eni-pedo-, from *pedo- 'track, footprint' (IEW: 791f.)
COGN: Hitt. *pēdan* 'place', Lat. *peda* 'sole', Arm. *het* 'footprint, track'
ETYM: This is a speculative etymology, since OIr. *ined* would be compatible with several PCelt. proto-forms, but the semantic development that has to be assumed is quite unproblematic (cf. Hitt. *pēdan* 'place').
REF: EIEC 595.

***eni-stī** 'island' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *inis* [ī f]
W: MW *ynys* [f]
BRET: OBret. *inis*, MBret. *enes*
CO: Co. *enys*
PIE: *(h_1)eni-sth_2-ih_2
SEE: *stā-tlā 'heel', *si-sta- 'stand'
ETYM: The PCelt. reconstruction is ambiguous and disputed. PCelt. *inistī and *inestī are also possible, but only *enistī makes sense from the PIE point of view. It is derivable from *(h_1)eni-sth_2-ih_2 'that which stands in (the water)', cf. Hamp 1974. For a similar semantic development cf. Lat. *īnsula* < *en-salā 'that which is in the salt (sea)'. For a different opinion, see de Vaan 2008: 306; he rejects the usual derivation of *īnsula* from *en-salā and reckons with the possibility that this word, as well as the Celtic words for 'island', and Gr. *nẽsos*, are loanwords from some non-IE source.

REF: GPC IV: 3819, Schrijver 1995: 277, De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 84, Hamp 1974: 192.

***enter** 'between' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *eter* [Aspirating in MIr., +Acc.]
W: OW *ithr*, MW *ythr*
BRET: OBret. *entr-*, MBret. *intre*
CO: Co. *yntre, ynter*
GAUL: *Entarabo* [Theonym Dat. p]
CELTIB: *entara* (Botorrita I)
PIE: *$h_1$enter 'into, between' (IEW: 313)
COGN: Skt. *antár*, Lat. *inter*, OHG *untar(i)*, Alb. *ndër*
REF: GPC IV: 3872, GOI 510, DGVB 161, EIEC 63, Delamarre 163, Falileyev 98, MLH V.1: 117.

***erbā** 'fallow deer, roedeer' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *erp, eirp, erb* [?n f] gl. dama and gl. capra 'she-goat, doe, roe'
PIE: *$h_1$er- 'lamb, kid' (IEW: 326)
COGN: Umbr. *eriet-* 'ram', Lat. *ariēs* 'ram', Gr. *ériphos* 'young goat, kid'
ETYM: Cf. also Scottish Gaelic *earb* 'roedeer'. According to DIL, OIr. *erp* could be an n-stem, but this is not certain. It is also unclear whether MIr. *ferb(b)* [ā f] 'cow, hind' is also related to this etymon. This poetic word might have a secondary *f-* by confusion with words where the alternation of *f-* and vocalic Anlaut arises in leniting contexts. On the other hand, *ferb* has been compared with Lat. *ueruex* 'ram, wether', but the semantic connection is weak.
REF: EIEC 511, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 77, Mallory & Adams 2006: 141, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 233ff.

***erb-(y)o-** 'entrust, leave (after death)' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *erbaid, -erbai* 'entrusts, commits'
GAUL: *Orbius* [PN]
PIE: *$h_1$erb^h- (IEW: 781f.)
COGN: Lat. *orbus* 'bereft, parentless', Gr. *orphanós*, Go. *arbja* 'inheritance'
SEE: *orbo- 'heir'
ETYM: This etymology is not completely ascertained; OIr. *orb* 'heir' and the nominal forms of IE cognates cited here must be from *$h_1$orb^h-, although some would reconstruct *$h_3$erb^h- for this PIE root (see Weiss 2006).
REF: KPV 293f., Delamarre 243, Weiss 2006.

***eriro-** 'eagle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *irar* [o m] (DIL *ilar*)
W: MW *eryr* [m and f]; *eryrod, eryron* [p]
BRET: MBret. *erer* [m], *er* [m]

CO: OCo. *er*
PIE: *$h_3$er- 'eagle' (IEW: 325f.)
COGN: Hitt. *hāras*-, Gr. *órnis* 'bird', Lith. *erẽlis*, OCS *orьlъ*
ETYM: It is difficult to reconcile the vocalism of the Celtic words with the word-initial *h_3, assured by Hittite. Word-initial *e*- in Lithuanian is due to assimilation *are- > *ere-, but such an explanation cannot hold for Celtic, so maybe the traditional connection with PIE *$h_3$er- is wrong after all, or these words were transformed irregularly for tabooistic reasons. Co. *er* and MoBret. *er* might represent underived PCelt. *ero-. Delamarre thinks that Gaulish names in *Erno*- might be related, but I do not find this very convincing (there is no other evidence for the stem *erno- in Celtic).
REF: GPC I: 1240, EIEC 173, Delamarre 166, Deshayes 2003: 218, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 240.

***errā** 'back, hinder-part, extremity' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *err* [ā f]
PIE: *$h_1$erso- 'rear-end, buttocks' (IEW: 340)
COGN: Hitt. *ārra*- 'rump', Gr. *órros* 'backside', OE *ears* 'arse'
ETYM: I am not sure whether MIr. *err* 'point, spike' is the same word as *err* 'end, tail' as stated by DIL (the semantic connection would be through the meaning 'extremity'). IE cognates point to *$h_1$orso-. Lat. *dorsum* 'back' might also be related, if it is from *tod $h_1$orsom, with false word division. This word is often derived from *dē-uorsum (from *uerto* 'turn'), but we would expect *rs > Lat. *rr* (de Vaan 2008: 180).
REF: EIEC 88, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 60, 77, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 246f.

***es-** 'be' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *is* [3 s Pres. copula]; *am* [1 s Pres. copula]; *it* [3 p Pres. copula]
W: OW *is*, MW *ys* [3s Pres.]; *hint* [3 p Pres.]; *oedd* [Pret.]
BRET: OBret. *is*
CO: Co. *os, oys*
GAUL: *immi* [1s Pres.] (Pennes-Mirabeau)
PIE: *$h_1$es- 'be' (IEW: 340ff.)
COGN: Skt. *ásmi*, Lat. *sum, esse*, Gr. *eimì*, OCS *jesmь*
ETYM: The comparison of OIr. *is: it* with MW *ys : hint* shows that the PCelt. present paradigm had ablaut (3 sg. *esti: 3 pl. *senti).
REF: KPV 295ff., LIV 241f., GPC III: 3740, LP 317-323, RIG II.2: 332f.

***ēskyo-** 'moon' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *éscae, ésca, éisce* [io n, later m]
PIE: *$h_1$eysk- 'shine, glitter' (IEW: 16f.)
COGN: OCS *iskra* 'spark', Lith. *áiškus* 'bright', Russ. *jáska* 'bright star'
ETYM: In OIr., this word replaced the earlier word for moon, *lúan* (see *lowxsnā). Its Baltic and Slavic cognates are usually derived from PIE

*$h_2$eysk-, but on meagre evidence. Actually, it is equally possible to reconstruct an ablauting root *$h_1$eysk- > PCelt. *ēsk-, *$h_1$isk- > OCS *iskra*, *$h_1$oysk- > Russ. *jáska*, Lith. *áiškus*. The acute in BSl. may be the result of a secondary BSl. *vr̥ddhi, or metatony; another possibility would be to* reconstruct the PIE root as *$h_1$eyHsk-, but this root shape would be quite unusual.

***esok-** 'salmon' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *eó, eú* [k m]
W: MW *ehawc* (GPC *eog*) [m]
BRET: MBret. *eheuc*
CO: OCo. *ehoc* gl. isicius
GAUL: *esoks > Lat. *esox* (Pliny)
ETYM: The Brittonic forms were reshaped, and are derivable from *esāko- (on the analogy with the frequent formations in Celt. *-āko-). Basque *izokin* 'salmon' is ultimately a Celtic loanword rather than vice versa.
REF: GPC I: 1225, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 311, Delamarre 167, Campanile 1974: 41.

***eti** 'yet, still, but' [Conjunction]
BRET: OBret. *et-*
GAUL: *eti* (La Graufesenque)
PIE: *$h_1$eti 'beyond' (IEW: 344)
COGN: Lat. *et* 'and', Skt. *áti* 'beyond, over'
ETYM: Gaul. *etic* 'and' (Chamalières) is from *eti-k^{w}e.
REF: Delamarre 168, DGVB 167, Fleuriot 1976-7: 184.

***exs** 'out of, from' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *ess-, ass-, a*
W: MW *ech, eh*
BRET: OBret. *ech*
GAUL: *ex-*
CELTIB: *es, es-*
PIE: *(h_1)eǵ^{h}s (IEW: 292f.)
COGN: Lat. *ex*, Gr. *eks*, Lith. *iš-*, OCS *iz*
REF: GPC I: 1160, DGVB 154, GOI 507ff., Delamarre 169, Ó Flaithearta 1997: 658, MLH V.1: 128.

***exs-obniyā** 'boldness' [Noun]
SEE: *exs-obno- 'fearless'

***exs-obno-** 'fearless' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *essamin*, (DIL *es(s)amain*)
W: MW *ehouyn* (GPC *eofn, eon*)
GAUL: *Exobnus*

SEE: *obnu- 'fear'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *es(s)amnae* [iā f] 'boldness, confidence' < *exsobniyā.
REF: LEIA O-22, GPC I: 1225, Meid 2005: 173.

***extero-** 'without, outside' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *echtar*
W: MW *eithr, eithyr*
SEE: *exs, *extos
REF: GPC I: 1203, GOI 391, Ó Flaithearta 1997.

***extos** 'except, but' [Conjunction, Preposition]
GOID: OIr. *acht*
PIE: *eǵʰs-to- 'out' (IEW 292f.)
COGN: Gr. *ektós*
SEE: *extero- 'without'
REF: LEIA A-11.

F

***fales-** 'rock, stone' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ail* [i and k f] 'boulder, rock, grave-stone, basis'
PIE: *pel- 'stone' (IEW: 807)
COGN: OHG *felis*, ON *fell* 'mountain', Gr. *pélla*
SEE: *fallo- 'cliff'
ETYM: Gaul. Toponym *Alesia, Alisia* might be related, as well as the Celtib. PN *Alizos*, but this latter connection is quite problematic (see Jordán Cólera 1998: 131, Delamarre 39, MLH V.1: 21). The Germanic cognates point to PGerm. *feleza-, which probably presupposes a PIE s-stem *pelos, Gen. sg. *peles-os. However, we might also have an earlier (neuter) root-noun *pels, Gen. sg. *plsos, and Celtic would have generalized the stem of the oblique cases. The development of *Cls- > *Cals- in Celtic is regular, but we would expect *ls > *ll in PCelt., whereas OIr. *ail* is always written with a single *-l*. Another possibility would be to assume an old i-stem *peli-s, Gen. *ply-os, with *plyV- > PCelt. *falyV-, also a regular development. Gr. *pélla* 'stone' is a glossary word (Hesych.), so its form cannot be used as a safe argument in reconstruction (usually *pelsā is assumed). Ultimately from the same root is OIr. *all* 'cliff' < *fallo- < *plso-.
REF: LEIA A-29f., EIEC 548, Delamarre 39, Jordán Cólera 1998: 26, 131, MLH V.1: 21.

***fallo-** 'cliff' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *all* [o or u n]
PIE: *pel-s- 'stone' (IEW: 807)
COGN: ON *fjall* 'rock'
SEE: *(f)ales- 'rock'
ETYM: OIr. *all* can be derived from PIE *plso- regularly; a connection with PIE *plh_1- 'settlement, fortress', Gr. *pólis*, Skt. *pūr* is precluded, since *plh_1o- would give PCelt. *falo- without the geminate (but see also *fales- 'stone'). Skt. *pāṣāṇa-* 'stone' is probably not related (unless one accepts Fortunatov's law in Skt.).
REF: LEIA A-70.

***fal-na-** 'approach, drive' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-ella, -aidlea* 'visit, approach'; *eblaid* [Fut.]
W: MW *el* 'goes' [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *yal* 'goes' [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. *gallas* 'went' [3s Pret.]
PIE: *$pelh_2$- 'approach' (IEW: 801f.)
COGN: Lat. *pello* 'strike, drive', Gr. (Epic) *pílnamai* 'approach', Arm. *elanem* 'exit'
SEE: *ag-o- 'drive'
ETYM: OIr. *ad-ella* is from the compound *ad-fal-na- (the simplex is unattested). OIr. *eblaid* is the suppletive future to *agid* 'drive'; MW *el* is the suppletive present to *mynet* 'go' (GPC *mynd*)
REF: KPV 503ff., LIV 470f., LP 359f., LEIA D-119, McCone 1991: 32.

***falto-** 'joint' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *alt* [o n] 'joint, articulation, state'
PIE: *pol-to- 'fold' (IEW: 802f.)
COGN: Gr. *péplos* 'cloth (in folds)', Alb. *palë* 'fold', OE *fealdan* 'to fold', Croat. *plátno* 'cloth'
ETYM: PCelt. *falto- cannot be from *plto-, from which we would expect *flito-. Could this be an early Germanic loanword (before Grimm's law)? Or was the stem *fal- generalized from other, unattested forms of this root?
REF: LEIA A-63, EIEC 63.

***fanssā** 'footprint' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *és* [ā f] (DIL *éis*) 'track, trace'
PIE: *$peth_2$- 'spread out' (IEW: 824f.)
COGN: Lat. *pando* 'spread out, extend', *pateo* 'be open', *passum* 'step', Gr. *pítnēmi* 'spread out, open'
SEE: *fatamā 'palm of the hand'
ETYM: OIr. *és* is used mostly in prepositional phrases like *ar éis* 'after'. The Gen. sg. is probably attested only in the toponym *Traig Ési*. The PCelt. form can be derived from *pnt-teh_2, which presupposes a nasal present comparable to Lat. *pando* (see Hamp 1981). For the semantic connection

with the root *peth$_2$- 'spread out, broaden', cf. Lat. *passum* 'step'. The same PIE root may be attested in PCelt. *fatamā 'palm of the hand'.
REF: Hamp 1981.

***far-na-** 'bestow' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ernaid, -ern*; *eraid, -era* [Subj.]; *ebraid, -ebra* [Fut.]; *ír* [Pret.]; *rathae, -rath* [Pret. Pass.]
GAUL: *ieuru* 'offered' [3s Pret.] (Alise)
PIE: *perh$_3$- 'bestow, give' (IEW: 817)
COGN: Skt. *pṛṇā́ti* 'gives', Lat. *paro* 'prepare'
ETYM: Cf. OIr. perf. 3. sg. *ro-ír* 'has granted' < *pro-peporh$_3$-e (Isaac 2007: 15, *pace* KPV 509f.).
REF: KPV 508ff., LIV 474f., LEIA R-19f., Delamarre 188f., Lambert 1979.

***farV-** 'prepare' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *aradu* [n f] 'preparation, disposition'
PIE: *perh$_3$- 'bestow' (IEW: 818)
COGN: Lat. *paro* 'furnish, prepare'
SEE: *frato-, *far-na-
ETYM: The MIr. word is a legal term, occurring only in commentaries to Laws. It is compatible with PCelt. *faradū from PIE *perh$_3$-d^{h}ōn, or *perh$_3$-dōn, but the word formation of such a proto-form is unclear (Michiel de Vaan, p.c., compares the Lat. suffix *-dō, -dinis*, Gr. *-dōn, -dnos*). Also related might be W *erthyl* [m] 'abortus, prematurely born infant', if from PCelt. *fari-tlo-. For the development of meaning, cf. Lat. *pario* 'give birth' < *perh$_3$- 'bestow'. On the relationship between Lat. *pario* 'give birth' and *paro* 'prepare, furnish' see de Vaan (2008: 447).
REF: LEIA A-83, LIV 427f., Stüber 1998: 116.

***fare** 'in front of' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *air, ar* [Aspirating, +Acc, +Dat.]
W: MW *ar-, er-*
BRET: MBret. *er-, ar*
GAUL: *Are-morici* [Ethnonym]
CELTIB: *are-korata* [Toponym](A 52)
PIE: *prH(i) 'in front of' (IEW: 810-812)
COGN: Skt. *purā́*, Gr. *pára*, OHG *furi*
ETYM: LEIA A-37 relates the Celt. forms to Gr. *perì*, Go. *faur-*, Lat. *per-* (PIE *peri- 'near'), but this is less probable in light of the vocalism and the meaning; the development *rHV > PCelt. *arV is expected. The Insular Celtic forms are compatible with PCelt. *fari, which could be the original form of this preposition (Loc. sg. of an old root-noun?). However, Gaul. and Celtib. point to *fare, with the final *-e perhaps by analogy with *ande- < *nd^{h}e.

REF: LEIA A-37, GOI 497f., Delamarre 52, Villar 1997: 902, MLH V.1: 36f.

***fare-ber-o-** 'use' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ar-beir*, *-arbeir*, *-arbera* [3 s Pres. Subj.]; *-erbera* [3 s Fut.] 'use, eat, make use of'
W: OW *arber* 'partake of', MW *aruer* 'use' (GPC *arfer, arferu, arferyd*)
SEE: *ber-o- 'carry'
REF: KPV 220, LEIA A-85, GPC I: 193, Falileyev 10

***fare-derko-** 'visible' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *airdirc* 'well-known, obvious, famous'
W: MW *ardderchawg* (GPC *ardderchog*) 'excellent, noble'
BRET: OBret. *erderh* gl. euidentis
SEE: *derk- 'see'
REF: LEIA A-41.

***fare-k^{w}enno-** 'end, extremity' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *airchenn* [o n] 'end, measure of land'
W: MW *arbenn* [m] 'chief'
GAUL: *arepennis* 'semiiugerum'
SEE: *k^{w}enno- 'head'
ETYM: GPC does not note the noun *arbenn*, but it has the derived adjective *arbennig*. Cf. the parallel formations of W *arbennig* 'principal, chief' and OIr. *airchinnech* < *arependīkos.
REF: LEIA A-39, GPC I: 178.

***fare-k^{w}et-** 'spare, have mercy on' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ar-ceissi* 'have mercy on'
W: W *arbed* 'spare, save, preserve, avoid, refrain from'
CO: OCo. *henbidiat* gl. parcus
ETYM: The Irish form presupposes a sigmatic suffix, *k^{w}et-s-, or a generalization of the stem of the passive preterite (*k^{w}et-to- > PCelt. *k^{w}esso-). The root of this compound verb remains mysterious; it is possibly also found in OIr. *ces* 'debility, weakness' (? from 'pitiable state').
REF: LEIA A-38f., GPC I: 177.

***fare-kom-wed-o-** 'prevent, wound' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ar-coat*, *arcói* [Pres. Subj. 3s] 'prevent, hinder'; *-airchós* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *argyweddu* 'injure, damage'
SEE: *wed-o- 'lead'
REF: KPV 656ff., GPC I: 202.

***fare-koro-** 'blow, shot' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *airchor* [o m] 'cast, shot, dart'
W: MW *ergyr* [m] 'thrust, attack'
BRET: OBret. *ercor* gl. ictum, MoBret. *ergor* [m] 'blow'
SEE: *fare-, *koro-
ETYM: Raising in MW *ergyr* must be due to a variant *fare-kori-, or is due to the generalization of the pl. (*fare-korī) .
REF: LEIA C-205, GPC I: 1234, Deshayes 2003: 218.

***fare-kri-ni-** 'fear, perish' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ar-a-chrin* 'perish, pass'; *-cria* [Subj.]; *-cíuir* [Pret.]
W: MW *ergrynu* 'tremble, fear' (GPC *ergryn, egryn*)
SEE: *kri-ni- 'sift, shake'
ETYM: The semantic development of OIr. *ar-a-chrin*, which must have originally meant 'shakes it', to the attested meaning 'perishes' is difficult, but such euphemistic expressions are common in Celtic, cf. PCelt. *bā-, *ba-yo- 'die' < 'go (away)'.
REF: KPV 420ff., GPC I: 1232f.

***fare-mert-o-** 'prepare' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *airmert* [o n] 'preparation, effort, taboo'
W: W *armerth* 'prepare'
BRET: MBret. *armerhein* 'preparation'
REF: LEIA A-47f., GPC I: 208, LP 346.

***fare-sed-** 'charioteer' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *arae* [d m] (DIL *ara*) 'charioteer, messenger'
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the compound *fare-sed-s meant 'the one sitting next (to the warrior)'. For a different interpretation see Campanile 1989.
REF: LEIA A-84, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 168.

***fare-wed-o-** 'lead, bring to' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ar-feid* (DIL *ar-fet*) 'precede, take precedence of'
W: MW *arwein* 'bear, carry' (GPC *arwain, arweddu*)
SEE: *wed-o- 'lead'
REF: KPV 656ff., GPC I: 214.

***fare-wēd-yo-** 'sign' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *airde* [io n] 'sign, token, quality'
W: MW *arwydd* [m and f] 'sign, mark, standard, banner'
BRET: OBret. *aroued-ma* gl. signaculum, MBret. *argoez,* MoBret. *arouez* [m] 'sign, symbol'
SEE: *wēd-o- 'know'
REF: LEIA A-41, GPC I: 216, Deshayes 2003: 74..

***fare-xtu-** 'conversation, assembly, meeting' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *airecht* [u m] 'assembly'
W: MW *areith* [f] 'conversation' (GPC *araith*)
BRET: MoBret. *areih* (Vannetais) 'dispute'
CO: Co. *areth*
ETYM: I think it is possible to derive these Celtic words from the PIE root *h_2eǵ- 'say' (Lat. *aio*, Arm. *asem*, IEW 290f., LIV 228) and the PCelt. prefix *fare-. In Celtic we would have the zero-grade of the root and the abstract-building suffix *-tu-, i. e. *h_2ǵ-tu-.
REF: LEIA A-43, GPC I: 176.

***far-sko-** 'ask, plead' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *arcaid, -airc*; *reiss, -ré* [Subj.]; *ibrais, -ibair* [Fut.]; *arcair* [Pret.]
W: OW *erchim*, MW *erchi*; *archaf* [1s Pres.]; *erchis* [3s Pret.]; *erchit* [Impersonal]
BRET: MBret. *archaff* [1s Pres.], MoBret. *arc'hiñ* 'request'
CO: Co. *erghi*
PIE: *preḱ- 'ask' (IEW: 821f.)
COGN: Skt. *pṛccháti*, Lat. *precor, posco*, Go. *fraihnan*, OHG *farscon*, Lith. *piršti* 'to arrange a marriage', OCS *prositi*, ToB *pärk-*, Arm. *harc^{c}anem*
ETYM: The cluster *-ksk- in *prḱsḱ- was dissimilated to *prsk- (perhaps already in PIE), hence regularly *parsk- > PCelt. *farsk-.
REF: KPV 511ff., LIV 490f., LEIA A-86, GPC I: 179, Deshayes 2003: 71, LHEB 582, Falileyev 56, Schrijver 1995: 350.

***fāsto-** 'growth' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ás* [o n > m]
PIE: *peh$_2$-s- 'herd, protect' (IEW: 787)
COGN: Lat. *pāsco* 'feed, pasture', Hitt. *pahhaszi* 'keeps, protects', OCS *pasti, pasetъ*
ETYM: Cf. the denominative verb OIr. *ásaid, fásaid* (with unetymological *f-*) 'grows'. A difficult etymology in light of the fact that OIr. *ás* can go back to a great number of PCelt. and PIE root-forms, so the possibility of chance correspondence is significant. If the etymology proposed here is correct, we must start from PIE *peh$_2$s-to- 'what is herded and fed' > 'growth'. Note the absence of shortening by Dybo's law.
REF: LEIA A-92f.

***fatamā** 'palm of the hand, talon' [Noun]
W: MW *adaf* [f] 'hand, talon'
PIE: *peth$_2$- 'open' (IEW: 824)
COGN: Lat. *pateo* 'be open', Gr. *pítnēmi* 'open, spread out'
SEE: *fanssā 'footprint'

ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the formation of this PCelt. word would be similar to the one in *al-amo- 'herd, flock'. The a-vocalism in the root is due to epenthesis, as in Lat. *pateo* < *pt-eh$_1$-.
REF: GPC I: 11.

***fatar** / Gen. ***fatanos, *fetnos** 'wing, bird' [Noun]
W: OW *atar* 'birds', MW *adar* [p]; *aderyn, ederyn* [Singulative]; *adein* [f] (GPC *adain*) 'wing'
BRET: OBret. *attanoc* gl. aligeris
PIE: *potr / *ptn-os 'wing'
COGN: Hitt. *pattar*, Skt. *pátra-*, Gr. *pterón*, Lat. *penna*
SEE: *fet-no- 'bird'
ETYM: PCelt. probably preserved the old PIE heterocliton which meant 'wing', but the meaning was changed to 'bird' (i. e. 'the winged one'). Later, but still in PCelt., a new noun stem was formed from the oblique cases (*fetno-), which is the origin of OIr. *én* 'bird', W *edn*, cf. also W *adain* 'wing' < *patanī. OIr. *áith* 'wing', sometimes adduced as related to this PCelt. etymon, probably does not exist (*áith* 'drying kiln' is a different word).
REF: LEIA A-53f., GPC I: 12, EIEC 646, Falileyev 12.

***fatīr** 'father' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *athir, athair* [r m]
GAUL: *atrebo* [Dat p] (RIG L-15)
PIE: *ph$_2$tēr 'father' (IEW: 829)
COGN: Skt. *pitár-*, Gr. *patḗr*, Lat. *pater*, ToB *pācer*, Go. *fadar*, Arm. *hayr*
SEE: *fatriyo- 'paternal'
REF: LEIA A-100, EIEC100, 194, Lambert 1994: 16, McCone 1994a.

***fatnā** 'drinking vessel' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *án* [ā f]
PIE: *poth$_2$r / *pth$_2$nos 'shallow dish, plate'
COGN: Hitt. *pattar* 'basket made of wicker or reed', Gr. *patánē* 'plate'
ETYM: Another possibility, suggested by LEIA A-72, is to derive MIr. *án* from PCelt. *fā-nā, and relate it to PIE *peh$_3$- 'drink' (Skt. *píbati*, Lat. *bibo*, OCS *piti*, etc.), cf. PCelt. *fib-o-.
REF: LEIA A-72, EIEC 443, Matasović 2004: 116.

***fatriyo-** 'paternal' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *aithre* [io m] 'paternal family'
W: MW *edrydd* [m] 'paternal domain, abode, descent'
SEE: *fatīr 'father'
REF: LEIA A-100, GPC I: 1168, EIEC 195.

***fedo-** 'space, distance' [Noun]

SEE: *fod- 'foot'

***fedon-** 'birthpangs' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *idu* [n f] 'pain, birthpangs'
PIE: *ped- (?)
COGN: Go. *fita* [1 sg. Pres.] 'give birth to'
ETYM: Another etymology, proposed by Schindler (1975) and repeated by EIEC and others, is slightly less probable. It presupposes a PIE heterocliton *$h_1$edwol/n- 'pain, evil' > PCelt. *edwon- (IEW 287ff., cf. Hitt. *idālu-* 'evil', Luv. *āddduwa-* 'evil', Gr. *odýnē* 'pain', Arm. *erkn* 'birthpangs', ToB *yolo* 'evil'); however, the cluster *dw would give OIr. *db (cf. *fedb* 'widow' < *widwā), and most of the putative cognates can be explained otherwise (see Kloekhorst, s. v. *idālu-*).
REF: EIEC 413, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 115, Schindler 1975, Matasović 2004: 123, Stüber 1998: 118f., Lehmann 118.

***feno-** 'moor, swamp' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *en* 'water'
W: W *en-wyn* [m] 'buttermilk'
GAUL: *anam* gl. paludem (Endlicher's Glossary, 9)
PIE: *pen- 'mud' (IEW: 807f.)
COGN: Go. *fani* 'mud', OPr. *pannean* 'moor, muddy field'
ETYM: MIr. *en* is a glossary word, but *en-* 'water' is attested as a first member of compounds, e.g. *en-glas* 'watery milk'. There is also MIr. *enach* [s n] 'swamp' (< *fenākos). The hydronym *Enos* (> *Inn* in Austria) is probably from the same PCelt. form. Gaul. *anam* cannot be derived from *fenā by the regular vowel assimilation, since Joseph's rule did not apply for long *ā (cf. *benā 'woman' > OIr. *ben*). This also applies to MIr. *an* [? ā f] 'water, urine'. The a-vocalism of these forms might point to PIE *pn-Ho- (perhaps with the possessive suffix *-h_3o-), but this is clearly *ad hoc*. The etymology that connects the name of the Roman province of *Pannonia* with these words is possible, but rather speculative (see Meid 2005).
REF: GPC I: 1224, Delamarre 43f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 151, Meid 2005: 19.

***fenākos-** 'swamp' [Noun]
SEE: *feno- 'moor, swamp'

***ferikā** 'concubine' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *airech* [ā f]
PIE: *perikeh$_2$ 'female servant?'
COGN: Av. *pairikā* 'witch', ? Lat. *Parcae* 'the Fates'
ETYM: A rather speculative etymology. MIr. *airech* is a legal term for a type of concubine. PIE *perikeh$_2$ may be derived from *peri- 'around', so

the original meaning could have been 'one that is around' (A. Lubotsky, p.c.).
REF: LEIA A-43, de Bernardo Stempel 313.

***ferissā** 'religion, belief' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *iress* [ā f] 'belief'
PIE: *peri- 'about, before', *d^heh_1- 'do, make, put'
ETYM: PCelt. *feri-ssā presupposes PIE *peri-dh_1-teh_2. EIEC derives OIr. *iress* from *peri-$steh_2$- (from the root *$steh_2$- 'stand'), and compares Parthian *parast* 'ardor', but I believe the semantic connection with the root *d^heh_1- is better (cf. Skt. *dhāman-* 'law').
REF: EIEC 61.

***ferko-** 'perch' [Noun], 'speckled' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *erc* [o m] 'perch, salmon', Ogam. *ERCA*
PIE: *perḱ- 'color', *perḱ-no- 'speckled (fish)' (IEW: 821)
COGN: Gr. *perknós* 'freckled, red', OHG *ferhana* 'trout'.
ETYM: The original meaning of this substantivized adjective, 'speckled', may be preserved in Ogam PN *ERCA*.
REF: LEIA O-28, EIEC 537, 634, EIEC 113, Ziegler 1994: 104.

***feruti** 'last year' [Adverb]
GOID: OIr. *innuraid* (DIL *uraid*)
PIE: *per-uti [Loc. s] 'last year', *wet- 'year' (IEW: 1175)
COGN: Skt. *par-út* 'last year', Gr. *pérysi,* Arm. *heru*
ETYM: OIr. *inn-uraid* might reflect the PCelt. Accusative sg. *ferut-en, rather than Loc./Dat. s *feruti, if McCone 1996: 101 is right. However, an original locative sg. makes better sense in an expression of time.
REF: GOI 52, McCone 1996: 101, Kortlandt 2007: 92f.

***fēsko-** 'fish' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *íasc* [o m]
PIE: *pi(ḱ)sḱo- 'trout, fish' (IEW: 796)
COGN: Lat. *piscis*, OE *fisc*
ETYM: W river-name *Wysg* could reflect *fēskā (Sims-Williams 2006: 80). Cf. also Gaul. river-name *Isca*, which would be from *fiskā. The vocalism of OIr. *íasc* requires that we start from PIE *pey(ḱ)sḱo- (the cluster *ksk may have been dissimilated to *sk as in *prḱsḱ- : > PCelt. *farsk- 'ask').
REF: EIEC 604, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 43, 523, Sims-Williams 2006: 80f.

***fesskūtā** '(leather) boot, shoe'
W: MW *esgid* [f]
CO: Co. *eskit, eskys*
PIE: *ped- 'foot', *skuHto- 'hide, wrap' (IEW: 951ff.)

COGN: Gr. *skŷtos* 'leather, hide', Lith. *kiáutas* 'case, cover', OHG *hūt* 'hide'
SEE: *kuti- 'sack, scrotum'
ETYM: This word is an old compound, 'foot-leather', PIE *ped-skuHto-. Celtic and Greek point to a variant of the root with s-mobile. The same root is attested in Celtic as *kuti- 'sack, scrotum'. Note that Dybo's law did not operate in this compound.
REF: GPC I: 1242, EIEC 134, Kortlandt 1981.

***fet-no-** 'bird' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *én* [o, m]
W: MW *edn* [m]; *ednod* [p]
BRET: MBret. *ezn*, MoBret. *evn* [m]
CO: Co. *hethen, ethen*
GAUL: *Etnosus* [Theonym]
PIE: *pet- 'fly' (IEW: 825f.)
SEE: *fatar 'bird'
ETYM: The thematic stem *fetno- is presumably generalized from the oblique cases of the old heterocliton *fatar, Gen. sg. *fetnos (perhaps later reshaped as Gen. sg. *fatanos).
REF: KPV 515, GPC I: 1166f, EIEC 646, Falileyev 12, Delamarre 168, Deshayes 2003: 223, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 254.

***fet-o-** 'fly' [Vb]
W: MW *ehedec*; *ehet* [3s Pres.]
PIE: *pet- 'fly' (IEW: 825f.)
SEE: *fet-no- 'bird'
ETYM: MW *ehedec* < *exs-fet-o-. LIV reconstructs this root as *peth$_2$-, KPV without the laryngeal. In Celtic, there is no evidence for a laryngeal, cf. PCelt. *fet-no- (rather than *fetano-).
REF: KPV 515, LIV 479.

***fētu-** '(grass-)land, territory' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *íath* [u n] 'land, territory'
PIE: *peyH-tu- 'prairy, rich grassland' (IEW: 793)
COGN: Gr. *poíē* 'grass', Lith. *pieva* 'meadow'
SEE: *fīweryon- 'earth, soil'
ETYM: The name of the Gaulish tribe *Heluētiī* could be a compound *felu-ētyo- '*Die Landreichen*' (see Delamarre 168). The PCelt. form is from PIE *peyh$_2$-tu-. The laryngeal is reconstructed on the basis of the acute in Lithuanian, which means that this root has to be separated from *peyt- 'feed' (cf. *fitu- 'food'). It is probably the same root as in PCelt. *fīweryon- 'earth, soil' < *piHwer-.
REF: Delamarre 168, Widmer 2004.

***fextu-** 'breast' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ucht* [u n?]
PIE: *pektu- 'breast' (IEW: 792)
COGN: Lat. *pectus*
ETYM: In the prehistory of the OIr. word, we must assume an assimilation *fextu- > *fuxtu-, in which case the Celtic proto-form would be parallel to Lat. *pectus*. Otherwise, we might start from the o-grade in PCelt. (*foxtu-) with the regular raising in OIr.; however, the o-grade is unexprected in a stem in *-tu- (at least in Celtic). The etymology found in IEW (848), deriving *ucht* from PIE *pup-tu- (cf. Latv. *pups* 'woman's breast') is less probable.
REF: LEIA U-14f., EIEC 518.

***fib-o-** 'drink' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ibid, -ib*; *ebaid, -eba* [Subj.]; *ibaid, -iba* [Fut.]; *ibis, -ib* [Pret.]; *ibthe, -ibed* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *yuet*; *yf* [3s Pres.] (GPC *yfed*)
BRET: MBret. *euaff, yvet*
CO: Co. *eva, eve*
GAUL: *ibetis* [2p Impv. or Ind.]
PIE: *peh$_3$(y)- 'drink' (IEW: 839f.)
COGN: Skt. *píbati*, Lat. *bibo*, Gr. *pínō*, OCS *piti*
ETYM: Cf. also Gaul. theonym *Ibosus* (CIL XIII 1370), which might be from the same root. In OW, the form *iben* is attested (Juvencus 3). It is the 1 pl. imperfect. For the possibility that this PCelt. verb originally had athematic i-inflexion (Kortlandt 2007: 137), cf. *ar-yo- 'plough'.
REF: KPV 516ff., GPC III: 3751, LIV 462f., LP 373, RIG II.2: 349f., EIEC 98, 175, Delamarre 187, Falileyev 89.

***filu-** 'many' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *il*
PIE: *pelh$_1$u- 'much' (IEW: 800)
COGN: Skt. *purú-*, OE *fela* 'much', Gr. *polýs* 'much'
ETYM: Celtic, together with Germanic, preserves the e-grade of this root, while Skt. shows the zero-grade, and Greek the o-grade. The original ablaut pattern of this adjective in PIE is disputed (Nom. sg. *pelh$_1$u-s, Acc. sg. *polh$_1$u-m, Gen. sg. *plh$_1$w-os?).
REF: EIEC 3, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 92, 532ff.

***fīsselo-** 'low' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *ísel* [o]
W: OW *isel*, MW *isel*
BRET: OBret. *isel* gl. imum, MBret. *isel*
CO: Co. *yssel*
SEE: *fīssu-

ETYM: This is obviously an adjectival derivative from the same form of the PIE root for 'foot' as PCelt. *fīssu- 'under'; it may have been influenced by *owxselo- 'high'.
REF: GPC II: 2033, DGVB 232, Falileyev 97.

***fīssu-** 'under' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *ís* [+Dat.] 'below, under'
W: OW *is*, MW *is*
BRET: OBret. *is*, MBret. *is*
PIE: *ped- 'foot' (IEW: 790)
COGN: Hitt. *pāt-, pat-*, Skt. *pād-*, Lat. *pēs*, Gr. *poús*, OE *fēt* [p], Arm. *otn*
SEE: *fod-
ETYM: This OIr. form is usually derived from PIE Locative pl. of the word for 'foot' (*pēdsu), but the lengthened grade is unexpected. The length in OCS *pěšь* 'on foot' is probably due to Winter's law, and Alb. *posh-të* 'under' does not reflect the original *pēds-, but is rather borrowed from Lat. *post* (Demiraj 1997: 329f). Perhaps it is better to assume that the length spread in Celtic from the Nom. sg. of the root-noun (cf. Lat. *pēs*), although a vṛddhi formation*pēdsV- cannot be excluded.
REF: GPC II: 2031, EIEC 208f., DGVB 230, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 31, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 532.

***fītu-** 'food' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ith* [u n] 'grain'
W: OW *it*
BRET: MBret. *et*, MoBret. *ed* [m]
PIE: *peytu-/*pitu- 'food' (IEW: 793f.)
COGN: Skt. *pitú-*, OCS *pišta* 'meal', Lith. *piẽtūs* 'meal'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *ithe* 'eating' < *fit-yā. The short vowel in Skt. and Celtic, and the circumflex in Lithuanian show that there was no laryngeal in this root. The accentuation of Croat. *pȉtati* 'feed' points either to a secondary Slavic vṛddhi, or to a laryngeal root in PIE (perhaps through the influence of *piH-wo- 'fat' (Skt. *pīvas-*, Gr. *pī́ōn*), cf. PCelt. *fētu- 'grassland, territory' and *fīweryon- 'earth, soil'.
REF: EIEC 208, Deshayes 2003: 210, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 292.

***fīweryon-** 'earth, soil' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *íriu* [n f]
PIE: *piHwer-/n- 'thick, fat' (IEW: 793)
COGN: Skt. *pī́van-* 'thick, fat', Gr. *pī́ōn*, f. *pī́eira* 'fat, fruitful, rich'
SEE: *fētu- 'grassland, teritory'
ETYM: The Irish (and Welsh) name of Ireland, *Ériu*, W *Iwerddon*, might also be related, if the original meaning of this toponym was 'fruitful, fertile'. However, there are difficulties with this etymology, and there are alternative ones (see Stüber 1998: 96).

REF: GPC II: 2025, Schrijver 1995: 288, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 114, Stüber 1998: 95ff.

***flāmā** 'palm, hand' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lám* [ā f]
W: OW *lau* [f], MW *llaw*
BRET: OBret. *lom-*
CO: OCo. *lof* gl. manus
GAUL: *Lama-tutus* [PN]
PIE: *plh$_2$meh$_2$ 'palm, hand' (IEW: 73)
COGN: Lat. *palma*, Gr. *palámē*
SEE: *flāro- 'floor'
ETYM: In OBret. *lom-* appears only in compounds and in PN *Dreho-lom*, cf. also W *llof-* in *llof-rudd* 'murderer' (<'having red hands'). The PIE root is presumably the same as in *flāro- 'floor' and *flātro- 'position, layer'.
REF: GPC II: 2104, DGVB 246, EIEC 255, Delamarre 195, Falileyev 100, Campanile 1974: 73, De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 247, 532, 573.

***flāno-** 'full' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *lán* [o]
W: MW *llawn*
BRET: OBret. *dacr-lon* 'full of tears', MBret. and MoBret. *leun*
CO: Co. *luen, leun*
GAUL: *Uisu-lanius* [PN]
PIE: *plh$_1$no- 'full' (IEW: 799)
COGN: Skt. *pūrṇá-*, Lat. *plēnus*, Go. *fulls*
ETYM: The vowel length in *flāno- should somehow be analogical, because the root vowel should have been shortened by Dybo's law (cf. the accent in Skt. *pūrṇá-*). A source of analogy may have been PCelt. *flīnu- (OIr. *lín* [u m and n] 'full number, complement') from the same root (PIE *pleh$_1$nu-, cf. Lat. *plēnus*), cf. also the denominative verb OIr. *línaid* 'fills' < *flīn-ā-.
REF: GPC II: 2112, DGVB 246, EIEC 206, 214, Delamarre 196f., Deshayes 2003: 461, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 388, 456.

***flāro-** 'floor' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lár* [o n] 'ground, surface, middle'
W: OW *laur* 'floor', MW *llaur, llawr* [m]
BRET: OBret. *lor* gl. solum
CO: OCo. *lor* gl. pauimentum
PIE: *pelh$_2$- 'flat, to spread' (IEW: 806)
COGN: OE *flōr* 'floor', Lat. *plānus* 'flat, even'
SEE: *flātro- 'position, layer'

ETYM: The closest equivalent of the Celtic forms is found in Germanic, where OE *flōr* is from *flōruz < *pleh$_2$-ru-. Lat. *plānus* perhaps points to the existence of a PIE heteroclitic, *pleh$_2$r / *plh$_2$nos 'floor'.
REF: GPC II: 2118, DGVB 247, Falileyev 101, LHEB 287, GPC 2118, Campanile 1974: 74.

***flātro-** 'position, (flat) layer' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *láthar* [o m]
W: W *llawdr* [m and f] 'trousers'
BRET: MoBret. *loer* 'sock'
CO: OCo. *loder* gl. caliga
ETYM: If the etymology is correct, the development of meaning in Brittonic is surprising. The PIE root is *pelh$_2$- 'flat, to spread' (IEW: 806, cf. Lat. *plānus* 'flat, even'), as in *flāro- 'floor'.
REF: GPC II: 2117, Schrijver 1995: 251f., Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 562f.

***flēd-o-** 'succeed' [Vb]
W: MW *llwyddaw* (GPC *llwydd(i)o*)
PIE: *pleyd- 'attempt'
COGN: OE *flītan,* OHG *flīzan* 'attempt, try hard'
ETYM: This verbal root is not found in LIV; it is attested only in Germanic and Celtic.
REF: GPC II: 2242, KPV 521f.

***flenstu-** 'light' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *lés* [u m] 'light, daylight'
PIE: *(s)plend- 'shine' (IEW: 987)
COGN: Lat. *splendeo*, perhaps ToAB *plāntā-* 'rejoice'
ETYM: DIL considers *lés* as a borrowing from ON *ljós*. The OIr. reflex should be derived from the full grade in PIE (*plend-tu-), with the productive abstract-building suffix *-tu-; the zero-grade of the PIE root (*plnd-tu-) would presumably yield PCelt. *flanstu- > **lás.
REF: EIEC 514, LIV 530.

***flēto-** 'gray' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *líath* [o]
W: MW *llwyd*
BRET: OBret. *loit,* MBret. *loet*, MoBret. *loued*
CO: Co. *loys*
GAUL: *Flētisamā > *Louesme* [Toponym]
PIE: *pelHi- 'gray' (IEW: 805)
COGN: Skt. *palitá-* 'grey', Lat. *pallidus* 'pale', Gr. *pelitnós* 'pale, greyish', OHG *falo* 'faded', Lith. *pìlkas* 'grey', *pálšas* 'pale'
ETYM: The laryngeal in this root is suggested by the acute in Lithuanian, but cf. also Lith. *palvas* 'light yellow' (if it is from the same root). The

Celtic forms presuppose PIE *pley(H)-to-, while other languages show reflexes of *pel(H)i-to- (Skt.), *pel(H)i-tno- (Gr.), so *Schwebeablaut* must be assumed.
REF: GPC II: 2239, DGVB 246, Delamarre 200, Deshayes 2003: 476, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 372, 441.

***fletro-** 'hide, leather' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *lethar* [o m]
W: MW *lledr* [m]
BRET: MBret. *lezr*, MoBret. *ler*
PIE: *pel- 'to skin' (IEW 803f.)
COGN: Lat. *pellis* 'skin', OE *fell* 'hide', Russ. *plená* 'membrane'
ETYM: The Germanic words for 'leather' (OHG *leadar, leder*) are prehistoric loanwords from Celtic. The Celtic forms presuppose the zero-grade of the PIE root (*pl-etro-), with the unusual form of the suffix *-etro- (rather than *-tro-), cf. Russ. *plená* < *pl-en-eh$_2$.
REF: GPC II: 2136, Mallory & Adams 2006: 181.

***fletyo-** 'shoulder, shoulder blade' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *leithe* [io m]
PIE: *pleth$_2$-yo- 'shoulder' (IEW: 833f.)
COGN: OCS *plešte*, Hitt. *paltana-*
SEE: *flitano- 'broad'
ETYM: Trivially derived from the root *pleth$_2$- 'broad' (cf. the Gr. name *Plátōn*, originally 'broad-shouldered'). The Celtic word shows a remarkable parallelism in formation with Slavic.
REF: Mallory & Adams 2006: 180f., Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 565.

***flikkā** '(flat) stone' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lecc* [ā f] '(sepulcral) plate, stone, flat slab of rock'
W: MW *llech* [f] 'slate, slab of stone'
BRET: MoBret. *lec'h*
CO: Co. *lehan*
GAUL: *Are-lica* [Toponym]
PIE: *plkeh$_2$ 'flat surface' (IEW: 831f.)
COGN: Gr. *pláks* 'flat stone', ON *flá*
REF: GPC II: 2123, Delamarre 201, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 178, 508ff.

***fli-nu-** 'flow' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-lin*
PIE: *pleh$_1$- 'be full, fill' (IEW: 798f.)
COGN: Skt. *pṛṇā́ti* 'fill', Arm. *lnum*
SEE: *flānos 'full'
ETYM: OIr. *do-lin* < *to-fli-nu- (the simplex is unattested). In EIEC, the OIr. verb is related rather to PIE *leyH- 'set in motion, pour' (Lat. *lītus*

'beach', OCS *liti* 'pour', Lith. *líeti*, etc., IEW 664ff.), which is also a possiblity.
REF: KPV 524f., LIV 482f., LEIA D-161, EIEC 506.

***flitano-**, ***flitawī** [f] 'broad' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *lethan* [o]
W: MW *llydan* 'broad'; OW *Litau* 'Brittany', W *Llydaw* 'id.'
BRET: OBret. *litan,* MoBret. *ledan*; OBret. *Letau* 'Brittany'
CO: Co. *ledan*
GAUL: *Litana (silua)* [Toponym], *Litaui* [Theonym]
PIE: *plth$_2$u- 'broad', *plth$_2$wih$_2$ 'the broad one' [f] (IEW: 806, 833)
COGN: Skt. *pṛthivī́-* 'earth', Gr. *Plátaia* [Toponym]
SEE: *fletyo- 'shoulder, shoulder-blade'
ETYM: Celtib. *litanokum* is sometimes adduced as a derivative from PCelt. *flitano-, but the meaning of this form is uncertain (most probably it is a family name). The PIE form was *plth$_2$u- m., *plth$_2$wih$_2$ f. (cf. Gr. *platýs, plateîa*). PCelt. *flitawī directly represents the feminine form, while *flitano- is from the derived *plth$_2$-no- (cf. Hitt. *paltana-* 'shoulder').
REF: GPC II: 2251, DGVB 244, EIEC 98, Delamarre 204, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 91, 532ff., Sims-Williams 2006: 85f., MLH V.1: 225.

***flittV-** 'pap, porridge' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *littiu* [n f]
W: MW *llith* [m] 'food, nourishment, bait'
PIE: *polt- / *plt-os 'pap, porridge' (IEW: 802)
COGN: Lat. *puls, pultis*, Gr. *póltos*
ETYM: If the etymology assumed here is correct, the Celtic forms are derived from the zero-grade of the root attested in Lat. *puls*. There is, however, another possibility (see Stüber 1998: 127). MIr. *littiu* is sometimes spelled *lichtiu*, so it could also be a derivative of *ligid* 'licks', PCelt. *lixtyon-. If so, MW *llith* would be from the participle *lixto-. On the other hand, the agreement in meaning with Lat. is compelling, and the MIr. form *lichtiu* could be due to the analogical influence of *ligid.*
REF: GPC II: 2188, EIEC 441, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 110, 512ff., Stüber 1998: 127.

***flowdyo-** 'lead' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *lúaide* [io m]
PIE: *plowd^{h}o- 'lead'
COGN: Lat. *plumbum*
ETYM: The Germanic words for 'lead' (OE *lēad*, etc.) are early borrowings from Celtic, and Gr. *mólybdos* is probably unrelated. The Italic and Celtic words are presumably also loanwords from some unknown source. De Vaan (2008: 474) mentions the possibility of a connection with Berber *būldūn 'lead'.

REF: EIEC 347, De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 468.

***flowyo-, *flowyā** 'rudder' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *luí* [iā f] 'rudder, tail'
W: MW *llyw* [m] 'rudder, tail, leader, pilot'
BRET: MoBret. *lewier* [m] 'pilot'
CO: OCo. *leu* gl. clauus, Co. *lew*
PIE: *plew- 'swim, float'
COGN: Skt. *plávate*, Gr. *pléō*, Eng. *flow*
ETYM: The primary meaning in Celtic seems to be 'rudder', originally 'floater', vel. sim. The meanings 'tail' and 'pilot, leader' are metaphorical extensions.
REF: GPC II: 2287, Pedersen I: 61f., Deshayes 2003: 463, Hamp 1997.

***fod-** 'foot' [Noun]
GAUL: *ades* 'feet' (Hesych., presumably Galatian), Gallo-Latin *cant-edon* '100 feet' (Isidore of Seville)
PIE: *pod- 'foot' (IEW: 790)
COGN: Hitt. *pāt-, pat-*, Skt. *pād-*, Lat. *pēs*, Gr. *poús*, Arm. *otn*
SEE: *fīssu 'under'
ETYM: Although the reflexes are scarcely attested, the reconstruction of the Celtic word for 'foot' seems reasonably certain. It is difficult to see how the Hesychian gloss could represent anything else than the Galatian word for 'foot', with the regular development *pōd- > *ād-*. The diverging vocalism of *cant-edon* presumably shows that the word had an ablauting paradigm in PCelt. (Nom. *fād-s, Gen. *fed-os, etc.). The e-grade may be attested in MIr. *ed* [o n] 'space, distance' < PCelt. *fedo-.
REF: Hamp 1975.

***folkā** 'arable land' [Noun]
GAUL: Gaul. *olca > Lat. *olca* (Gregory of Tours)
PIE: *polḱeh$_2$ 'plowed field' (IEW: 850)
COGN: OHG *felga*, Russ. *polosá*
ETYM: Although cognates in Goidelic and Brittonic are not attested, the absence of word-initial *p- shows that this word is inherited in Celtic, and the PIE reconstruction is straightforward. However, this root is limited to the NW Indo-European dialects.
REF: Delamarre 240, Oettinger 2003: 190.

***folno-** 'great, vast' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *oll*
PIE: *polh$_1$- (IEW: 798ff.)
COGN: Gr. *polýs* 'many'
ETYM: This etymon should not be confused with *olyo- 'whole'. Gaul. *ollon* (Chamalières), *Ollo-gnatus* [PN] probably belong to that etymon. The

loss of laryngeal in PCelt. *folno- can be regular after *oR (de Saussure's law); the o-grade of the root is attested in Greek.
REF: LEIA O-20f., Delamarre 241.

***fondos-** 'stone' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ond* [s n]
PIE: *(s)pondos 'weight' (IEW: 988)
COGN: Lat. *pondus* 'weight'
ETYM: This is a poetic word in OIr., preserved chiefly in glossaries. If the etymology is correct, both Lat. *pondus* and OIr. *ond* are derived from the underlying verb *(s)pend- 'hang' (Lat. *pendo*, Russ. *pjad'* 'span').
REF: LEIA O-23f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 143.

***forko-** 'pork, young pig' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *orc* [o m]
PIE: *porḱo- 'young pig, piglet' (IEW: 841)
COGN: Khot. *pā'sa*, Lat. *porcus*, Lith. *paršas*, Croat. *prâse*
ETYM: OIr. *orc* is a poetic word, attested chiefly in glossaries. The name of the Orkneys is probably from the same PCelt. root.
REF: LEIA O-28, LP26, EIEC 100, 425, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44, Hamp 1986.

***foro-** 'edge, limit' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *or* [o m]
W: MW *or* [f] (GPC *ôr*)
BRET: OBret. *orion* gl. oram, MoBret. *or*
CO: Co. *or*
PIE: *per- 'pass through' (IEW: 816f.)
COGN: Lat. *portāre* 'lead, carry', Gr. *poreúō* 'bring, carry', OHG *faran* 'travel'
ETYM: The Celtic words for 'edge, limit' are thematic nouns derived from the verbal root 'to pass, traverse'; we should start from the thematic *nomen actionis* *póros 'a traversing' which then changed its meaning to 'limit, boundary', cf. also Gr. *póros* 'ford, path'.
REF: LEIA O-26, GPC III: 2561, DGVB 277.

***fotlo-** 'drink, act of drinking' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ól, óol* [o n]
PIE: *peh$_3$- 'drink' (IEW: 840)
COGN: Lat. *pōculum* 'chalice', Gr. *pósis* 'drink'
SEE: *fib-o- 'drink'
ETYM: The vowel *o in Celtic is unexpected, as the PIE laryngeal should have yielded *a between consonants. It is probably due to an early analogy with the full grade (*eh$_3$ > *ō > PCelt. *ā), or to vowel assimilation (*fatlo-

> *fotlo-), or to Dybo's law (*peh$_3$-tló- > *pōtló- > *potlo-). Original *peh$_3$-tlo-would presumably have given OIr. **ál.
REF: LEIA O-19, LIV 417f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 302.

***fowino-** 'foam, froth' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *úan*
W: MW *ewyn* [m]
BRET: MBret. *eon*, MoBret. *ewon* [Collective]
CO: Co. *ewon*
ETYM: MIr. *úan* is attested late, so the original inflection and gender are unknown. Though a truly convincing etymology is lacking, one could relate these words either to PIE *pew(H)- 'pus' (Lat. *pūs*, Lith. *pūliai*), IEW 848f., or to *pews- 'swell' (Lat. *pustula* 'blister, bubble', Russ. *púxnut'* 'swell'). If the latter comparison is correct, one should rather reconstruct PCelt. *fows-ino-. The e-vocalism in Brittonic is the result of Umlaut (*owin > MW *ewyn*, cf. W *gwerin* < *worīna 'troop').
REF: LEIA U-7, GPC I: 1265, Deshayes 2003: 224.

***fowmosnā** 'skin' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *úamann* [ā f]
PIE: *powm- 'body hair'
COGN: Lat. *pūbēs* 'adult', Skt. *púmān-* 'man, male', perhaps Lith. (dial.) *paustìs* 'animal fur'
ETYM: Since this word is very rare in MIr. (occurring only in poetic texts of rather late date, such as *Togail Troí*), this etymology is quite speculative.
REF: LEIA U-7, EIEC 469.

***fowtu-** 'fear' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *úath* [u ?m] 'horror, fear'
W: MW *uthr* 'terrible'
BRET: MBret. *euz*, MoBret. *euzh* [m] 'horror'
CO: Co. *uth* 'horror'
PIE: *pew- 'fear' (IEW: 73)
COGN: Lat. *paueo, pauor*
ETYM: While other Celtic reflexes seem to come from PIE *pow-tu-, W *uthr* represents *pow-tro-. Lat. *paueo, pauor* do not presuppose PIE *ph$_2$ew-, but rather *pow-, with *ow > *au* by Thurneysen-Havet's law. McCone 1992b connects these words with W *ofn*, MIr. *omun* 'fear' (< *fowno-), but here a different etymology is proposed (cf. PCelt. *obno-).
REF: LEIA U-11, GPC III: 3721, Delamarre 170, Deshayes 2003: 223, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 291, McCone 1992b.

***frasnā** 'part' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rann* [ā f]
W: OW *rann* [f] 'share', MW *ran, rann* [f] (GPC *rhan*)

BRET: OBret. *rannou* gl. partimonia, MBret. *rann*
CO: Co. *ran*
PIE: *perh$_3$- 'bestow' (IEW: 817)
COGN: Lat. *pars* 'part'
SEE: *far-na- 'bestow'
ETYM: OW hapax *guorenniou* 'fractions, subdivisions' is from *ufo-frasno- (Falileyev 73). PCelt. *ra instead of *ar from the syllabic PIE *r can be due to the 'liquid metathesis' between a labial and a dental cluster (*prsn > *farsn- > *frasn-), or to analogy with *frato-, where *ā was shortened by Dybo's law. For the derivation of Lat. *pars* from PIE *perh$_3$- 'bear, provide' see de Vaan 2008: 448.
REF: LEIA R-7, GPC III: 3035f., DGVB 293, Falileyev 73, GPC 3035, Schrijver 1995: 135.

***frati-** 'fern' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *raith* [i f]
W: W *rhedyn* [p]; *rhedynen* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *reden, radenenn*, MoBret. *raden* [Collective]
CO: OCo. *reden* gl. filex, MoCo. *redanan*
GAUL: *ratis* (Marcellus of Bordeaux),*Ratiate* [Toponym] > Fr. *Rézé*
PIE: *perHt- 'fern' (IEW: 850)
COGN: Lith. *papártis*, Germ. *Farn*
ETYM: If these Celt. words are indeed connected to the PIE root *perHt-, we must assume shortening from *frāti- (? by Dybo's law). The laryngeal is implied by the accentuation in Lith. Germ. *Farn* and the related Germanic words point to *porH-no-. Kluge (s. v. *Farn*) and Meid (1996: 23f.) relate these words for 'fern' to PIE *ptero- 'wing' (Gr. *pterón*) and compare Gr. *pterís* 'fern', but this is difficult: the word for 'wing' shows no trace of a laryngeal (cf. also Lith. *sparnas* 'wing', with circumflex). The connection with Skt. *párpata-* 'medicinal herb' is disputed. This word is attested late and shows no evidence for a laryngeal (Mayrhofer, s. v. *párpata-* claims that etymology is unknown).
REF: LEIA R-4f., GPC III: 3046, Delamarre 254, Deshayes 2003: 609, Meid 1996: 23f.

***frāti-** 'fort, rampart' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ráth, ráith* [i an o, m and f]
W: MW *bedd-rawd* [m and f] 'cemetery' (GPC *beddrod*)
BRET: MBret. *bez-ret* 'cemetery'
GAUL: *ratin* [Acc.] (RIG L-3, Le Vieux-Poitiers), *Argento-rate* [Toponym]
PIE: *preh$_2$t-i- 'field' (IEW: 843)
COGN: Lat. *prātum* 'field'
ETYM: The reconstruction here is based on the comparison with Lat. *prātum* 'field', but this has been contested on semantic grounds (de Vaan 2008: 487). McCone (1996: 52) prefers the derivation of the Celtic forms

from *h_2rh_3-ti-, from the root *h_2erh_3- 'to plow' (cf. PCelt. *ar-yo-). If this is correct, the PCelt. form would be *rāti-, and the original meaning would be 'a dugout, a digging'.
REF: LEIA R-9, GPC I: 268, Delamarre 243, McCone 1996: 52, Sims-Williams 2006: 98f.

***frato-** 'grace, virtue, good fortune' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rath* [o n]
W: OW *rat* [m], MW *rat* (GPC *rhad*)
BRET: OBret. *Rad-(uueten)* [PN]
CO: Co. *ras*
SEE: *far-na- 'bestow'
ETYM: These nouns are probably related to the root of *far-na- 'bestow' (OIr. *ernaid,* etc.). Gaul. PN *Su-ratus* may contain the same root. The PIE form (maybe an old passive participle meaning 'bestowed, given') would be *prh_3tó-. This would first have yielded PCelt. *frātó-, and then *frato- by Dybo's law.
REF: LEIA R-8, GPC III: 2995, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 442.

***freswo-** 'strong cold' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *reód, réud* [o m] 'hoar-frost'
W: MW *rew* [m] 'frost, ice' (GPC *rhew*)
BRET: MBret. *re(a)u*, MoBret. *rew* [m]
CO: OCo. *reu* gl. gelum, MoCo. *reaw*
PIE: *prews- 'freeze' (IEW: 846)
COGN: Skt. *pruṣvā́-* 'drops of dew', Lat. *pruīna* 'hoarfrost', Go. *frius* 'hoarfrost'
ETYM: The attested forms can be reconciled with PIE *prews- only if one assumes a metathesis (*ws > *sw), but even in that case the reconstruction of the PCelt. form remains difficult. OIr. *reód* may be from a derived stem *freswoto-.
REF: LEIA R-24f., GPC III: 3063, Deshayes 2003: 625, EIEC 287.

***frikkā** 'fart' [Noun]
W: W *rhech* [f]
PIE: *perd- 'fart' (IEW: 819)
COGN: Lat. *pēdo,* Gr. *pérdiks* 'partridge', Eng. *fart*, OCS *prъděti*
ETYM: PCelt. *frikkā arose by assimilation from *prid-kā < PIE *prd-keh_2, which shows the zero-grade of the PIE root *perd- 'fart'.
REF: GPC III: 3042.

***frikā** 'furrow' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *etarche* [iā f], also *etrige, eitre*
W: MW *rych* [m and f] (GPC *rhych*)
BRET: OBret. *rec* gl. sulco, MoBret. *re* [Collective]

GAUL: *rikā > OFr. *roie*, Fr. *raie*
PIE: *prkeh$_2$ 'furrow' (IEW: 821)
COGN: Lat. *porca,* OHG *furuh*
ETYM: MIr. *etarche* [iā f] is from *enter-frikyā. If Lith. *peršėti* 'to ache' is also related, we should reconstruct the PIE root *perḱ- 'to dig'.
REF: GPC III: 3125, EIEC 215, Delamarre 257, Deshayes 2003: 616.

***fritu-** 'ford' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *Humar-rith* [Toponym]
W: OW *rit,* W *rhyd* [m]
BRET: OBret. *rit* gl. uadum
CO: OCo. *rid* gl. vadum, Co. *red*
GAUL: *Ritu-magus* [Toponym]
PIE: *prtu- 'ford' (IEW: 817)
COGN: Lat. *portus* 'port', OE *ford*
SEE: *foro- 'edge, limit'
REF: LEIA R-34, GPC III: 3126, Delamarre 259, Sims-Williams 2006: 103f.

***frixtu-** 'form, appearance' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *richt* [u m]
W: MW *rith* [m] (GPC *rhith*) 'species, form, aspect'
BRET: OBret. *(ar)rith* gl. penace .i. imago
PIE: *prep- 'appear' (IEW: 845)
COGN: Gr. *prépō* 'appear', Arm. *erewim* 'be evident, appear', perhaps OHG *furben* 'to clear'
ETYM: The PCelt. form presupposes PIE *prp-tu-. The zero-grade of the root is expected.
REF: LEIA R-29, GPC III: 3080f., EIEC 25.

***friyo-** 'free' [Adj]
W: W *rhydd*
BRET: OBret. *rid*
CO: OCo. *benen rid* gl. femina
PIE: *priHo- 'dear, free' (IEW: 844)
COGN: Skt. *priyá-,* Go. *freis* 'free', OCS *prijati* 'be appealing to'
ETYM: Some Gaul. names with the element *Rio-* (e.g. *Riotalus*) might be related to this root, rather than to *rīg- 'king' (Delamarre 258).
REF: GPC III: 3127, EIEC 214, 358, Delamarre 258f., Benveniste 1969: 325ff.

***fro-ank-o-** 'reach' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ro-ic, -ric* 'reach'
W: MW *renghi, rynghu* 'reach, satisfy, please' (GPC *rhyngu, rhangu, rhengi*); *reingk* [3 s pres.]

BRET: MBret. *ranquout, rencout* 'must'
SEE: *ank-o-
REF: KPV 200ff., GPC III: 3139

***fro-bowdo-** 'notice, warning' [Noun]
SEE: *bu-n-do- 'proclaim, give notice'

***fro-gus-o-** 'choice' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rogu* [indecl. n] 'choice'
PIE: *gews- 'taste, enjoy' (IEW: 399)
COGN: Skt. *jóṣat* 'enjoy' [3s Subj. Aor.], Lat. *gusto*, OHG *kiosan*
ETYM: There are other words derived from the root *gews- in OIr., with different prefixes: *forgu* 'choice', *digu* 'not chosen, refuse, worst', etc., but the simplex is not preserved.
REF: LEIA R-40.

***fromo-** 'soon' [Adverb]
GOID: MIr. *rom* 'early, too soon'
PIE: *pro-mo- 'first, leading'
COGN: Gr. *prómos* 'leader', Umbr. *promom* [Adverb] 'firstly'
ETYM: Quite a speculative etymology, since there is also the possibility that MIr. *rom* is from *fro-moxs, where *moxs means 'early' (Lat. *mox*, see PCelt. *moxs).
REF: LEIA R-41f.

***frosto-** 'height, elevated land, (wooded) hill' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *ros* [o m] 'wood, height'
W: MW *ros* [f] 'flat and uncultivated land, moor' (GPC *rhos*)
BRET: MBret. *ros*, MoBret. *roz*
CO: Co. *Rose, Roose* [Toponyms]
PIE: *pro-sth$_2$o- 'protruding' (?) (IEW: 1005)
COGN: Skt. *prastha-* 'elevated land'
ETYM: Cf. also Lat. *postis* 'door-post' < *pr-sth$_2$-i-. The same PIE root is attested in other compounds. OIr. *iress* 'faith' has been derived from PCelt. *fare-sistā < PIE *peri-si-steh$_2$-, but a different etymology is proposed here (see *ferissā). The parallelism in word formation with Skt. *prastha-* is probably accidental, since that word is attested late in Skt.
REF: LEIA R-43, GPC III: 3096, Uhlich 2002: 415, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 638.

***fstr-ew-** 'sneeze' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *sreod* [o m] (DIL *sreód*)
W: MW *trev, ystrew* [m]
BRET: MBret. *strefia, strevia* 'to sneeze'
PIE: *pster- 'sneeze' (IEW: 847)

COGN: Lat. *sternuo*, Gr. *ptárnymai*, Arm. *p^{c}ṙnem* 'sneeze'
ETYM: Cf. also MIr. *srennid* 'snorts, snores' (verbal noun *sreim*). Although these words are related, their exact relationships are unclear. The Irish forms might eventually be from an original tu-stem, with the zero-grade of the root (PCelt. *fstri-tu-).
REF: LEIA S-185, GPC III: 3866, EIEC 133, LIV 446, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 451ff.

***ful-V-** 'beard' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *ul* [?]
GAUL: *Ulatos* [PN]
PIE: *pul- 'body hair' (IEW: 850)
COGN: Skt. *pulaka-*, Gr. *pýligges* [p]
ETYM: Delamarre (323) prefers to relate Gaul. *Ulatos* (etc.) to PCelt. *wlāti- 'ruler', which is also a possibility. Skt. *pulaka-* is attested very late and it is uncertain whether it belongs here (see Mayrhofer s. v. *pulastí-*). Rieken (1999: 377) connects Hitt. ^{SIG}*pūttar* 'hairy part of animal's body' and reconstructs the PIE root as *pew-/*pu-, but Kloekhorst (2008: 683) finds this etymology too speculative.
REF: LEIA U-23, Delamarre 323, Mallory & Adams 2006: 177.

***fūro-** 'fresh' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *úr* [o] 'fresh, fair, bright, green'
W: MW *ir* 'verdant, green, sappy'
PIE: *puh$_2$-ro- 'pure, clean' (IEW: 827)
COGN: Lat. *pūrus*, Skt. *pūtá-* 'purified', *pávate* 'becomes clean', OHG *fouwen* 'to sieve, sift'
ETYM: The PIE root is presumably the same as in *peh$_2$wr 'fire' (Hitt. *pahhur*, Gr. *pȳr*, etc.), so the original meaning of *puh$_2$ro- would have been 'purified by fire'; however, many linguists doubt the connection and reconstruct the root as *pewH- 'purify' (e.g. Mayrhofer, s. v. *PAV^{1}*). Note, however, that adjectives in *-ro- were usually end-stressed in PIE, so we would expect PCelt. *pūró- > *furo- (MIr. **ur) by Dybo's law.
REF: LP 26, LIV 432, LEIA U-26f., EIEC 109, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 135, 138, 229.

***futro-** 'ill' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *othar* [o] 'ill', *othar* [o n, later m] 'illness, pain'
PIE: *pewH- 'rot, decay' (IEW: 849)
COGN: Lat. *puter* 'rotten', Skt. *puvas-* 'pus', Gr. *pýos* 'pus', OIc. *fúinn* 'rotten'
ETYM: Short *u in Celtic is presumably due to Dybo's shortening in pretonic position, i. e. PIE *puHtró- > PCelt. *futro-.
REF: LEIA O-36.

***fuxtākā** 'pine' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *ochtach* [ā f]
PIE: *pewḱs 'pine' (IEW: 828)
COGN: Gr. *peúkē,* OHG *fiuhta* 'fir', Lith. *pušìs*
ETYM: The Proto-Celtic form presupposes the zero-grade of the root in PIE (*puḱ-, cf. Lith. *pušìs*). The word formation is unclear (note the dental suffix also in OHG *fiuhta*).
REF: LEIA O-7, EIEC 428, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 554.

G^w

***g^{w}an-o-** 'strike, kill' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *gonaid, -goin; gonaid, -gona* [Subj.]; *gignid, gignea* [Fut.]; *geguin* [Pret.]; *gétae, -gét* [Part. Pass.]
W: MW *gwan* 'hit, injure'; *gwant* [Pret.] (GPC *gwanu, gwân*)
BRET: MBret. *goanaff,* MoBret. *gwanañ* 'punish'
CO: Co. *gwana* 'pierce'
PIE: *g^{wh}en- 'strike, slay' (IEW: 491-493)
COGN: Hitt. *kue(n)zi*, Skt. *han-*, Gr. *theínō*, Lat. *dē-fendo* 'defend', Lith. *gìnti* 'defend, protect', OCS *gъnati* 'chase'
ETYM: Celtib. PN *GUANDOS* has been interpreted as a derivative from this root, but this is mere speculation. The o-vocalism in OIr. *gonaid* is the result of the regular rounding after the initial *g^w-, cf. the same development in *g^{w}ariyā 'duty'.
REF: KPV 363ff., LIV 218f., GPC II: 1572, LP 372, Deshayes 2003: 298, EIEC 549.

***g^{w}ariyā** [Noun] 'duty'
GOID: OIr. *goire* [iā f] 'filial duty'
W: MW *gwared* [m] 'deliverance, relief'
BRET: MBret. *gored*
CO: Co. *gweres* 'help'
PIE: *g^{wh}er- 'burn' (IEW: 493ff.)
SEE: *g^{w}er-o-
ETYM: These words are formed with the regular Celtic reflex of the zero-grade of the root *g^{w}er- 'burn' (with the development of *-Cry- > *-Cary-). For the development *g^{w}a- > OIr. *go-* cf. *g^{w}an-o- 'strike' (McCone 1996). Cf. also W *gwâr* 'tame, civilized' and OIr. *gor* [o] 'pious, dutiful', which may be derived from thematic *g^{w}oro- < *g^{wh}oro-.
REF: GPC II: 1581f., McCone 1996: 41, Hamp 1996, Schrijver 1996.

***g^{w}ed-yo-** 'ask, plead, pray' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *guidid, -guid*; *geiss, gé* [Subj.]; *gigis, -gig* [Fut.]; *gáid* [Pret.]
W: MW *imguodant*
GAUL: *uediiumi* [1s Pres.] (Chamalières)
PIE: *g^{wh}ed^{h}- 'wish' (IEW: 488)
COGN: Gr. *pothéō* 'wish', Go. *bidjan*
ETYM: MW *imguodant* < *ambi-g^{w}od-o-. The Celtiberian family name *kuezontikum* (Botorrita III, IV-36) might reflect the Celtib. reflex of this root (Villar 1997: 908). Gaul. *uediiumi* has also been connected to *wed- 'bind' (Fleuriot 1976-7); since it is a hapax, many interpretations are possible, but 'I pray' makes more sense than 'I bind' in the context of the Chamalières inscription. For the possibility that this verb (and the whole OIr. BII class of present stems) originally had athematic i-inflection see *ar-yo- 'plough' and cf. Kortlandt 2007: 137.
REF: KPV 369ff., LIV 217, LP 373, EIEC 62, 98, 449, Cowgill 1980, Lambert 1994: 150-159, RIG II.2: 550ff., Delamarre 309f., Villar 1997: 908, Fleuriot 1976-7: 178, MLH V.1: 206f.

***g^{w}el-o-** 'graze, eat' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *geilid, -geil*; *gelaid, -gela* [Subj.]; *gilt, -gelt* [Pret.]
SEE: *g^{w}eltā 'grass'
ETYM: The reconstruction of the PIE root from which this etymon developed is not generally agreed upon; Arm. *klanem* 'swallow', Russ. *glotat'* 'swallow', Lat. *gluttio* 'devour' point to PIE *glew- (IEW 365), which might be onomatopoetic (cf. also Lat. *gula* 'throat'). OE *ceole*, Germ. *Kehle* 'throat' might contain the reflex of PIE *gel-, but if OIr. *gelid* is related to the word for 'grass', the Celtic proto-form must be from the root with initial *g^{wh}-, since PIE *g^{w} > PCelt. *b. However, a PIE root *g^{wh}el- with a comparable meaning does not seem to exist.
REF: KPV 371f., LIV 217f., LP 369, EIEC 349.

***g^{w}elti-** 'madman, lunatic' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *geilt* 'lunatic, panic-stricken fugitive from battle'
W: MW *gwyllt* (GPC *gwyllt, gwyll*) 'wild'
BRET: OBret. *gueld-enes* gl. 'insula indomita'
CO: OCo. *asen guill* gl. onager, Co. *gwyls, guyls* 'wild'
PIE: *g^{wh}el-
COGN: Go. *wilþeis* 'wild', OHG *wildi*
ETYM: These words certainly do not belong to the same root as the PIE word for 'wool', as claimed by IEW (1139f.). There is also no reason to believe that OIr. *geilt* was borrowed from Brittonic. The Germanic parallels are usually taken to be from PIE *wel-t-, but *g^{wh} > Germanic *w- is also possible (cf., e.g., OHG *warm* 'warm' < *g^{wh}ormo-, cf. Skt. *gharmá-* 'heat', Lat. *formus* 'warm', see Bjorvand & Lindeman 2000: 1023f.).

REF: GPC II: 1766f., DGVB 187, McCone 1991: 39, Morris-Jones 1931: 131.

***g^{w}eltā** 'grass' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *geilt* 'grazing' [ā, f]
W: MW *gwellt* [m] 'grass'
BRET: OBret. *gueltiocion* gl. 'fenosa'
CO: Co. *gwels* 'grass'
SEE: *g^{w}el-o- 'graze'
REF: GPC II: 1632f., KPV 372, DGVB 188, LP 28, Sims-Williams 1982: 228f.

***g^{w}eno-** 'smile' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gen* [o n]
W: MW *gwen* [f] (GPC *gwên*)
BRET: MoBret. *gwen-c'hoarzin* 'to smile'
ETYM: According to DIL, OIr. *gen* was originally an u-stem, but this is difficult in the light of the vocalism (**giun would be expected from *g^{w}enu). MW *gwen* probably represents the collective (Nom. pl. neuter) *g^{w}enā.
REF: GPC II: 1634., Schrijver 1995: 38, Schrijver 1999.

***g^{w}er-o-** 'warm up, heat' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *geirid, -geir*; *geraid, -gera* [Subj.]; *girt, -gert* [Pret.]
PIE: *g^{wh}er- 'heat' (IEW: 493-495)
COGN: Gr. *théromai,* Go. *brinnan* 'burn'
ETYM: MIr. *guirid* 'to warm' represents the causative from the same root, PIE *g^{wh}oreye- > PCelt. *g^{w}orī- (cf. also W *gori* 'brood, sit (of hen)', MoBret. *goriñ*) 'to warm'. Nominal derivatives from this root include OIr. *gorn* 'fire' (< *g^{w}orno-, cf. Lat. *fornus* 'oven'), and possibly *goirt* 'bitter' < *g^{w}orti- (if the meaning developed from 'hot', cf. the same range of meaning of Eng. *hot*).
REF: KPV 372f., LIV 219f., LP 369.

***g^{w}ered-** 'animal fat, tallow' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *geir* [d f]
W: MW *gwer* (GPC *gwêr*) [m]
ETYM: A derivation from the root *g^{wh}er- 'warm, heat' (IEW 493, cf. Skt. *háras-* 'heat') is possible, in principle, but there is no semantic connection. A PCelt. stem *gere- would also be regularly derivable form a PIE compound *ǵ^{h}wer-h$_{1}$ep- 'beast-fat' (cf. Lat. *ferus* 'wild', OCS *zvěrъ* 'beast', Gr. *thḗr* 'beast', and Lat. *ad-eps* 'suet, lard', Hitt. *apuzzi* 'animal fat, tallow', ToB *op* 'fatness'). However, this appears highly artificial.
REF: GPC II: 1642.

***g^{w}orno-** 'fire' [Noun]
SEE: *g^{w}er-o- 'warm up, heat'

***g^{w}oro-** 'pious' [Adj]
SEE: *g^{w}ariyā 'duty'

***g^{w}orti-** 'bitter' [Adj]
SEE: *g^{w}er-o- 'warm up, heat'

***g^{w}rensnā** 'sun' [Noun]
SEE: *g^{w}rīns- / *g^{w}renso- 'heat'

***g^{w}rensu-** 'zeal, work, practice'
SEE: *g^{w}rīns- / *g^{w}renso- 'heat'

***g^{w}rīns- / *g^{w}renso-** 'heat' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *grīs* [ā f] 'heat, glow, embers'
W: MW *gwres* [m] 'heat (of the sun, fire), passion, lust'
PIE: *g^{wh}renso- 'warm' (IEW: 495)
COGN: Skt. *ghraṃsá-* 'heat of the sun'
ETYM: OIr. *grís* must represent a reflex of PCelt. *g^{w}rīnso-, with the lengthened grade (expected in the Nom. sg. of an original root noun). It appears probable that OIr. *grían* [ā f] 'sun' should be derived from PCelt. *g^{w}rensnā > Primitive Irish *g^{w}rēnā (Matasović *to appear*). This fits well with the semantics of Skt. *ghraṃsá-*. The PIE root is *g^{wh}er- 'be hot' (Gr. *thermós* etc.). Gaul. *Grannos* (a name of Apollo) probably also belongs here, cf. Delamarre 183. Finally, OIr. *grés* [u m] 'handicraft, needlework, work of art, practice' may represent PCelt. *g^{w}rensu- (the development of meaning would have been from 'heat' to 'zeal' and 'work', cf. also MIr. *grésach* 'lasting, habitual').
REF: GPC II: 1706, EIEC 263, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 260f.

G

***gablo/ā-** 'fork, forked branch' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gabul* [o m and ā f]
W: MW *gafl* [f]
BRET: OBret. *gabl*, MoBret. *gaol* [f]
GAUL: *(Ciuitas) Gabalum* (> Fr. *le Gévaudon*) [Toponym]
PIE: *g^{h}ab^{h}lo- 'fork, branch of tree' (IEW: 409)
COGN: OE *gafol,* OHG *gabal* 'fork'

ETYM: In OW, there is the adjective *gablau* 'split open, forked' (Falileyev 59). Lat. *gabalus* 'a kind of gallows' (occurring in Varro) might be from the Gaulish reflex of the same word, cf. also Gallo-Latin *gabalottus 'spear' > Fr. *javelot, javeline* (Gamillscheg 546). The only correspondences to these Celtic words are attested in Germanic (although PGerm. *gablaz could be a Celtic loanword). However, it appears possible that these words should be related to PIE *g^hHb^h- 'have, hold' (PCelt. *gab-yo-). If not, they are probably non-IE loanwords.
REF: GPC II: 1370, DGVB 173, Pedersen I: 39, EIEC 209, Deshayes 2003: 266, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 224, 227, Delamarre 172f., Falileyev 59.

***gabro-** 'he-goat' [Noun]; ***gabrā** 'she-goat'
GOID: OIr. *gabor* [o m] gl. caper
W: MW *gauar* (GPC *gafr*) [f] 'goat, she-goat'
BRET: OBret. *gabr,* MoBret. *gaor*
CO: OCo. *gauar* gl. capra
GAUL: *Gabro-magus* [Toponym] 'Goatfield', *Gabrus* [PN]
PIE: *kapr 'he-goat' (IEW: 529)
COGN: ON *hafr* 'he-goat', Gr. *kápros* 'boar', Lat. *caper* 'buck', perhaps Skt. *kápṛth* 'penis'
ETYM: Cf. also Fr. dial. *garron*, Pr. *gabre* 'male partridge' < Gaul. *gabro- (according to Gamillscheg 470). The voicing *pr > *br in PCelt. is regular, but the initial *g-, rather than *k-, remains unaccounted for. It could be due to assimilation in voicing (with *-b-), or the result of influence of another word for 'buck', PIE *g^haydo- (Lat. *haedus*, Eng. *goat*), which is, however, unattested in Celtic.
REF: GPC II: 1370f., LP 39, EIEC 507, Delamarre 173f., Campanile 1974: 48, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44, Schrijver 1995: 353, 460, Sims-Williams 2006: 79f.

***gab-yo-** 'take, hold' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *gaibid, -gaib*; *-gaba* [Subj.]; *-géba* [Fut.]; *gabais, -gab* [Pret.], *-gabad* [Pret. Pass.]
W: OW *ad-gabael,* MW *caffael* 'get, receive', *keiff* [3s Pres.]; *cauas* [Pret.]
BRET: MBret. *caffout*
CO: OCo. *gauael* gl. prehensio
GAUL: *gabi* [2s Impv.] ?*Gabiae* [Theonym]
CELTIB: *kabizeti* [3s] (Botorrita I)
PIE: *g^hHb^h- (IEW: 407ff.)
COGN: Lat. *habeo* 'have'
ETYM: McCone (2003) argues rather persuasively that Celtib. *kabizeti* can be derived from *gabiyeti, i. e. that it is a present indicative rather than (sigmatic) desiderative formation; all certain examples of Celtib. *z* come from PIE *d rather than *s, which is generally preserved in Celtib., and the change of *(i)y > *z* may also be attested in PCelt. *nowyo- > Celtib.

nouiza. However, Wodtko (MLH V.1: 144) considers the meaning of this form as unknown, and one would wish that there were more examples of the change *(i)y > *z* in Celtiberian. de Bernardo Stempel (2006) attempts to prove that the original meaning of PCelt. *gab- was 'give', rather than 'take', and interprets Gaul. *gabi* as 'give', and the theonym *Gabiae* as 'the Givers, Bestowers', which seems plausible; whether this is correct or not, the etymological equations gathered here are unaffected. For the possibility that this PCelt. verb had an athematic i-present see Kortlandt 2007: 137 and cf. *ar-yo- 'plough'. The PIE reconstruction is disputed. The only certain cognate is Lat. *habeo* and the related Italic words (de Vaan 2008: 277). I do not believe that Skt. *gábhasti-* 'hand, forearm' is related (it would have to be from *g^hHeb^h-); likewise, I find it improbable that PGerm. *geban 'give' is from *$g^hh_1eb^h$-, although this cannot be wholly excluded. Lith. *gabùs* 'handy' and Lith. *gabanà* 'armful of hay' are possible cognates, but the e-grade in Lith. *gebėti* 'be able' would then have to be secondary (a new formation based on the frequent ablaut of *a* : *e* in other roots).
REF: KPV 318ff., LIV 195, LP 365ff., EIEC 707, Morris Jones 1913: 343ff., RIG II.2: 330f., Lambert 1994: 123, 212, Eska 1989: 168, MLH V.1: 144.

***galā** 'valor, ability' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *gal* [ā f] 'valor, fighting spirit, vapour'
W: MW *gallu* 'be able'
BRET: OBret. *gal* 'might, ability'
PIE: *gelH- 'be able' (IEW: 351)
COGN: Lith. *galiù* 'be able'
SEE: *gal-n- 'be able'
ETYM: The Celtic form *galā can be either the regular reflex of *gelā (by Joseph's rule), or its root shape is analogical after the present stem of the corresponding verb, *gal-n- 'be able'.
REF: EIEC 3, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 130, Meid 2005: 195f.

***galaro-** 'sickness, distress, pain' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *galar* [o n]
W: MW *galar* [m] 'grief, lament'
BRET: MBret. *galar*
CO: Co. *glachar*
PIE: *$ǵ^helH$-ro- 'evil, unhealthy' (IEW: 411)
COGN: Hitt. *kallar-* 'evil, unpleasant, unhealthy, inauspicious', perhaps also OE *gealla* 'galled place on the skin', Lith. *žalà* 'damage, harm'
ETYM: There is no need for positing PIE *a in this root, as in EIEC; OIr. *galar* is derivable from *gela-ro- by Joseph's rule.
REF: GPC II: 1373, EIEC 43, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 130, 320, 500.

***gal-n-** 'be able' [Vb]

W: MW *gallu*; *geill* [3s Pres.] (GPC *gallu, gallael, gallel, gallyd*)
BRET: MBret. *gallout, guell* [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. *gallos*
PIE: *gelH- (IEW: 351)
COGN: Lith. *galiù* 'can', Arm. *kalaw* 'found'
SEE: *gal-n- 'be able'
ETYM: The ethnonyms *Galli* and *Galátai*, as well as Gaul. PN like *Gallus, Gallius*, are probably also related to this etymon (McCone 2006 derives both *Galli* and *Galátai* from PCelt. *galatis). The Brittonic reflexes of this etymon show the regular development of *g^hln > *galn- > *gall- (where *-n- is the present-stem infix). Cf. also Fr. *gaillard* 'strong, vigorous' < Gallo-Latin *gallia 'strength' (Gamillscheg 461). The Centum-reflexes in Lith. and Arm. speak against McCone's (2006) identification of the PIE root with *$ǵ^helh_3$- 'green, yellow' (Gr. *khlōrós* etc.), whereby the semantic connection would lie in the color symbolism ('yellow' as the symbol of 'bile, anger, battle fury'.
REF: GPC II: 1377, KPV 324ff., LIV 185f., Meid 2005: 195f., McCone 2006.

***galw-o-** 'call' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *gall* (?) 'swan'
W: MW *galw* [m and f] 'call, invitation'
BRET: OBret. *galu,* MBret. *galu*
PIE: *gel- / *gol- 'call' (IEW: 350)
COGN: OE *ceallian* 'call', OCS *glasъ* 'voice', perhaps Lat. *gallus* 'cock'
ETYM: MIr. *gall* 'swan' is not well attested. It is a doubtful glossary word (Cormac Y 68). There is no need to posit PIE *a in this etymon, since all reflexes can be derived either from PIE *gol- (Slavic, Germanic), or from PIE *gl-C-, with the zero-grade. The Celtic reflexes presuppose *gl-wo-.
REF: GPC II: 1375, DGVB 173, EIEC 89, LEIA G-40.

***gan-d-o-** 'take place' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ro-geinn* 'takes place'
W: MW *genni*; *gannaf* [1s Pres.] 'contain, find room in'
PIE: *g^hed- 'take, seize' (IEW: 437f.)
COGN: Lat. *prae-hendo*, Gr. *khandánō*, Alb. *gjen* 'find'
SEE: *gendV- 'wedge, block'
ETYM: OIr. *ro-geinn* < *fro-gan-d-e-ti (the simplex is unattested in Goidelic).
REF: GPC II: 1380, KPV 330, LIV 173.

***gan-yo-** 'be born' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *gainidir, gainithir*, *-gainedar*; *-genadar* [Subj.]; *-gignethar* [Fut.]; *génair* [Pret.]
W: MW *geni*; *ganaf* [1 s Pres.]

BRET: MBret. *guenell*
CO: Co. *genys* [Part. Pass.]
PIE: *ǵenh$_1$- 'beget' (IEW: 373ff.)
COGN: Skt. *jan*^{i}-, Lat. *gigno, nāscor,* OE *cennan*
SEE: *genos- 'family, *gens*'
ETYM: OIr. *-gainethar, -gainedar* has the regular reflex of syllabic *-n- before any consonant except a laryngeal. Two developments are possible, either *ǵnh$_1$yetor > *gnyetor (with an early loss of the laryngeal before *y by Pinault's law) > *ganyetor > *ganitor > *gainethar,* or *ǵnh$_1$yetor > *gnHitor > *ganHitor > *gainethar.* OIr. *gein* [n n] 'birth, conception' is another derivative from the same root. It presupposes PCelt. *genan < *genh$_1$en (an archaic-looking neuter n-stem). The root is attested in Celtiberian as the second element of the compound PN *Mezu-kenos* (= OIr. *Midgen*).
REF: GPC II: 1380, KPV 327ff., LIV 163ff., McCone 1994: 70, MLH V.1: 251.

***gansi-** 'swan' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *géis* [i f]
PIE: *ǵ^{h}eh$_2$ns- 'goose' (IEW: 412)
COGN: Skt. *haṃsá-,* Lat. *ānser,* Gr. *khḗn,* OHG *gans*
ETYM: The PCelt. form presupposes the stem of the oblique cases of the PIE noun for 'goose' (PIE Nom. sg. *ǵ^{h}eh$_2$ns / Gen. sg. *ǵ^{h}h$_2$ns-os). Skt. *haṃsá-* seems to presuppose *ǵh$_2$ens- (from the accusative stem?).
REF: LP 24, EIEC 236, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 35, 77, 85.

***garano-** 'crane' [Noun]
W: MW *garan* [f] 'heron, crane'
BRET: MBret. *garan*
CO: Co. *garan*
GAUL: *tri-garanos* 'with three cranes' (RIG 2-1 165)
PIE: *ǵerh$_2$no- 'crane' (IEW: 383)
COGN: Gr. *géranos,* Eng. *crane*
ETYM: The vocalism is explained if we assume PIE *erh$_2$ > *era > PCelt. *ara by Joseph's rule.
REF: GPC II: 1380, Pedersen I: 38, EIEC 140, Delamarre 175, Campanile 1974: 47, Deshayes 2003: 266, Matasović 2004: 86, 144.

***gargo-** 'rough' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *garg* [o]
GAUL: *Gargenus* [NP]
PIE: *garǵo- (?) 'horror' (IEW: 353)
COGN: OCS *groza* 'horror', Arm. *karcr* 'hard'
ETYM: This is presumably an onomatopoetic, or expressive word, which may explain the a-vocalism in the root. The parallels in other IE languages may be accidental similarities.

REF: EIEC 568, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 501, Delamarre 175.

***gāri-** 'shout, call' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gáir* [i f, perhaps originally n]
W: MW *gawr* [f and m]; *gewri, geuri, goriau* [p]
GAUL: *Garo-marus* [PN]
PIE: *ǵeh$_2$r- 'shout, call' (IEW: 352)
COGN: Gr. *gē̃rys* 'voice, call', Lat. *garrio* 'chatter', OE *cearu* 'care, sorrow', Khot. *ysār-* 'to sing' [Causative]
SEE: *gar(r)man- 'cry, shout', *garyo- 'call, cry'
ETYM: These Celtic forms preserve the full grade of the PIE root; the zero-grade is preserved in *garsman- and *gari- (v.).
REF: GPC II: 1385, EIEC 89, Delamarre 176, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 66, 201.

***garrV-** 'calf of the leg, shank' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gairr* [i m or f] 'calf of the leg'
W: MW *garr* [m and f] (GPC *gar*) 'leg, shank, ham, thigh'
BRET: MBret. *garr* 'leg', MoBret. *gar*
CO: Co. *gar* 'leg'
GAUL: *garrā > OFr. *gare* 'leg'
ETYM: OIr. *gairr* is poorly attested, and even the precise meaning is uncertain. A good IE etymology is lacking. Perhaps it is possible to derive these forms from the PIE word for 'hand' (PIE *ǵ^{h}esr > Hitt. *kissar*, Gr. *kheír*, IEW 447). We could assume an early metathesis, PIE *ǵ^{h}esr > *gers-, and the generalization of the oblique stem, *grs-, which is common in Celtic. A thematized *grso- would yield PCelt. *garro- regularly. Another possiblity is to assume *g^{h}erso- > *gerro-, and then a secondary zero grade *grro-, which would yield PCelt. *garro- regularly. The meaning '(calf of the) leg' could have developed from 'hand, arm' via the more general 'limb'.
REF: GPC II: 1380, Deshayes 2003: 266.

***gar(r)man-** 'cry, shout' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gairm* [n n] 'the act of shouting, calling'
W: MW *garm* [f]
BRET: MBret. *garm* [m]
CO: Co. *garm*
SEE: *gāri-, *garyo- 'word, command'
ETYM: The short vowel is impossible if one starts from *ǵeh$_2$r-smen-; however, the development from the zero-grade of the root (*ǵh$_2$r-smen-) is regular, and the zero-grade is attested in other such formations (cf. *kanxsman-, *lanxsman-). The chronology of the developments was probably *ǵh$_2$r-smn- > *garsman- > *garrman- (> *garman-).
REF: GPC II: 1383, EIEC 89, Delamarre 176, Deshayes 2003: 267, Stüber 1998: 65, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 242.

***garwo-** 'rough, coarse' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *garb* [o]
W: MW *garw*
BRET: MBret. *garu*, MoBret. *garw*
CO: Co. *garow*
ETYM: The (probably Gaulish) PN *Garvo* attested in Pannonia might be related (Meid 2005: 231). Pokorny's attribution to the root *ǵ^{h}ers- (IEW 445f., cf. Skt. *hárṣate* 'is delighted', Lat. *horreo* 'to stare, fear, tremble') is improbable for both semantic and formal reasons (PIE *ǵ^{h}rswo- would yield PCelt. *garrwo-). It is better to relate these Celtic words to PCelt. *gargo- < PIE *ger-ǵ-). PCelt. *garwo- would point to the zero-grade of the root, PIE *ǵ^{h}r-wo-. Both PCelt. *gargo- and *garwo- are clearly expressive formations.
REF: GPC II: 1383, Deshayes 2003: 268, Meid 2005: 231.

***gar-yo-** 'call, cry' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *gairid, -gair*; *garaid, -gara* [Subj.]; *géraid, -géra* [Fut.]; *gairt, -gart* [Pret.]; *grathae, -grath* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *garddu* 'groan, creak, crush, shake'
BRET: OBret. *gerent* gl. dicunt [3p Pres.]
PIE: *ǵeh$_2$r- 'call' (IEW: 352)
COGN: Lat. *garrīre*, Oss. *zaryn / zarun* 'sing'
SEE: *gāri-, *garyo- 'word, command'
ETYM: Gaul. *adgarion* [Acc. sg.] (Chamalières) might perhaps be translated as '*accusatorem*' (Lejeune, Delamarre, Fleuriot), in which case it is a cognate of OIr. *ad-gair* 'summon' (Delamarre 32, Lambert 1994: 151). The short *a in this Celtic etymon is regular, if one starts from the zero-grade *ǵh$_2$r-yo-. The full grade of the root is preserved in *gāri- 'call'.
REF: GPC II: 1381, KPV 331ff., LIV 161, LP 368f., LEIA D-116, DGVB 175, Delamarre 32, Fleuriot 1976-7.

***garyo-** 'word, command' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gair*
W: MW *geir* [m] (GPC *gair*) 'word, speech'
BRET: MBret. *guer*, MoBret. *ger* [m]
SEE: *gāri- 'shout, call', *gar-yo- 'call, cry'
ETYM: OIr. *gair* is not well attested, so we do not know its gender and stem formation. It is assumed here that the yo-stem is original in PCelt., but an i-stem would be possible as well. Zero-grade *ǵh$_2$r-yo- must be posited for PIE, because of the development *CHry > *Cary- in Celtic.
REF: GPC II: 1371, Deshayes 2003: 270.

***gasso-** 'sprig' [Noun]
SEE: *gazdo- 'withe'

***gāwā** 'falsehood, lie' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gáu* [ā f]
W: MW *geu* [m] 'lie', 'false' (GPC *gau*)
BRET: MBret. *gou* 'false, lie', MoBret. *gow*
CO: Co. *gow*
ETYM: MW *geu* cannot be directly from *gāwā; rather, it may presuppose *guwo- (cf. *creu* < *kruwo-, an oblique stem of *krū- 'blood'). This means that we may have had a root-noun in PCelt., with the ablaut pattern *gāw- / *guwo-. The IE etymology of these Celtic words is dubious, partly also because several PCelt. reconstructions are possible; some derive them from alleged PIE *gew- 'bend, twist' (Norw. *kaa*, see IEW 393), but comparison with Lat. *haud* 'not', Skt. *gúhā* 'in secret', *gūhate* 'conceals' seems more promising, if one starts from *ǵ^{h}ew- (note that *gāwā is most easily explained if the root ended in a laryngeal). Finally, the PIE root could be *ǵ^{h}eh$_2$u- if one wants to relate Lith. *at-žūlas* 'hard', Av. *zūrah-* 'unrighteousness', OCS *zъlъ* 'bad, wicked' (if from *ǵ^{h}uh$_2$-lo-, *ǵ^{h}h$_2$u-lo-). All in all, as Vendryès would have said, *rien de sûr*.
REF: GPC II: 1385, DGVB 179, Deshayes 2003: 289, GOI 44, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 59.

***gayso-** 'spear' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gae* [o m]
W: MW *gwaew* [m and f] (GPC *gwayw*)
BRET: OBret. *guugoiou,* MBret. *goa*
CO: OCo. *hoch-wuyu* gl. venabulum
GAUL: *Ario-gaisus* [PN], *gaiso- > Lat. *gaesum*
PIE: *ǵ^{h}oyso- 'spear' (IEW: 410)
COGN: Skt. *héṣas-* 'weapon', OE *gār* 'spear'
ETYM: Since the Celtic words for 'spear' imply a proto-form with *ay rather than *oy, PCelt. *gayso- may be a loanword from Germanic, cf. Delamarre 174. PIE *ǵ^{h}oyso- 'spear' is probably derived from the root *ǵ^{h}eys- 'wound' (Skt. *hinásti* 'wounds', with the nasal infix in the present stem). Another possibility is to compare Skt. *hetí-* 'missile', Av. *zaēna-* 'weapon' and derive PIE *ǵ^{h}oy-so- from the root *ǵ^{h}ey- 'to impel' (IEW 424).
REF: GPC II: 1606, DGVB 204, EIEC 537, Delamarre 174, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 314.

***gaysseto-** 'mane, hair of beasts' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *gaisid*
PIE: *g^{h}ayt-s- 'mane, animal hair' (IEW: 410)
COGN: Gr. *khaítē*, Av. *gaēsu-* 'curly-haired'
ETYM: MIr. *gaisid* is poorly attested, so this etymology, as well as the formation of the PCelt. word, remain purely conjectural. Lat. *caesariēs* 'long

hair, plume' (and the name *Caesar*?) could be related only under the assumption that it is an early loanword from Celtic (Michiel de Vaan, p. c.).
REF: Mallory & Adams 2006: 177.

***gazdo-** 'withe' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *gat* [o m] 'withe, osier'
PIE: *g^hasd^h- / *g^hast- 'shaft' (IEW: 412f.)
COGN: Lat. *hasta* 'spear-shaft, lance', Go. *gazds* 'goad'
ETYM: OIr. *gass* 'sprig' might represent another reflex of the same PIE root, *g^hasto- (> PCelt. *gasto-). The a-vocalism points to the possibility that this is a loanword from some non-IE language. I do not believe that OIr. *gataid* 'steals' belongs together with these words (IEW 412). It is rather a denominative verb from *gait* (earlier *goit*) 'theft, taking away', which may be from PCelt. *gozdi- (through assimilation in voicing) < PIE *g^hosti- 'host, guest' (OCS *gostь*, Go. *gasts*, Lat. *hostis*, IEW 453). The variant *gait* could have arisen to avoid homonymy with *got* 'stammering, lisping'. Cf. also OIr. *gataige* 'thief' < *gozd-agyo-. It is generally thought that Lep. *Uvamo-kozis* (Prestino) contains PCelt. *gostis < PIE *g^hostis 'guest' (OCS *gostь*, Go. *gasts*, etc.).
REF: LP 26, Schrijver 1991: 134.

***gdesi** 'yesterday' [Adverb]
GOID: OIr. *in-dé*
W: MW *doe, ddoe*
BRET: MBret. *dech*, MoBret. *dec'h*
CO: OCo. *doy* gl. heri, Co. *de*
PIE: *$d^h\acute{g}^h$(y)es(i)- 'yesterday' (IEW: 41)
COGN: Skt. *hyás,* Gr. *khthés*, Lat. *heri*, OHG *gesterēn*, Alb. *dje*
ETYM: The reconstructed PIE adverb *$d^h\acute{g}^h$(y)es(i) is a petrified Loc. sg. of some old root-noun (? *$d^h\acute{g}^h$(y)ōs) which meant 'the preceding day' vel. sim. There are considerable differences between the reflexes in individual IE languages (for a thorough discussion, see Isaac 2007: 75ff.). Note also the possibility that the original form was actualy *$\acute{g}^h$-dyes-, where *$\acute{g}^h$- is a demonstrative particle, and *dyes- a derivative of the root *dey- 'day' (Lat. *diēs,* etc.), cf. Schindler 1977. For the development of the initial *gd- in Celtic cf. *gdon- 'earth, place' and *gdonyo- 'human, person'.
REF: GPC I: 1070, EIEC 654, Campanile 1974: 40, Deshayes 2003: 173f., Isaac 2007: 75ff.

***gdon-** 'earth, place' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dú* [n f] 'place, spot'
PIE: *$d^he\acute{g}^h$ōm 'earth' (IEW: 414f.)
COGN: Hitt. *tēkan*, Skt. *kṣā́, kṣám-*, Lat. *humus*, OCS *zemlja*, Alb. *dhe*, ToB *keṃ*

ETYM: The word-initial cluster *gd- may have been simplified to *d- already in PCelt. (McCone 1996: 48), cf. PCelt. *gdesi (*xdesi- 'yesterday') and *gdonyo- 'human, person'.
REF: LEIA D-206, EIEC 174, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 28.

***gdonyo-** 'human, person' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *duine* [io m]; *doíni* [p]
W: MW *dyn* [m and f]
BRET: OBret. *don, den,* MBret. *den*
CO: OCo. *den* gl. homo
GAUL: *-xtonio* (Vercelli)
PIE: *$d^h\acute{g}^h$om-yo- 'human, earthling' (IEW: 414)
COGN: Lat. *homo*, Go. *guma*
SEE: *gdon- 'earth'
ETYM: The Gaulish form *-xtonio* (in the compound form *teuoxtonio*) should be read *-gdonio* (the alphabet of Vercelli does not distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops, cf. Delamarre 176). OIr. Nom. pl. *doíni* is from a suppletive stem (attested also as Nom. sg. *doín, doén* in poetry).
REF: LEIA D-136, D-217f., DGVB 149, GPC I: 1140, EIEC 174, 366, Delamarre 176, Campanile 1974: 36, McCone 1996: 49.

***gelo-** 'yellow, white' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *gel* [o] 'white, fair, shining'
W: MW *gell* 'yellow'
BRET: MBret. *gell* 'brown'
PIE: *$\acute{g}^h$elh$_3$- 'yellow, green' (IEW: 429f.)
COGN: Lat. *heluus* 'honey yellow', Gr. *khlōrós* 'pale green', Skt. *hári-* 'green', OCS *zelenъ* 'green', OE *geolu* 'yellow'
ETYM: Since PCelt. *lw should be reflected as OIr. *lb* (cf. *delb* < *delwā 'form, appearance'), it is difficult to reconstruct *gelwo- to agree with Lat. *heluus* and OE *geolu* < *$\acute{g}^h$elh$_3$(i)wo-. PCelt. *gelawo- < *$\acute{g}^h$elh$_3$wo- is excluded since we would expect this to develop to *galawo- by Joseph's rule, so PCelt. *gelo- can reflect a simple thematic *$\acute{g}^h$elh$_3$o-. Another possibility is to assume that *w was lost before *o, but retained before *ā in *delwā, in which case *gelwo- > MW *gell* would be regular (with *ll* < *lw).
REF: EIEC 654, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 46.

***gelu-** 'leech' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *gil*
W: MW *gel* [f and m] (GPC *gelau, gele, gêl*]
BRET: MBret. *gélaouen*
CO: OCo. *ghel* gl. *sanguissuga*
PIE: *ǵelu- 'leech' (IEW: 365)
COGN: Skt. *jalūkā-, jalāyukā-* 'leech'

ETYM: A very doubtful etymology, amounting to a mere possibility. The Irish word is rather poorly attested, mostly in glossaries, and Skt. *jalūkā-, jalāyukā-*, besides also being attested late, is connected by Mayrhofer to *jarāyu-* 'old snake skin' (Mayrhofer, s. v. *jarāyu-*), which is in turn derived from the root *JAR* 'get old' (Skt. *járati*, etc.).
REF: GPC II: 1389, EIEC 349.

***gem-eno-, *gemelo-** 'chain, shackle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *gemel* [o and ā, m and f]
W: MW *gefyn* [m]
PIE: *gem- 'hold'
COGN: Gr. (Hom.) *génto* 'he took', Latv. *gùmti* 'seize', Russ. *žat', žmú* [1 s Pres.] 'squeeze'
ETYM: The PCelt. word cannot be reconstructed precisely, since the suffixes in Goidelic and Brittonic do not agree. It is also unclear whether (and how) MIr. *gébend* [m and f] 'fetter, bond' is related to these words (a borrowing from Brittonic?). Cf. also OIr. *gemen, geimen* 'hide, skin', which corresponds to MW *gefyn*, but is semantically quite distant. The PIE etymology is purely conjectural, since the meanings do not agree well.
REF: GPC II: 1386.

***genan-** 'birth' [Noun]
SEE: *gan-yo- 'be born', *genos- 'family'

***gendV-** 'wedge, block, lump' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *geind* (DIL *genn*) [d f] 'wedge, block'
W: W *gaing* 'chisel, wedge'
BRET: OBret. *genn*, MBret. *guenn*, MoBret. *genn*
CO: Co. *gen*
PIE: *g^hed- 'take, seize' (IEW: 473f.)
COGN: Lat. *prae-hendo*, Gr. *khandánō*
SEE: *gan-d-o- 'take place'
ETYM: Since the OIr. word is a consonant stem, it is difficult to reconstruct the PCelt. inflection class. Perhaps this word was an i-stem in PCelt. (*gendi-), which later became a d-stem in Goidelic.
REF: GPC II: 1371, Deshayes 2003: 270

***genetā** 'girl' [Noun]
W: W *geneth* [f]
GAUL: *geneta, genata, gnata*
PIE: *ǵenh$_1$- 'bear, engender, generate' (IEW: 373ff.)
COGN: Lat. *-genitus* in *primo-genitus* 'first born'
SEE: *genos- 'family'
ETYM: W *geneth* points to a geminate *genettā; this PCelt. noun is derived with the suffix *-eto- (cf. Osc. *genetaí* 'daughter' [Dat. sg.]. OIr. *ingen* [ā f]

'daughter' < *eni-genā (Ogam *INIGENA*) is another formation from the same root, cf. also Gaul. (Larzac) *andognam* 'born inside (the family)' and PN *Andegenus*. OIr. PN *Sogen* (Ogam Gen. *SOGINI*) is presumably from *su-ǵenh$_1$o- 'well-born' (Skt. *sujana-*).
REF: GPC II: 1393, LIV 163, Delamarre 177, Uhlich 2002: 422.

***genos-** 'family, *gens*' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *Éo-gan* [PN], Ogam *INI-GENA* 'daughter'
W: OW *Mor-gen* [PN]
BRET: OBret. *gen* gl. ethnicus, MoBret. *genel* 'generate'
GAUL: *Ad-genus, Cintu-genus* [PN]
PIE: *ǵenh$_1$-os 'family, clan, descendants' (IEW: 373ff.)
COGN: Skt. *jánas-*, Gr. *génos,* Lat. *genus*
SEE: *gan-yo- 'be born'
REF: DGVB 174, Delamarre 177f., Deshayes 2003: 270, Ellis Evans 1967: 204, Ziegler 1994: 103.

***genu-** 'jaw' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gin* [u m] 'mouth'
W: MW *gen* [f] 'cheek' (GPC *gên*)
BRET: OBret. *gen* gl. maxilla, MBret. *guen*, MoBret. *gen* [f] 'cheek'
CO: OCo. *genau*
PIE: *ǵenu- 'jaw' (IEW: 381)
COGN: Skt. *hánu-*, Gr. *génys,* Lat. *gena* 'cheek', OE *cinn*, ToA *śanweṃ* [Dual] 'jaws'
ETYM: The Gaulish name of Genève, *Genaua*, is usually derived from the same etymon. The original meaning would have been 'mouth (of a river)', from the old dual.
REF: GPC II: 1391, DGVB 174, Deshayes 2003: 270, EIEC 322, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 95, Lambert 1994: 37.

***gessī** 'taboo, prohibition' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *geis* [ʔī f]
PIE: *g^{h}ed- 'seize, take' (IEW: 437f.)
COGN: Lat. *prae-hendo,* Gr. *khandánō*
SEE: *gan-d-o- 'take place'
ETYM: The MIr. word can be derived regularly from *g^{h}ed-ti-h$_2$, but the semantic development ('taking' > 'prohibition, taboo') is somewhat difficult, see Hamp 1981. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the original formation was an ī-stem. If an ā-stem is original in Irish, we might reconstruct PCelt. *gissā (> OIr. *gess by lowering), and derive this word from PIE *g^{h}id^h-teh$_2$ 'what is desired' (cf. PIE *g^{h}eyd^h- > Lith. *geidžiù* 'desire', OCS *žьdati* 'wait', IEW 426). The same root is probably attested in PCelt. *gēstlo- 'surety, pledge, hostage'.
REF: Hamp 1981.

***gēstlo-** 'surety, pledge, hostage' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *giall* [o m] 'hostage'
W: MW *gwystyl, gwystl* [m and f] 'pledge, surety, hostage'
BRET: OBret. *guistl* gl. obses, MBret. *goestl*, MoBret. *gouestl* [m]
CO: OCo. *guistel* gl. obses
GAUL: *Con-geistlus* [PN]
PIE: *g^{h}eyd^{h}- 'desire, wait for' (IEW: 426)
COGN: Lith. *geidžiù* 'desire', OCS *žьdati* 'wait'
ETYM: W *gwystl* and other Brittonic words probably have an epenthetic *-t-* (before *l), cf. Schrijver 1995: 404f. OIc. *gísl* 'hostage', Germ. *Geisel*, etc. are old loanwords from Celtic. The IE etymology of these Celtic words is somewhat weak on the semantic side. Could 'hostage' be interpreted as 'one who is waiting (to be released)'?
REF: GPC II: 1789, DGVB 204, LP 23, Deshayes 2003: 282, LIV 175, Schrijver 1995: 405, Campanile 1974: 59.

***gexdo/ā-** 'goose' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *géd* [o m]
W: MW *guit* (GPC *gwydd*) [f]
BRET: MBret. *gwaz* [f]
CO: OCo. *guit* gl. auca, Co. *goth*
ETYM: Presumably an onomatopoetic word, there is probably no connection to PIE *ǵ^{h}eh$_2$-ns 'goose' (cf. PCelt. *gansi- 'swan').
REF: GPC II: 1753, Deshayes 2003: 301, Lockwood 1981.

***glaxsmā** 'cry, shout' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *glám* [ā f] 'outcry, clamour, satire'
PIE: *gla-ǵ^{h}- 'cry, shout' (IEW: 350f.)
COGN: Skt. *garh-*, OHG *klaga*, Germ. *klagen*
ETYM: The comparison with OHG *klaga* allows the reconstruction of the PIE root as above; a different vocalization (*Schwebeablaut*?) must be assumed for Sanskrit. This is quite clearly an onomatopoetic root, so the correspondences in Germ. and Skt. could be accidental.
REF: Mayrhofer I: 475f.

***glan-n-d-o-** 'show' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *as-gleinn* 'examines'
PIE: *ǵ^{h}lend^{h}- 'show, shine' (IEW: 431)
COGN: Russ. *gljadét'* 'watch', Latv. dial. *gledni* [Ipv.] 'search!', perhaps Alb. *gjas* 'I am similar'
ETYM: OIr. *as-gleinn* < *eks-gland-o- (the simplex is unattested). OBret. *golent* gl. prex (MBret. *goulen*) might be from *ufo-glendā, a derivative from the same root, cf. OIr. *fo-gliunn* gl. disco.
REF: KPV 334ff., LIV 200, DGVB 178.

***glano-** 'clean, clear' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *glan* [o], Ogam *GLANNANI*
W: MW *glan* (GPC *glân*)
BRET: OBret. *glan,* MBret. *glan*
CO: Co. *glan*
GAUL: *Glanis* [Hydronym], *(Matrebo) Glaneikabo* [Theonym]
ETYM: Pokorny's derivation of these words from the root for 'green, yellow' (*$ǵ^{h}elh_3$-, IEW 429, cf. *gel(w)o-) is formally difficult (? *$ǵ^{h}lh_3nó$- > *glānó-, then *glano- by Dybo's law) and semantically not quite convincing (? 'yellow' > 'bright' > 'clęar, clean').
REF: GPC II: 1400, Delamarre 180, Lambert 1994: 37, DGVB 176, Deshayes 2003: 272, Ziegler 1994: 210.

***glasto-** 'green, blue' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *glas* [o]
W: OW *glas*, MW *glas*
BRET: MBret. *glas*
CO: OCo. *glesin* gl. sandix
GAUL: *glastum* 'Isatis tinctoria' (Pliny)
ETYM: For the apparent preservation of *-st- in Gaul., cf. Schrijver 1995: 402. In principle, these forms could represent PIE *$ǵ^{h}lh_3$-stó- > *glāsto- > *glasto- (by Dybo's shortening). The PIE root would have been *$ǵ^{h}elh_3$- 'yellow, green' (IEW 429ff.), as in *gel(w)o-. Cf. also MHG *glasta* 'shine', which may reflect a prehistoric borrowing from Celtic (if it is related at all).
REF: GPC II: 1401, Delamarre 180, Falileyev 61, Campanile 1974: 49, Deshayes 2003: 273, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 271, Schrijver 1995: 402.

***glendos-** 'valley, shore' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *glend* [s n] (DIL *glenn*)
W: MW *glynn* (GPC *glyn*) [m] 'glen, valley'
BRET: MBret. *glann* 'shore'
CO: Co. *glan*
PIE: *glend- 'shore' (?)
COGN: MLG *klint,* 'shore' ON *klettr* 'rock'
ETYM: Clearly limited to Celtic and Germanic, this word could have been borrowed from some non-IE language of NW Europe.
REF: GPC II: 1414, Pedersen I: 38, Deshayes 2003: 272.

***gli-na-** 'glue' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *glenaid, -glen*; *glieid, -glia* [Subj.]; *gíulaid, -gíulai* [Fut.]; *gíuil* [Pret.]
W: MW *glynu*
BRET: MBret. *englenaff* 'stick'
CO: Co. *glena*

PIE: *gleyH- (IEW: 362)
COGN: OHG *klenan* 'smear', Lith. dial. *glejù* 'smear'
ETYM: MBret. *englenaff* < *en-gli-na- (the simplex verb is unattested in Breton).
REF: GPC II: 1414, KPV 337ff., LIV 190, LP 369, LEIA D-148.

***glomro-** 'bridle-bit, muzzle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *glomar* [o m]
PIE: *glem- 'ball-shaped mass (?)(IEW: 359f.)
COGN: OHG *klamma* 'trap, gorge', OE *clam(m)* 'tie, fetters', perhaps Lat. *glomus* 'ball-shaped mass'
ETYM: This is a dubious etymology chiefly because there is a considerable difference in meaning between OIr. *glomar* and its putative cognates in Lat. and Germanic. The meaning 'bridle-bit' could have developed from 'gag' and this, in turn, from 'ball-shaped mass' (cf. Lat. *glomus*).
REF: de Vaan 2008: 265.

***glowo-** 'charcoal'
W: MW *glo* [m]
BRET: MBret. *glou, glaou*, MoBret. *glow* [Collective]
CO: Co. *glow*
PIE: *ǵ^{h}lewH- 'burning' (IEW: 433)
COGN: OE *glówan* 'glow', MHG *glau* 'clever, intelligent'
ETYM: The relationship (if there is any) of these Brittonic words to MIr. *gúal* 'coal' is unclear.
REF: GPC II: 1407, Deshayes 2003: 276..

***gloydo-** 'glue, lime' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *glóed* (DIL *gláed*)
W: MW *glud* [m]
BRET: MBret. *glut*, MoBret. *glud*
CO: OCo. *glut* gl. gluten, MoCo. *glüs*
SEE: *gli-na- 'glue'
ETYM: The gender and stem-formation of MIr. *gláed* are uncertain. It is possible that the Brit. words were actually borrowed from Lat. *gluten* (Haarmann 1970: 122). Cf. also Fr. *glaise* 'clay' which may be from Gaul. *glēssā < *gleyd-tā (Gamillscheg 480).
REF: GPC II: 1412, Deshayes 2003: 276.

***gloywo-, *glēwi-** 'liquid, clear' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *glé* 'clear, evident'
W: OW *gloiu* [m] gl. liquidum, MW *gloyw, gloew*
BRET: OBret. *gloeu*
PIE: *ǵ^{h}leyh$_2$- 'shine' (IEW: 432)
COGN: Gr. *khliáinō* 'warm', ON *gljā* 'sparkle', MHG *glīmen* 'to shine'

ETYM: OIr. *glé* (rather than **glóe) points to PCelt. *glēwi- (rather than *gloywo-), but British forms are more easily derived from *gloywo-. W *gledd* 'face of the earth, turf' could go back to PCelt. *gliyā, but the semantic connection is weak. The same can be said for the IE cognates of this PCelt. etymon; another possibility would be to take 'liquid' as the original meaning and compare Gr. *gloiós* 'glutinous substance', Russ. dial. *glëv* 'slime, mould' < PIE *gloh$_1$iwo- (Derksen 2008: 163).
REF: GPC II: 1411, LHEB 325f., Falileyev 62.

***glūnos-** 'knee' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *glūn* [s n]
W: MW *pen-lin, pen-glin* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *penn-glin*
CO: OCo. *penclin* gl. genu
PIE: *ǵonu 'knee' (IEW: 380f.)
COGN: Skt. *jā́nu-*, Gr. *gónу,* Lat. *genū*
ETYM: The transformation of PIE *ǵonu- into PCelt. *gnūnos > OIr. *glún* is difficult to understand, but the etymology is beyond doubt. Long *ū might reflect the old dual ending in *-uh$_1$, and the cluster *gl- arose from *gn- in the zero-grade of the PIE root (the same change occurred, independently, in Albanian, cf. Alb. *gju* 'knee' < *glun-). The first element of the compound attested in the Brit. languages is the word for 'head' (*k^{w}enno-). Probably *k^{w}enno-gnūnos referred originally to knee-caps only (cf. the parallelism with the Eng. compound *knee-cap*).
REF: GPC III: 2747, EIEC 336, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 144ff., Campanile 1974: 86.

***gnāsto-** 'custom, usage' [Noun]
SEE: *gnāto- 'known, usual'

***gnāto-** 'known, usual' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *gnáth* [o]
W: MW *gnawt* (GPC *gnawd*)
BRET: OBret. *gnot* 'usual'
PIE: *ǵenh$_3$- 'know' (IEW: 373ff.)
COGN: Gr. *gignṓskō*, Lat. *co-gnōsco,* OCS *znati*, Lith. *žinóti*
ETYM: Certain Gaulish compounds with *-gnatos* can be understood both as 'known' < *gnh$_3$tos and as 'born' < *gnh$_1$tos, see Delamarre 181f. Next to adjectives in *-to- we also find nouns in *-sto- from this root (a productive pattern in Celtic, see Greene 1965): OIr. *gnás* [ā f] 'custom, usage, intercourse', W *gnaws* (GPC *naws*) < PCelt. *gnāsto- < *ǵnh$_3$sto- (cf. Go. *kund* vs. *kunst*).
REF: GPC II: 1415, EIEC 337, Delamarre 181f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 337, 440, Greene 1965.

***gnīmu-** 'work, action'
GOID: OIr. *gnim* [u m]
W: OW *guor-gnim* 'great toil, exertion'
BRET: OBret. *im-guo-gnim*
SEE: *gn-iyo- 'beget, create'
ETYM: OIr. *gnim* serves as the verbal noun to *gniid* (see *gni-yo-). PCelt. *gnīmu- can be from PIE *ǵneh$_1$-mo-, with the (secondary) full grade of the root 'to beget' (*ǵenh$_1$-), or, perhaps, from *ǵneye-mu- (see *gn-iyo-).
REF: Falileyev 73.

***gni-na-** 'recognize' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-gnin*; *-géna* [Fut.]; *ad-gén-sa* [3s Pret. relative]
W: MW *atnabot; atwaen* [3s Pres.] (GPC *adwaen*)
CO: Co. *aswonvos*; *aswon* [3s Pres.]
PIE: *ǵenh$_3$- 'know' (IEW: 373ff.)
SEE: *gn-iyo- 'beget, create'
ETYM: OIr. *ad-gnin* < *ati-gni-na-, MW *atwaen* < *ati-ufo-gni-, Co. *aswonvos*; *aswon* [3s Pres.] < *ati-ufo-gni-. Gaul. *gniiou* (Chateaubleau) is probably 1 sg. Pres. of the verb 'to know, recognize'. In principle, it can be derived from PCelt. *gnīyū < PIE *ǵnēh$_3$-yo- (by Eichner's law, which is not universally accepted). But it could also be related to PCelt. *gn-iyo- 'beget, make'.
REF: GPC I: 28, Delamarre 182.

***gn-iyo-** 'beget, create, do' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *gniid, -gní* 'do'; *gneith, -gné* [Subj.]; *génaid, -géna* [Fut.]; *génais* [Pret.]
PIE: *ǵenh$_1$- 'beget' (IEW: 373-375)
COGN: Lat. *gigno*, Skt. *jánati* 'begets'
ETYM: OIr. *-gní* is somewhat problematic, because of its long *í*. If it is derived directly from *gniyeti, then we have to explain why we have short *i*, e.g., in *biid* 'is wont to be' < *bwiyeti. We know that *treyes '3' yields OIr. *trí* (at least when used substantively; as an attribute, it is proclitic, hence shortened to *tri*). Therefore, *(do-)gní* can be from *gneyeti (with the early loss of laryngeal, originally before *y, or from an anit-form of the root, as in Lat. *gens*). On the other hand, disyllabic *biid* 'is wont to be' can be from *biyeti < *b^{h}uyeti, or from *b^{h}w-iyeti (cf. Lat. *fio*). The same form is attested in Gaul. *biiete* (Inscription from Limé) < *b^{h}uHyete or *b^{h}wiyete. It appears that PCelt. *i remains syllabic before glides followed by a vowel, cf. PCelt. *biwato- > OIr. *biad* 'food' (disyllabic). In any case, OIr. *biid* must be from PCelt. *b(w)iyeti, while *-gní* can be from *gneyeti. This can be the old causative formation (with the suffix *-eye-) built from the zero grade of the root. The meaning of OIr. *-gní* 'do, make' is actually fully compatible with the originally causative formation of this verb, but why was the root in the zero-grade, rather than in the expected o-grade? On the other hand, it is also

possible to derive *-gní* from PCelt. *gnīyeti < PIE *ǵneh$_1$yeti (thus McCone 1991: 33) because we know that PCelt. *snīyeti (< PIE *sneh$_1$yeti) yields OIr. *sniid, -sní* 'spin, weave'. However, I find this explanation inherently improbable because the alleged proto-form *ǵneh$_1$yeti lacks any parallels in Celtic or elsewhere. More similar is the present stem of *to-sl-iyo-'earn' < *slh$_1$-yo- from the root *selh$_1$- (see the discussion s. v. *to-sl-iyo-).
REF: KPV 339ff., LIV 163ff., LEIA D-149, McCone 1991: 33.

***goban-** 'smith' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gobae* [n m]
W: MW *gof* [m]
BRET: MBret. *gof(f)*, MoBret. *gov*
CO: OCo. *gof* gl. faber
GAUL: *Gobano* [PN], *Cobanno* [Theonym, Dat.] *gobedbi* [Dat p] (Alise)
ETYM: Cf. also OBret. *gobail* gl. officina = MW *geueil*, Co. *gofail*. Gaul. *gobedbi* may represent a further derivative, PCelt. *gob-et- (for the type of formation cf. *kenget- 'warrior'). The IE etymology is unknown. A comparison with Lat. *faber* 'craftsman, artisan' has been proposed long ago (Mac Bain 1911: 200, revived by Blažek 2006). It is possible if one starts from PIE *g^{wh}ob^h- or *g^{h}wob^h- (with *o > *a* after labials in Latin, as in *mare* 'sea' < *mori), but *faber* is usually connected with Arm. *darbin* 'smith' < *d^{h}Hb^h-ro-.
REF: GPC II: 1428, DGVB 177, Delamarre 182, Campanile 1974: 50, Deshayes 2003: 288, de Bernardo Stempel 1999:100, 109, 119, Schrijver 1995: 182, Stüber 1998: 172, Blažek 2006.

***gobbo-** 'muzzle, snout, beak' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *gop* [o m]
GAUL: *gobbo- > OFr. *gobel, gobet* 'bit', Fr. *gober* 'swallow'
PIE: *ǵoph$_3$o- 'eat, masticate (of animals)' (IEW: 382)
COGN: OE *ceafl* 'jaw, jowl', Russ. *zobát'* 'masticate'
ETYM: The geminate *-bb- in Celtic is typical of expressive words. The PIE reconstruction proposed here avoids positing PIE *b (there were no roots with two voiced stops in PIE) . However, without the doubtful Germanic cognates, the Celtic and Slavic words could well go back to PIE *ǵ$^{(h)}$ob^h-.
REF: EIEC 175, Delamarre 182, Gamillscheg 483, Picoche 1992: 241.

***gorto-** 'fence, enclosure, pen' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gort* [o m, perhaps originally n] 'field'
W: W *garth* [m] 'field, pen'
BRET: OBret. *-(o)rth* 'pen', MBret. *garz*, MoBret. *garzh* [f]
GAUL: *gortiā > *Gorze* [Toponym], Fr. dial. (Limousin) *gorso* 'fence'
PIE: *g^{h}ōrd^h-s, Gen. *g^{h}rd^h-os 'enclosure, garden, pen' (IEW: 444)

COGN: Skt. *gṛhá-* 'house', Lat. *hortus* 'garden', Gr. *khórtos*, OHG *garto* 'garden', Russ. *górod* 'town', Alb. *gardh* 'hedge'
ETYM: In MW *garth* also means 'mountain ridge, hill, woodland', but GPC treats this as a different word. The development of *o > *a* in Brittonic is as in MW *gwallt* 'hair' < *gwollt (PCelt. *wolto-). Celtib. *korta, kortika* are sometimes related to this etymon, but with little justification (the meaning of these words is unknown). For the compound *lubi-gorto- 'herb garden' cf. PCelt. *lubī/ā- 'herb, plant'. On the IE side of this etymology, the voiceless stop seen in Celtic, Greek and Latin is best explained if one assumes that *-d^{h}s (in the Nominative) was assimilated to *-ts, from which *-t- was then extrapolated to other case-forms (with generalized o-grade from the Accusative (*g^{h}ord^{h}-m), see Matasović 2004: 99, 137. It should be noted, however, that the lengthened grade of the original root noun is not preserved anywhere. For a possibly similar development, cf. PCelt. *druko- 'bad'.
REF: GPC II: 1383, Deshayes 2003: 268, EIEC 199, LP 47, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 441, Delamarre 183, Matasović 2004: 99, 137, MLH V.1: 197f.

***gowlo-** 'charcoal' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *gúal* [o m and ā f]
PIE: *ǵwel(H)- 'burn, glow' (IEW: 399)
COGN: Skt. *jvālá-* 'flame, coal', OE *col* 'glowing piece of wood', ON *kol* 'coal', perhaps ToB *śoliye* 'hearth'.
SEE: *glowo- 'charcoal'
ETYM: The PCelt. reconstruction of this etymon is uncertain, and it is difficult to reconcile it with PIE *ǵwelH-. The Germanic forms point to the zero-grade *ǵulo- > PGerm. *kulan (Orel 2003: 223). One would have to assume 'Schwebeablaut', which is improbable. Skt. *jvālá-* is from the root the primary meaning of which is 'burn', cf. *jvalati* 'burns' (Mayrhofer, s. v. *jval-*), and the connection with 'coal' is not obvious. Starting from PCelt. *gwol- would imply that the reflexes of PIE *g^{w} and *gw were distinct in PCelt., which can hardly have been the case (*g^{w}olo- as well as *gwolo- would give PCelt. **bolo-). Maybe we should simply assume that PCelt. *glow-lo- was dissimilated to *gowlo- in Goidelic, cf. W *glo*, MBret. *glow* 'coal' from < PCelt. *glowo-. Skt. *jvālá-* and the Germanic words for 'coal' would then be from a different root.
REF: EIEC 87, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 224.

***gowryā** 'animal hair' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *gúaire* '(animal hair), bristles'
PIE: *gowr (Gen. *gun-os) 'animal hair' (IEW: 357)
COGN: Av. *gaona-* 'hair', Lith. *gauraĩ* 'body hair', Norw. *kaure* 'frizzy strand of wool'

ETYM: The stem formation and gender of MIr. *gúaire* are unclear, as this word is attested mostly in glossaries. Russ. *gúnja* 'cloak' and the related Slavic words are probably loanwords from Iranian.
REF: EIEC 252, Mallory and Adams 2006: 177.

***gozdi-** 'theft' [Noun]
SEE: *gazdo- 'withe'

***gragni-** 'awful' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *gráin* [f] 'awfulness, horror'
W: MW *graen* 'dire, awful, sad'
ETYM: An expressive word that has been connected to similar words in other IE languages, e.g. OCS *groza* 'horror', Gr. *gorgós* 'grim, fierce' (IEW 353). Cf. also PCelt. *gargo- 'horror'.
REF: GPC II: 1521.

***grando-, *grendo-** 'beard' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *grend* [?ā f]
W: MW *grann* [m] 'chin, beard, cheek' (GPC *gran*)
BRET: MBret. *grann* 'eyebrow'
GAUL: *grenno- 'moustache, beard' > Pr. *gren* 'moustache'
PIE: *g^hren- 'moustache' (IEW: 440)
COGN: OE *granu*, OHG *grana*
ETYM: The semantic development of MBret. *grann* 'eyebrow' is unclear (? 'beard' > 'any hair on the face' > 'eyebrow'). The attested forms point to two different ablaut grades in PCelt. Should we reconstruct an ablauting paradigm *grends / *grand-os? The name of the Gaulish equivalent of Apollo, *Grannos*, is sometimes related to this set of forms, but he is actually never portrayed with a beard (see Delamarre 183). If the etymology is correct, the Celtic words are derived from the PIE root *g^hren- / *g^hrn- with a dental suffix (? *-d^h-). The related Germanic words can be from PIE *g^hrono-, with the o-grade. Alb. *krënd* 'bushwood', Croat. *grána* 'branch' and the related Slavic words are probably not derived from this root.
REF: GPC II: 1524, Delamarre 183.

***grāno-** 'grain' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *grán* [o n]
W: MW *grawn* [p], *gronyn* [Singulative m]
BRET: MBret. *greun* [m]
CO: OCo. *gronen* gl. granum
PIE: *ǵrHno- 'grain' (IEW: 390f.)
COGN: Lat. *grānum*, OHG *korn*, Lith. *žìrnis* 'pea'
ETYM: If the PIE word for 'grain' is derived from the root *ǵerh_2- 'ripen, age' (IEW 390, EIEC 236, cf. Skt. *járati* 'gets old', Gr. *gérōn* 'old man', etc.), then the correct reconstruction is *ǵr$h_2$no-. In any case, the meaning

'grain' is found only in the European branches of IE, so it is probably a semantic innovation.
REF: GPC II: 1526, EIEC 236, Campanile 1974: 52, Deshayes 2003: 291, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 254 Schrijver 1995: 183, 189, 211, McCone 1996: 52, Oettinger 2003: 184.

***grāwā** 'gravel, pebbles' [Noun]
W: MW *gro* 'coarse mixture of pebbles and sand deposited in a river-bed' [Collective]
BRET: MoBret. *groa, gro* [f] 'sand'
CO: Co. *grow* 'sand'
GAUL: *growā > OFr. *groe* 'pebble'
PIE: *$g^{h}reh_{1}w$- 'grind' (IEW: 460f.)
COGN: Lith. *grūsti* 'grind (barley), *grúodas* 'frost, frozen street dirt', Croat. *grȕda* 'lump', ON *grautr* 'porridge'
SEE: *grīyano- 'gravel'
ETYM: PCelt. *grāwā is regularly derived from PIE *$g^{h}roh_{1}weh_{2}$. The same root is presumably attested in PCelt. *grīyano- 'gravel'. Balto-Slavic and Germanic show the same root with the dental suffix (*$g^{h}roh_{1}w$-do-, *$g^{h}ruh_{1}$do-).
REF: GPC II: 1533, Deshayes 2003: 293.

***gregi-** 'herd' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *graig* [i n] 'horses (collective)'
W: MW *gre* [f]
BRET: MBret. *gre* [f]
CO: Co. *gre*
PIE: *greg- 'herd' (IEW: 382f.)
COGN: Lat. *grex,* Gr. *gárgara* 'crowd'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *grafand* [ā f, perhaps originally o n] 'horse-race' < *grego-swendnā. The PIE root is presumably *ger- (or *h_{2}ger-) 'gather'. W *gre* 'herd, stud' [m], MoBret. *gre* and Co. *gre* are usually considered to be loanwords from Lat. *grex*, but it is also possible that they are inherited.
REF: GPC II: 1527, Deshayes 2003: 290, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 503, EIEC 217, Schrijver 1995: 60, 69, 140.

***gremmen-** 'seizure, grasp' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *greimm* [n n later m] 'seizure, hold, grasp, profit, advantage, sway'
PIE: *$g^{h}reb(h_{2})$- 'seize, grasp' (IEW: 455)
COGN: Skt. *grabh-* 'seize', *gṛbhṇā́ti* [3s Pres.] Lith. *grė́biu, grė́bti* 'snatch', OCS *grabiti* 'seize'
ETYM: PCelt. *gremmen- presupposes PIE *$greb^{(h)}(h_{2})$-(s)men-. For the sound development cf. *braxsman- 'fart'. The reconstruction of *h_{2} in this root is not certain, and an alternative possibility is to reconstruct PIE

*g^hreb^h-, but then the Balto-Slavic words must have the vowel length as a result of Balto-Slavic vṛddhi, rather than of Winter's law.
REF: LIV 179.

***gri-n-d-o-** 'follow, drive' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-greinn*
W: MW *grynnyaw* 'push, press, thrust'; *gryn* [3s Pres.] (GPC *grynio, grynnu*)
PIE: *g^hreyd^h- (IEW: 456f.)
COGN: Go. *grid* 'step', OCS *grędti* 'tread, step, go'
ETYM: OIr. *do-greinn* is from *to-grend-o-. The simplex is unattested in Goidelic.
REF: GPC II: 1541, KPV 353ff., LIV 203.

***grīyano-** 'gravel' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *grïan* [o m or n] 'sand, gravel'
W: MW *graean* [Collective] 'gravel, coarse sand'
BRET: MoBret. *groan, grouan* [Collective] 'gravel'
PIE: *g^hreh_1(w)- 'grind' (IEW: 460f.)
COGN: MHG *grien* 'sandy river-bank', ON *grjót* 'sand, gravel'
SEE: *grāwā 'gravel, pebbles'
ETYM: This word is probably from the same root as its near-synonym, PCelt. *grāwā 'gravel, pebbles', but its development is not quite clear. Starting from PIE *g^hreh_1wyo- we might derive PCelt. *grīyyo-, *griyo-, hence *griy-ano- with a different suffix. However, this derivation is not quite satisfactory.
REF: GPC II: 1521, Deshayes 2003: 293.

***growdos-** 'cheek' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *grúad* [s n, later m and f]
W: OW *grudou* [p], MW *grudd* [f and m]
CO: OCo. *grud* gl. maxilla
PIE: *g^hrowd^h- (IEW: 462)
COGN: OE *grēada* 'breast'
ETYM: The evidence that *grúad* was an s-stem is not absolutely certain, so the PCelt. reconstruction is purely conjectural. On the IE side, one may also want to connect the Slavic words from 'breast' (Russ. *grud'*, OPol. *grędzi*), which may be from nasalized *g^hru-n-d-. The semantic side of this etymology is rather weak (*g^hrowdo- would presumably have denoted 'round body parts').
REF: GPC II: 1536, Falileyev 63, Campanile 1974: 53.

***gulbV-, *gulbīno-** 'beak' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *gulba* [n f] 'beak, jaw', *gulban* [o m] 'beak, sting'
W: OW *gilbin* [m and f] 'point', MW *gylfin* 'beak'

BRET: OBret. *golbin, golbinoc* gl. ac rostratam; MBret. *golff*, MoBret. *golv* 'without tail'
CO: OCo. *geluin* gl. rostrum
GAUL: *gulbia > Lat. *gulbia* (Isidore of Seville)
ETYM: Cf. also Brit. *Re-gulbium* (name of a promontory). A persuasive IE etymology has been proposed. A connection with Gr. *gláphō* 'scrape up, dig' (< PIE *glb^h-, IEW 367) is improbable, since if does not explain PCelt. *u. This PCelt. etymon was probably borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: GPC II: 1794, DGVB 178, Delamarre 184, Campanile 1974: 48, Falileyev 61, Deshayes 2003: 278, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 118, 459.

***gurmo-** 'dun, dark' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *gorm* [o] 'blue'
W: MW *gwrm* (GPC *gwrm, gwrwm*)
BRET: OBret. *Uurm-haelon* [PN] 'with brown brows'
ETYM: There do not seem to be any cognates in other IE languages, so this adjective was probably borrowed from some non-IE source.
REF: GPC II: 1711, LP 33, Schrijver 1995: 348.

***gus-o-** 'choose' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-goa*; *do-gega* [3s Fut. relative]; *do-roígu* [3s Pret. relative]
PIE: *ǵews- 'choose, taste' (IEW: 399f.)
COGN: Skt. *juṣ-* 'enjoy', Gr. *geúomai,* Go. *kiusan,* Alb. *desha* 'loved'
SEE: *gustu- 'excellence, force'
ETYM: OIr. *do-goa* < *to-gus-o-; the simplex is unattested.
REF: KPV 356ff., LEIA D-149, EIEC 566.

***gustu-** 'excellence, force' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *guss* [u m], Ogam *CUNA-GUSSOS*
W: OW *Gur-gust* [PN], W *gwst* [f and m]; *gystion* [p] 'pain, endurance, patience, difficulty'
GAUL: *gussou* [Dat. s] '? force' (Lezoux)
PIE: *ǵus-tu- 'choose, taste' (IEW: 399f.)
COGN: Lat. *gustus* 'tasting', OE *cost* 'choice, excellence'
SEE: *gus-o- 'choose'
ETYM: For the apparent preservation of *st in British, see Schrijver 1995: 412. The semantic developent was from 'choice' to 'excellence' and 'force', cf. *gus-o- 'choose'.
REF: GPC II: 1742f., EIEC 566, Delamarre 184, Lambert 1994: 146f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 290, Hamp 1986, Schrijver 1995: 412f., Ziegler 1994: 107.

***gutu-** 'voice' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *guth* [u m]

GAUL: *gutu-ater* 'name of a priest', perhaps 'father of invocations' (CIL XIII 1577)
PIE: *ǵ^{h}ewH- 'call, invoke' (IEW: 413)
COGN: Skt. *hávate* 'call', OE *god* 'god', OCS *zъvati* 'call', ToB *kuwā-* 'call, invite'
ETYM: The short vowel of OIr. *guth*, if it is to be derived from *ǵ^{h}uH-tu-, should be attributed to shortening in pretonic position (Dybo's law), cf. Kortlandt 1981. The appurtenance of the Germanic words for 'god' to this root is disputed (they are often connected with Skt. *juhóti*, Gr. *khéō* 'pour (a libation)', etc.).
REF: EIEC 89, Delamarre 184f., Kortlandt 1981.

***gyemo-** 'winter' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *gam, gem* (DIL *gaim*), Ogam *GAMI-CUNAS*
W: OW *gaem,* MW *gayaf, gaeaf* [m]
BRET: OBret. *guoiam,* MBret. *gouaff*, MoBret. *gouañv* [m]
CO: OCo. *goyf* gl. hyemps
GAUL: *Giamoni[-]* 'name of the 7th month' (Coligny), *Giamos* [PN]
PIE: *ǵ^{h}yem- 'winter' (IEW: 425f.)
COGN: Gr. *kheímōn*, Lat. *hiems*, OCS *zima,* Arm. *jiwn* 'snow', Alb. *dimër*
ETYM: The reconstruction of PCelt. *gyemo- is based on the assumption (Schrijver) that *gye- > *gya- in British and Gaulish. However, cf. Fr. *givre*, Pr. *gibre, giure*, Cat. *gebre* 'hoarfrost', which may be from Gaul. *gewro- < *gem(e)ro- (Gamillscheg 480).
REF: GPC II: 1368, LHEB 359, DGVB 196, Delamarre 178, Falileyev 60, Campanile 51f., Deshayes 2003: 280, Schrijver 1995: 108ff., Matasović 2004: 123, Ziegler 1994: 105.

***gyo-** 'sinew' [Noun]
W: MW *gieu* [p] 'sinews', *giewyn* [Singulative] (GPC *gïau*)
CO: OCo. *goiven* gl. nervus, Co. *gyew*
PIE: *g^{w}yo- 'sinew' (IEW: 469)
COGN: Skt. *jyā́,* Gr. *biós* 'bowstring'
ETYM: The word-initial *g- (instead of **b) presupposes an early delabialization of *g^{w} before *y in Celtic, see McCone 1996: 42.
REF: GPC II: 1397, McCone 1996: 42.

I

***i-** 'go' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *etha* [Part. Pass.]

PIE: *$h_1$ey- 'go' (IEW: 295)
COGN: Skt. *éti* 'goes', Lat. *eo, īre*, OCS *iti*
ETYM: OIr. *etha* presupposes *ityo- and serves as the suppletive passive participle to OIr. *téit* 'go'. Hence the derived verb *ethaid* 'goes'. IEW (295) compares also *ethar* [o m] 'ferry-boat', which is possible (PCelt. *i-tro- ?, with the same suffix as *aratro- 'plough').
REF: LEIA T-61, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 222.

***i-** 'it' [Demonstrative Pronoun]
SEE: *ē-

***i-n-d-o-** 'light up' [Vb]
W: MW *ennynnu* (GPC *ennyn*)
PIE: *$h_2$eyd^h- 'burn' (IEW: 11f.)
COGN: Skt. *édhate* 'shines', *inddhé* 'lights up', Gr. *aíthō* 'burn'
ETYM: MW *ennynnu* < *ande-indo- (the simplex verb is unattested). The present stem of this verb in Celtic is formed with the nasal infix and the zero-grade of the root (PIE *h_2i-n-d^h-).
REF: GPC I: 1218, KPV 374f., LIV 230.

***īkkā, *yekkā** 'cure, treatment, salvation' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ícc* [ā f]
W: MW *iach* 'healthy'
BRET: OBret. *iac* gl. suspite, MBret. *yach*, MoBret. *yac'h* 'healthy'
CO: OCo. *iach* gl. sanus, MCo. *yagh*
GAUL: *Iaccus* [PN]
ETYM: Maybe the vocalism of OIr. *ícc* can be explained if one starts with a reduplicated *yiyekkā. Since this OIr. word is actually the verbal noun of the verb *íccaid* 'heal', one might assume an original reduplicated present *yi-yekk-o- from which *yiyekkā was abstracted (for *yek- > *yak- cf. OIr. *aig*, W *ia* 'ice' < *yegi-, cf. also W *ias* 'boiling' < *yestu-). These Celtic words are usually connected to Gr. *ákos* 'cure, medicine', but the phonetic development assumed by this etymology is difficult. Perhaps *ákos* is from a psilotic dialect (cf. Myc. *aketirijai /akestriai/*, but also *jaketere* 'healers' (?). If this is the case, it could be derived from Pre-Greek *yakos < PIE *yh$_2$ko-, but this would be difficult to square with PCelt. *yekko-.
REF: GPC II: 1994, EIEC 262, DGVB 217, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 579, Delamarre 185, Campanile 1974: 67, Deshayes 2003: 760. nēsos

***ik^{w}ori-** 'roe, spawn' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *iuchair* [Collective]
PIE: *yēk^{w}r 'liver'(IEW: 504)
COGN: Skt. *yákṛt*, Gr. *hẽpar*, Lat. *iecur*, Lith. dial. *jẽknos*, Arm. *leard*
ETYM: In Early MoIr. *iuchair* is inflected as a dental stem, but it appears that it was originally an i-stem. The semantic development from 'liver' to

'roe' has its exact parallel in Slavic (cf. Russ. *ikrá* 'roe, caviar'). In both Slavic and Celtic the original static ablaut pattern (*yēk^{w}r / *yek^{w}n-s) was replaced by a dynamic one (*yek^{w}r / *ik^{w}n-os). Celtic seems to have generalized the zero-grade of the oblique cases and the suffix *-or- from the Nom./Acc. sg.
REF: Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 392.

***imbeto-** 'great quantity' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *imbed* [o n] 'large quantity, abundance of wealth'
W: OW *immet*
GAUL: *Imbetius, Imbetus* [PN]
ETYM: According to Falileyev (91), the reading and meaning of OW *immet* are not certain. The IE etymology is unknown; the word seems to be formed with the suffix *-et-o- (cf., e.g., *kenget- 'warrior'), but what is the root? A connection might exist with Lat. *pinguis* 'fat, greasy', which may go back to PIE *peng^{w}u- /*png^{w}o-, but in that case the etymology relating *pinguis* and Skt. *pī́van-* 'fat, swollen' (de Vaan 2008: 466) must be discarded. A further cognate might be Hitt. *panku-*'all, entire', although this is usually connected to Skt. *bahu-* 'many' (Kloekhorst 2008, s. v.). The correct PCelt. reconstruction would be *fembeto- and word-initial *i-* < *e- would be the result of secondary development before nasals. Of course, this is all very specularive.
REF: Delamarre 189, Falileyev 91.

***isarno- / *īsarno-** 'iron' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *iarn(n)* [o n, later m]
W: MW *haearn* [m]
BRET: OBret. *hoiarn*, MBret. *houarnn,* MoBret. *houarn* [m]
CO: OCo. *hoern*, Co. *hôrn*
GAUL: *Isarnus* [PN]
ETYM: This Celtic word was borrowed into Germanic in prehistoric times (cf. Go. *eisarn,* Eng. *iron*, etc.), cf. Birkhan 1970: 128f. PGerm. *īsarna- implies that the Celtic source had long *ī-. For a possible PIE etymology see Cowgill 1987: 68 (from PIE *h$_1$ēsh$_2$r-no- > PCelt. *īsarno- 'bloody' > 'red' 'iron', cf. Hitt. *eshar* 'blood'). However, the long grade *ē is unexpected (a nominal derivative with vr̥ddhi?). Another possibility is the connection to PIE *(H)ish$_2$ro- 'strong, holy, having supernatural powers' (Gr. *hierós*, Skt. *iṣirá-*). In the latter case, the correct reconstruction is PCelt. *isarno-.
REF: GPC II: 1801, EIEC 314, DGVB 213, Delamarre 192, Deshayes 2003: 336, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 136ff., 256f., Birkhan 1970: 128f. Campanile 1974: 64., Benveniste 1956.

***isk-ā-** 'look for lice' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *escaid* [Verbal Noun] 'searching for lice'
PIE: *h$_2$eys-sḱ- 'seek' (IEW: 16)

COGN: Skt. *icháti* 'seeks', OHG *eisca* 'question', OCS *iskati* 'seek', Lith. *ieškóti* 'ask'
ETYM: The semantic development in Celtic is from 'seek' to 'seek lice' (cf. Latv. *iẽskât* 'look for lice'. However, the PCelt. reconstruction is uncertain since only the verbal noun *escaid* is attested in Irish.
REF: LEIA A-51, LIV 231, Hamp 1974.

***iwo-** 'shaft, yew' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *eó* [o ?m] 'stem, shaft, yew-tree'
W: MW *yw* [p] 'yew, yew-wood'; *ywen* [Singulative]
BRET: OBret. *Caer 'n Iuguinen* [Toponym], MBret. *ivin, iuin*, MoBret. *iwin* [Collective]
CO: OCo. *hiuin* gl. taxus
PIE: *$h_1$eyw- 'yew, *Taxus baccata*' (IEW: 297)
COGN: Hitt. ^{GIS}*e(y)an-* '?yew', OE *īw*, Lith. *ievà* 'bird-cherry', Russ. *íva* 'willow', perhaps Gr. *óa* 'service-tree'
ETYM: These forms should not be confused with PCelt. *eburo- 'ivy', as in EIEC. The Gaulish word for yew-tree is unattested, so far as I know, but it is the source of Fr. *if* (from *iwo-). The form *iuos* (Coligny) is of unknown meaning, pace Lambert 1994. In PIE we seem to have an original u-stem, with Nom. sg. *$h_1$eyu- / Gen. sg. *$h_1$iw-os, which was thematicized independently in different languages. Celtic preserves the stem of the oblique cases. For the phonetic development cf. PCelt. *biwo- 'alive' > OIr. *béo*, W *byw*. The acute in Balto-Slavic, implied by the accentual paradigm a, (cf. Russ. Gen. sg. *ívy*) is unexpected. It may be due to the secondary Balto-Slavic vṛddhi, which is common in nominal derivation and bears the acute (in contradistinction to the inherited lengthened PIE grade formations, which bear the circumflex, cf. Matasović 2008a: 130ff.). Note, however, that Derksen (2008: 216) reconstructs the PIE root as *$h_1$eyH- and does not mention the connection with the Celtic words.
REF: GPC III: 3872, Deshayes 2003: 347, EIEC 654, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 215, Delamarre 159f., Gamillscheg 533.

K^{w}

***k^{w}āk^{w}o-** 'everyone' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *cách*
W: OW *paup*, MW *pawb*
BRET: OBret. *pop*, MBret. *pep*
CO: Co. *pup, pop, pep*
PIE: *k^{w}o-h_3k^{w}o- (IEW: 645)

COGN: OCS *kakъ* 'qualis'
SEE: *k^{w}ēs 'who'
ETYM: Unstressed forms of this word serve as adjectival pronouns meaning 'every' (OIr. *cach, cech*, MW *pob*). The PIE form *k^{w}o-h$_3$k^{w}o- is a compound consisting of the interrogative pronoun stem (*k^{w}o-) and the stem of the word for 'eye' (*h$_3$ek^{w}- > Lat. *oculus* etc.). The original meaning could have been 'whatever the eye (sees)'. Another possibility would be to reconstruct a reduplicated *k^{w}eh$_2$-k^{w}o- (cf. long *ā* in Lat. *quālis*). As Michiel de Vaan points out to me (p.c.) reduplicated interrogatives often yield indefinite pronouns (cf. Lat. *quisquis*).
REF: LEIA C-3, GPC III: 2703, EIEC 457, Falileyev 128.

***k^{w}al-na-** 'go around' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *imm-cella* 'surrounds'
W: MW *pallu* 'die, perish, be destroyed, run out, fail'; *palla* [3s Pres.]
PIE: *k^{w}elh$_1$- 'turn' (IEW: 639f.)
COGN: Skt. *cárati* 'moves, goes', Lat. *colo* 'inhabit, take care of, cultivate'
ETYM: OIr. *imm-cella* < *ambi-k^{w}al-na- (the simplex verb is unattested in Goidelic). The reconstruction of the meaning of PCelt. *k^{w}al-na- is tentative, since the reflexes underwent significant semantic changes, and the simplex verb is unattested. Celtic preserved the zero-grade of the PIE root (*k^{w}l-neh$_1$-, with analogical replacement of PIE *-neh$_1$- > PCelt. *-nī- with the productive suffix *-na-).
REF: KPV 427ff., LIV 386-388, LEIA C-61, GPC III: 2676.

***k^{w}antyo-** 'flat hill' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *céite* [io and iā, m and f] 'hill, eminence, open space, assembly'
W: MW *pant* 'valley'
BRET: OBret. *pantet* gl. imminet, MBret. *pant* [m]
CO: Co. *pans* 'valley'
PIE: *kwem-t- 'hill'
COGN: Lat. *cumulus* 'hill', OE *hwamm* 'projection', OIc. *hvammr* 'small angular valley'
ETYM: The alternation between an io- and an iā-stem in MIr. probably shows that this word is a substantivized adjective; the original meaning could have been 'protruding' vel. sim. The reading and the meaning of OBret. *pantet* are uncertain (another possible reading is Lat. *pandit*). The IE etymology is very problematic. Lat. *cumulus* can also be derived from *kumos, which is in turn from *kuh$_2$mo- 'heap' (cf. Gr. *kŷma* 'wave, sprout'), perhaps with *ū > *u* by Dybo's law (de Vaan 2008: 152f.).
REF: LEIA C-58, DGVB 280, Deshayes 2003: 556, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 273.

***k^{w}anā** 'where from' [Particle]
GOID: OIr. *can*

W: OW *pan*, MW *pan*
BRET: MBret. *pe-ban*
REF: LEIA C-29f., Falileyev 127.

***k^{w}aryo-** 'cauldron' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *coire* [io m]
W: MW *peir* [m] (GPC *pair*)
BRET: MoBret. *per* [m]
CO: OCo. *per* gl. lebes
PIE: *k^{w}eru- 'cauldron' (IEW: 642)
COGN: Skt. *carú-* 'cauldron, vase', Russ. *čára*, OE *hwer*
ETYM: Pr. *pairol* 'jar' is from the Gaulish reflex of this PCelt. word. The yo-stem in Celtic must be secondary, since all other evidence points to a u-stem, PIE *k^{w}eru-s; PCelt. *k^{w}ar- could have been generalized from the zero-grade *k^{w}rw-, or the u-stem was replaced early by an i-stem *k^{w}eri-s / *k^{w}ry-os, from the oblique cases of which we have PCelt. *k^{w}aryo-. Russ. *čára*, if related, must represent a Slavic vṛddhi formation (rather than the inherited PIE lengthened grade of the root).
REF: LEIA C-153, GPC III: 2669, EIEC 443, Deshayes 2003: 572, Matasović 2004: 114.

***k^{w}aso-** 'cough' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *casachtach* [ā f] (DIL *cosachtach*) 'the act of coughing'
W: W *pas* [m] 'whooping cough'
BRET: OBret. *pas* gl. catarrus, MBret. *pas, paz*
CO: Co. *pās*,MoCo. *pāz*
PIE: *k^{w}eh$_2$s-t- 'cough' (IEW: 649)
COGN: Skt. *kā́s-* 'cough', OHG *huosto*, Lith. *kósti*, Russ. *kášelj*
ETYM: The Celtic forms are from the zero-grade *k^{w}h$_2$st- of this originally onomatopoetic root. The laryngeal is assured by the acute in Lithuanian and Slavic.
REF: LEIA C-215, GPC III: 2696f., DGVB 281, Hamp 1980.

***k^{w}āti-** 'chaff, husks' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cáith* [i f] gl. furfur
PIE: *(s)kweh$_1$t- 'agitate' (IEW: 632)
COGN: Lat. *quatio* 'agitate, disturb, shake', OHG *scutten* 'to shake'.
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the OIr. form would have to be derived from PIE *k^{w}oh$_1$ti-, with the o-grade. Lith. *kùsti* 'to recover' cannot be related if there was a laryngeal in this root. However, the reconstructed PIE root shape is highly unusual.
REF: LEIA C-23, EIEC 113.

***-k^{w}e** 'and' [Conjunction]
GOID: OIr. *-ch*

GAUL: *eti-c* (La Graufesenque)
LEP: *-pe* (in *Sapsutai:pe*)
CELTIB: *-kue*
PIE: *-k^{w}e 'and' (IEW: 635)
COGN: Lat. *-que,* Gr. *-te*, Skt. *ca*
REF: LEIA C-89, Solinas 1995: 375, Jordán Cólera 1998: 17, 103, 149, MLH V.1: 206, Solinas 1995: 375.

***k^{w}ef-** 'pant, breathe' [Vb]
W: W *peuo* 'roar, breathe'
PIE: *kwep- 'breathe, pant' (IEW: 596)
COGN: Lith. *kvepiù* 'breathe'
ETYM: This is not a very strong etymology, since the primary meaning of W *peuo, peuaf* (according to GPC) is 'bellow, roar', and only secondarily 'pant, breathe'. The Welsh verb is attested late, only in the 16th century. Moreover, other putative IE cognates in IEW (apart from Lith. *kvepiù* and the related Baltic forms) can be easily dismissed.
REF: GPC III: 2790, Fowkes 1945, LIV 336.

***k^{w}ello-** 'far' [Adj]
W: MW *pell*
BRET: MBret. *pell*
CO: Co. *pell*
PIE: *k^{w}el- (?) 'turn' (IEW: 640)
COGN: Gr. *tẽle* 'far', *pálai* 'long time ago'
ETYM: A rather speculative etymology, relying, as it does, just on the parallel between Greek and Brittonic. Skt. *cirám* 'long time ago' adduced by IEW (641) is not related (Mayrhofer, *s. v.*). The geminate *ll in Brittonic could be from a number of sources, e.g. *ly, or *ls, and it is impossible to decide which is the most probable of them.
REF: GPC III: 2723, Deshayes 566.

***k^{w}end-s-o-** 'suffer' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *césaid, -césa*; *césais* [Pret.]
PIE: *k^{w}end^{h}- 'suffer, be pressed' (IEW: 641)
COGN: Gr. *páskhō*, Lith. *kentù*
ETYM: Since the large majority of weak a-verbs are denominative, Bammesberger (1974-5) suggests that OIr. *céssaid* is built to an unattested noun *céss < *k^{w}ensā 'suffering'. A proto-form *k^{w}enssā or *k^{w}anssā < PIE *k^{w}nd^{h}-teh$_2$ is equally possible (cf. PCelt. *fanssā 'footprint' > OIr. *és*).
REF: LEIA C-79f., LIV 349, Bammesberger 1974-5.

***k^{w}enk^{w}e** 'five' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *cóic*
W: OW *pimp*, MW *pymp* (GPC *pump, pum, pym(p)*)

BRET: OBret. *pemp*, MBret. and MoBret. *pemp*
CO: Co. *pymp*
GAUL: *pempe-*
PIE: *penk^{w}e '5' (IEW: 808)
COGN: Skt. *páñca*, Gr. *pénte*, Lat. *quīnque,* Go. *fimf*, Lith. *penkì*, OCS *pętь*, Alb. *pesë*
ETYM: The ordinal *k^{w}enk^{w}eto- can be reconstructed on the basis of OW *pimphet,* Gaul. *pinpetos* (La Graufesenque), MBret. *pempet* and OIr. *cóiced.* OIr. *deac, deëc* 'ten' is often derived from *dwē-penk^{w}om, with the loss of *-p-* rather than the assimilation with the following *k^{w}, but doubts have been raised on the possibility of this derivation (Cowgill 1970: 145, Schrijver 1993). The form *dwē-penk^{w}om looks quite artificial, and the sound development that has to be assumed is difficult. However, Cowgill's suggestion that *deëc* is from the Gen. sg. *dekan-os through metathesis (*deankos > *deëc*) is hardly more persuasive. A derivation from PCelt. *dekan-k^{w}e 'ten and' with the apocope of final *-e (*dekank^{w}e > *dekank > *deank > *deëc*) is possible if one accepts the dissimilatory loss of the first velar stop (Schrijver 1993).
REF: LEIA C-142f., D-36, GPC III: 2928f., DGVB 283, EIEC 98, 100, 401, Delamarre 248, Falileyev 131, Deshayes 2003: 567, Schrijver 1995: 27, 349, Schrijver 1993.

***k^{w}enk^{w}eto-** 'fifth' [Num]
SEE: *k^{w}enk^{w}e 'five'

***k^{w}enno-** 'head' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cenn* [o n > m], Ogam *CUNA-CENNI*
W: OW *penn* [m], MW *penn*, (GPC *pen*)
BRET: OBret. *penn, pen*, MoBret. *penn* [m]
CO: OCo. *pen* gl. capud, MCo. *pen*
GAUL: *pennon* (Clermont-Ferrand, RIG L-136), *Penno-ouindos* [PN]
ETYM: MIr. spelling *cend* (rather than *cenn*) is late, and does not prove a pre-form *k^{w}endo-. Ogam PN *CUNA-CENNI* (Gen. sg.) has the perfect match in Gaul. *Cunopennus* 'Dog-head'. OIr. *conn* [o m] 'chief' is sometimes derived from the same root (see PCelt. *k^{w}ondos). If that is so, the ablaut shows that these words are inherited rather than borrowed from some substratum, but all attempts to identify a PIE root have proven futile.
REF: LEIA C-66, GPC III: 2726f., DGVB 283, LP 45, Delamarre 249, Falileyev 129, Campanile 1974: 86, Deshayes 2003: 567, Ziegler 1994: 111, Sims-Williams 2006: 98.

***k^{w}ēno-** 'long' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cían* [o]
PIE: *k^{w}eyH- 'rest' (IEW: 638)
COGN: Go. *hweila* 'period, time', OCS *po-čiti* 'rest', Lat. *quiēs* 'rest'

ETYM: Celtic presupposes PIE *k^{w}eyH-no-. Different IE languages show different extensions of this root. The suffix *-no- occurs only in Celtic.
REF: LEIA C-94f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 252.

***k^{w}er-** 'make, cause' [Vb]
W: MW *peri* 'cause, create, make'; *paraf, peraf* [1s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *paras* [3s Pret.]
PIE: *k^{w}er- 'do, make' (IEW: 641f.)
COGN: Skt. *kṛṇóti* 'does', OCS *čarъ* 'magic', Lith. *keriù* 'enchant'
SEE: *k^{w}ritu-
ETYM: The present stem formation of this PCelt. verbal root cannot be reconstructed.
REF: GPC III: 2685.

***k^{w}erxt-** 'bush' (?) [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *ceirt* 'apple-tree, letter *q* in Ogam'
W: MW *perth* 'bush, hedge, thicket' [f]
CO: Co. *Pen-berth* [Toponym]
PIE: *perk^{w}u- 'oak' (IEW: 822)
COGN: Lat. *quercus*, OE *furh* 'fir'
ETYM: Since MIr. *ceirt* is known only from glossaries and as the name of the Ogam letter Q, this etymology is not very strong. Even so, at least the derivation of W *perth* from PIE *perk^{w}-t- may be regular: first *p...k^{w} assimilated to *k^{w}...k^{w}, then *k^{w} > *x before *t, and finally initial *k^{w} > *p* in Brittonic. The ancient name of the Ardennes, *Hercynia (silva), Herkynios (drymós)* is usually derived from PIE *perk^{w}-unyo- > PCelt. *ferkunyo-, Gaul. *erkunyo- (cp. Go. *fairguni* 'mountain'). If this etymology is correct, it shows that the regular assimilation of *p^{w}...*k^{w} to *k...*k^{w} occurred after the delabialization of *k^{w} before *u.
REF: LEIA C-56, GPC III: 2780, Lambert 1994: 37.

***k^{w}ēs** 'who' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *cía*
W: OW *pui,* MW *pwy*
BRET: OBret. *pou,* MBret. *piou*
CO: Co. *pyw*
PIE: *k^{w}e/o-y- 'who, what' (IEW: 635)
COGN: Lat. *quis* 'who', Hitt. *kuis*, Gr. *tís* 'who', Skt. *kím* 'what'
SEE: *k^{w}id 'what'
ETYM: MBret. *piou*, Co. *pyw* are results of metathesis (*wy > *yw*). PCelt. *k^{w}ē- preserves the full grade, PIE *k^{w}ey-. This shape of the root of the interrogative pronoun is probably older than *k^{w}o- (Skt. *kás,* OCS *kъ-to* 'who'), which is parallel to the demonstrative pronoun stem *so-, *to-. Celtic unexpectedly has the full grade of the root *k^{w}i- (but cf. also Gr.

Doric adverb *peĩ* 'where'). The creation of the full grade stem *k^{w}ey- may be a secondary development within Celtic, but cf. Lat. *quī* < *k^{w}oy.
REF: LEIA C-91f., GPC III: 2946, EIEC 456, Falileyev 134, GPC 2946f.

***k^{w}ēslā** 'mind, spirit, reason' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cíall* [ā f]
W: OW *puil* [m and f], MW *pwyll*
BRET: MBret. *poell,* MoBret. *pouell* [m] 'connection, reason'
CO: OCo. *gur-bull-oc* gl. insanus, MoCo. *poll*
PIE: *k^{w}eys- 'perceive' (IEW: 637)
SEE: *ad-k^{w}is-o- 'see'
ETYM: The correct morphological segmentation is probably *kwēs-slā, i. e. the suffix is *-slo-/*-slā.
REF: LEIA C-94, GPC III: 2948f., Falileyev 134, Deshayes 2003: 593, Schrijver 1995: 224.

***k^{w}etwores** 'four' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *ceth(a)ir* [m]; *cetheoir* [f]
W: OW *petguar,* MW *pedwar* [m]; *pedeir* [f]
BRET: OBret. *petguar,* MBret. *peuar*; *peder* [f], MoBret. *pewar*
CO: Co. *peswar*; *pedyr* [f]
GAUL: *petuar[ios]* [Ordinal]; *Petru-corii* [Ethnonym] = 'Périgord'
PIE: *k^{w}etwores '4' (IEW: 642)
COGN: Skt. *catvắras*, Lat. *quattuor*, Gr. *téttares*, Go. *fidwor*, Lith. *keturì*, OCS *četyre*, ToA *śtwar*, Arm. *čork^{c}*
REF: LEIA C-87, GPC III: 2710f., DGVB 284, LP 3, 44, EIEC 97f., LHEB 397, Falileyev 120, Delamarre 250, Deshayes 2003: 575.

***k^{w}ezdi-** 'piece, portion' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cuit* [i f]
W: OW *ped,* MW *peth* 'thing' [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *pez*, MoBret. *pezh* [m]
CO: Co. *peth, pyth*
ETYM: Medieval Latin *petia terrae* 'piece of land' is from the lost Gaulish *pettia (cf. also Fr. *pièce* 'piece', etc.). PCelt. *k^{w}ezdi- does not seem to have any cognates in other IE languages, so it may have been borrowed from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA C-280f., GPC III: 2789f., Delamarre 249, Falileyev 128, Deshayes 2003: 575, Schrijver 1995: 261.

***k^{w}id** 'what'
GOID: OIr. *cid*
PIE: *k^{w}id 'what' (IEW: 646f.)
COGN: Lat. *quid*, Skt. *kím* 'what', *cid* 'even', Gr. *ti*
SEE: *k^{w}ēs 'who'

REF: LEIA C-91f.

***k^{w}inut-** 'crime, mistake, guilt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cin* [m t]
PIE: *k^{w}ey- 'esteem, regard; make pay, exact revenge' (IEW: 637)
COGN: Skt. *cáyate* 'punishes', Av. *kaēna* 'punishment', Gr. *tíō* 'honor', *tínō* 'make someone pay'
ETYM: The word formation of this word is rather strange (the only comparable forms in this dictionary are *karut- 'champion' and, perhaps, *regut- 'forearm', s. v. *reg-o- 'stretch'). This fact, as well as the lack of cognates in other Celtic languages besides Irish, makes this a speculative etymology. However, the semantics of the derivation from PIE *k^{w}ey- 'punish' are fine.
REF: LEIA C-101, EIEC 123, Benveniste 1969.

***k^{w}is-o-** 'see' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-cí, -aicci*; *-accastar* [Pret. Pass.]; *-accae* [Perf.]
GAUL: *pissíiumí* [1 s Pres.] (Chamalières); *appisetu* (Thiaucourt)
PIE: *k^{w}eys- 'perceive' (IEW: 637)
COGN: Av. *cinahmi* 'determine', Lat. *cūra* 'anxiety, care'
ETYM: OIr. *ad-cí* < *ad-k^{w}is-yo- (the simplex is unattested). OIr. *senchae* 'storyteller' can be derived from an old compound *seno-k^{w}oysyos 'old/ancient witness' (McCone 1995). Gaul. *pissíiumi* might be in the future, rather than the present tense (McCone 2006: 187).
REF: LIV 340f., Delamarre 251, McCone 1995, Uhlich 2002: 414.

***k^{w}o-** 'to' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *co* [Geminating, +Acc.]
W: MW *py* (GPC *pwy*)
PIE: *k^{w}o- [Prep.] (IEW: 613)
COGN: OCS *kъ* 'to'
REF: LEIA C-133, GPC III: 2948, GOI 501f.

***k^{w}ok^{w}-o-** 'cook, bake' [Vb]
W: MW *pobi*
BRET: MBret. *pibi, poba*, MoBret. *pobad*
CO: Co. *pobas*
PIE: *pek^{w}- 'cook' (IEW: 798)
COGN: Skt. *pácate,* Lat. *coquo*, Gr. *péssō*, OCS *pešti*, *pečetъ* [Pres. 3s], Lith. *kepù, kèpti*, Alb. *pjek*
ETYM: Cf. also W *poeth* 'hot', MBret. *poaz*, MoBret. *poazh* 'cooked', Co. *poth* 'hot' < PCelt. *k^{w}oxto- < *k^{w}ok^{w}to- < PIE *pok^{w}to- 'cooked' (passive participle, cf. OCS *potъ* 'sweat').
REF: KPV 429, GPC III: 2835f., LP 3, LIV 468.

***k^{w}olu-** 'wheel' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cul* 'chariot' or 'part of a chariot'
PIE: *k^{w}ol-o- 'wheel' (IEW: 639)
COGN: Gr. *pólos* 'axis', OE *hweol*, OCS *kolo* 'wheel', Lith. *kãklas* 'neck'
SEE: *k^{w}al-na- 'go around'
ETYM: MIr. *cul* is poorly attested. It is known chiefly from glossaries, so this etymology is uncertain.
REF: LEIA C-283.

***k^{w}on-** 'dog' [Noun] (Nom. s ***k(w)ū**, Gen. s ***kunos**)
GOID: OIr. *cú* [n m], Ogam *VEDA-CUNAS*
W: MW *ki, ci* [m]; *cwn* [p]
BRET: MBret. *ci, qui*, MoBret. *ki* [m]
CO: OCo. *ci* gl. canis
GAUL: *Cuno-pennus* 'Dog-head' [PN]
PIE: *ḱ(u)wōn 'dog' (IEW: 632)
COGN: Skt. *śvā́*, Gr. *kýōn*, Lat. *canis*, Germ. *Hund*, Lith. *šuõ*, ToA *ku,* Arm. *šun*
ETYM: PCelt. *k^{w} (from PIE cluster *ḱw) was delabialized before *u/ū, e.g. in the Nom. pl. (*k^{w}unes > *kunes), hence we have W *ci* rather than **pi. The Celtic forms are consistent with a PCelt. ablauting paradigm, with Nom. sg. *kū, Acc. sg. *k^{w}onam *or, analogically, *kon-am), Gen. sg. *kun-os.
REF: LEIA C-257f., GPC I: 474, EIEC 98, 168, Delamarre 132, Campanile 1974: 27, Deshayes 2003: 390, Matasović 2004: 53, 88, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 27ff., Ziegler 1994: 110.

***k^{w}oxto-** 'hot' [Adj]
SEE: *k^{w}ok^{w}-o- 'cook'

***k^{w}resno-** 'wood, tree' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *crann* [o n]
W: MW *prenn* [m] (GPC *pren*)
BRET: OBret. *pren,* MBret. *prenn*, MoBret. *prenn* [m]
CO: OCo. *pren* gl. lignum, Co. *pren*
GAUL: *prenne* gl. arborem grandem (Endlicher's Glossary)
PIE: *k^{w}res- 'bush, thicket' (IEW: 633)
COGN: OE *hyrst* 'bushes'
REF: LEIA C-222f., GPC III: 2873, DGVB 289, Deshayes 2003: 599, Schrijver 1995: 39, Lambert 1994: 203, Delamarre 252, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 256f.

***k^{w}rimi-** 'worm' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cruim* [?i f] 'worm, maggot'
W: OW *prem*, MW *pryf* [m]; *pryfed* [p]
BRET: MBret. *preff,* MoBret. *preñv* [m]

CO: OCo. *prif* gl. uermis, MCo. *pref*
PIE: *k^{w}rmi- 'worm' (IEW: 1152)
COGN: Skt. *kṛ́mi-*, Alb. *krimb*, Lith. *kirmìs*, Slovene *črm*
ETYM: The u-vocalism in OIr. *cruim* is a trace of the preceding labiovelar. Note that the reflex of the syllabic *r > *ri is regular before *m as well as before stops.
REF: LEIA C-252, GPC III: 2919f., EIEC 649, Deshayes 2003: 600, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 72.

***k^{w}ri-na-** 'buy' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *crenaid, -cren*; *crieid, -cria* [Subj.]; *cíuraid, -cíurai* [Fut.], *cíuir* [Pret.]; *críthae, -críth* [Pass.]
W: OW *prinit* [3s Pres.], MW *prynu*
BRET: MBret. *prenaff*, MoBret. *prenañ*
CO: OCo. *prinid*, Co. *prena*
GAUL: *prinas* 'bought' (?) (La Graufesenque no. 46)
PIE: *k^{w}reyh$_2$- 'buy, exchange' (IEW: 648)
COGN: Skt. *krīṇā́ti*, Gr. *príasthai*, ORuss. *kriti*
ETYM: The interpretation of Gaul. *prinas* is very uncertain (it may even not be a verbal form). Cf. also OIr. *críth* [ā f] 'act of buying', W *prid* 'dear, expensive' < PCelt. *k^{w}rīto- < PIE *k^{w}rih$_3$-to- (past passive participle, where the operation of Dybo's law would be expected).
REF: KPV 438ff., LIV 395f., GPC III: 2882, 2923, LP 354, LEIA C-229ff., D-117, Falileyev 133, McCone 1991: 11, Delamarre 253, Deshayes 2003: 599.

***k^{w}ritu-** 'magical transformation, shape' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cruth* [u m] 'shape, form', also *creth* 'poetry', Ogam *QRITTI* [Gen. s] ? 'poet's'
W: MW *pryd* [m] 'form, shape, time'
BRET: MBret. *pred* [m] 'moment'
CO: OCo. *prit* gl. hora, Co. *prys*
GAUL: *Prittius* (?) [PN]
SEE: *k^{w}er- 'make, cause'
ETYM: OIr. *creth* was abstracted from the regular Gen. sg. *creth-o* of the original u-stem *cruth*. In W, GPC separates *pryd* 'time, moment' and *pryd* 'face, appearance' as two lexical entries and doubts whether their etymologies are identical.
REF: LEIA C-232, 256, GPC III: 2915f., EIEC 362, Pedersen I: 43, Watkins 1965, Deshayes 2003: 598, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 290, Delamarre 253, Ziegler 1994: 111.

***k^{w}rīyet-** 'clay, earth, mud' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cré* [t f]; *inna críad* [Gen s] gl. luti
W: MW *pridd* [m]

BRET: OBret. *pri* gl. creta, MBret. *pry, pri*, MoBret. *pri* [m]
CO: Co. *pry*
ETYM: These words are probably related to Lat. *crēta* 'chalk', but details are obscure. Mallory & Adams 2006: 121 reconstruct PIE *$tk^{w}reh_{1}yot$- and add ToB *tukri* 'clay'. Perhaps it is more sensible to start with the root *$k^{w}reh_{1}$- with the suffix (?) *-yet- and assume that the Tocharian words contain some kind of prefix. It is also possible that all of these words were borrowed from non-IE languages.
REF: LEIA C-224, GPC III: 2883, Deshayes 2003: 600, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 21, 173, Mallory & Adams 2006: 121.

K

***kādo-** 'regret, anger' [Noun]
W: MW *cawdd* [m] 'anger'
BRET: MBret. *cuez, queuz*, MoBret. *keuz* [m] 'regret, affliction'
CO: Co. *kueth, cüth* 'regret'
PIE: *$\acute{k}eh_{2}do$- 'strong negative emotion' (IEW: 517)
COGN: Gr. *kẽdos* 'suffering, concern', OHG *haz* 'hate'
SEE: *kassi- 'hatred, hate'
ETYM: OIr. *cais* 'hate' goes back to zero-grade *$kh_{2}d$-ti- > PCelt. *kass-i-, while W *cawdd* represents the full grade *$keh_{2}do$-. There may have been an ablauting paradigm *kād- / *kad- in PCelt.
REF: LEIA C-22, GPC I: 442, Deshayes 2003: 388, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 149.

***kā(g)ni-** 'law, tribute' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cáin* [f i]
W: MW *di-gawn* [m] 'plenty, abundance' (GPC *digon, digawn*); *digoni* [Vb] 'perform (masterly), be able'
PIE: *$keh_{2/3}\acute{g}$-n-
COGN: OCS *kaznь* 'punishment'
ETYM: Another etymology is found in EIEC 563; it derives the attested forms from PCelt. *kaxni- < *kapni-, but this is unlikely in the light of the development of *pn > *wn (cf. PIE *supno- > PCelt. *sowno- 'sleep'). OIr. *cáinid* 'to satirize' could also be related to this root. The Welsh forms are sometimes related to Lat. *cōnor* 'attempt', OCS *kaniti* 'intend' < PIE *$keh_{3}n$-. Finally, one could start from PIE *$\acute{k}eh_{2}s$- 'to speak, proclaim' (Skt. *śās*- 'instruct, punish, command', LIV *$\acute{k}eHs$-), and derive PCelt. *kāni- from *$\acute{k}eh_{2}s$-eni- (*$\acute{k}eh_{2}sni$- is less likely, since *-sn- > *-nn- in PCelt. is

expected on the evidence of *kasninā 'garlic' > OIr. *cainnenn*). There is no way to decide with certainty which of the various possibilities is most likely.
REF: LEIA C-16, GPC I: 998, EIEC 563, O'Brien 1956: 172.

***kag-o-** 'get, receive' [Vb]
W: MW *cael* (GPC *cael, caffael, caffu*); *kehy* [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *caffout* 'find'
CO: Co. *kavoes*
PIE: *kag^{h}- 'take, grab' (IEW: 518)
COGN: Lat. *in-cohāre* 'begin', Osc. *kahad* 'takes' [Subj.]
ETYM: Since the distribution of cognates is limited to Europe, and the root has a distinctly non-IE shape (with voiceless and aspirated stops and the vowel *a), this is probably a borrowing from some unknown non-IE language (de Vaan 2008: 123).
REF: KPV 386f., LIV 342, GPC I: 386f., Deshayes 2003: 376.

***kagro-** 'enclosure, fort' [Noun]
SEE: *kagyo- 'pen, enclosure'

***kagyo-** 'pen, enclosure' [Noun]
W: MW *kay, kae* (GPC *cae*) [m] 'hedge, hedge-row, fence, enclosure'
BRET: OBret. *cai*, MBret. *quae*, MoBret. *kae* [m]
CO: Co. *ke*
GAUL: *cagiion* (Cajarc), *caio* 'breialo sive bigardio' (Endlicher's Glossary)
PIE: *kag^{h}o- 'enclosure'
COGN: OE *haga* 'field' (IEW: 518)
ETYM: Gaul. *kagio- 'enclosure' is presumably the source of Fr. *quai* 'quay, wharf' (Gamillscheg 735). The Brittonic word for 'town', W *caer*, MBret. *ker*, Co. *caer*, are probably from the same root (PCelt. *kagro- 'enclosure, fort'). In any case, the a-vocalism, as well as the distribution of the reflexes to NW Europe, points to the possibility that these words were borrowed from some non-IE language (cf. also *kag-o- 'get, receive').
REF: GPC I: 382, Delamarre 97, Deshayes 2003: 357, Gamillscheg 735.

***kakkā** 'excrement' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cacc* [ā f]
W: W *cach* [m]
BRET: MBret. *cauch*, MoBret. *kac'h* [m]
CO: Co. *caugh*
PIE: *kakko- 'defecate, excrement' (IEW: 521)
COGN: Lat. *cacco*, Gr. *kakkáō*
ETYM: Cf. also MW denominative verb *cachu* 'defecate'. A vulgar, expressive word that violates the rules of PIE root formation (with geminated *kk and the vowel *a).
REF: LEIA C-2, GPC I: 374, Deshayes 2003: 356.

***kaleto-** 'hard, cruel, strong' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *calad* [o]
W: MW *caled*
BRET: MBret. *calet, caled*, MoBret. *kaled*
CO: Co. *cales, calas, calys*
GAUL: *Caleti* [Ethnonym]
PIE: *ḱlH-eto- 'cold' (IEW: 524)
COGN: Av. *sarəta-* 'cold', Lith. *šálti* 'be cold, frieze', OE *haeled* 'hero'.
ETYM: If this etymology, proposed by Joseph (1982), is correct, the original meaning was 'cold, frozen' > 'hard'. Cf. also the Gaulish PN *Calitix* in Pannonia (Meid 2005: 189). Another possibility (de Vaan 2008: 80) would be to start from PIE *keHl-/*kHl- and compare Lat. *callēre* 'grow hard', Croat. *káliti* 'temper'.
REF: LEIA C-26, GPC I: 392, Deshayes 2003: 360, Joseph 1982, Meid 2005: 189.

***kallī-** 'wood, grove' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *caill* [ʔī f]
W: MW *celli* [f] 'grove, copse'
BRET: MoBret. *Quille-vere* [PN]
CO: OCo. *kelli* gl. nemus
ETYM: The geminate *-ll- is certainly the result of assimilation, but it cannot be ascertained which consonant was originally involved as the second member of the cluster. The obvious solution, PIE *kldo- (Gr. *kládos* 'branch', ON *holt* 'woody hill'), will not do, since we would expect PCelt. *klido- (cf., e.g., PIE *wld- > PCelt. *wlidā 'feast'). Moreover, the cluster *ld would have been preserved in Celtic. A derivation from the root *kelH- 'cut' (IEW 545ff.) remains a possibility, but details are obscure (perhaps one should start with *klHyo- > *kalyo- > *kallo-, and then *kallā, *kallī as secondary formations?).
REF: LEIA C-13, GPC I: 459.

***kalmiyo-** 'skilful, skilled'
GOID: MIr. *calma* 'strong, brave' (gl. fortibus)
W: OW *celmed,* MW *celuit, celuyd* (GPC *celfydd*)
BRET: MBret. *celmed*
ETYM: Cf. also MIr. *calma* 'strength, fortitude'. The Celtib. family name *kalmikum* [Gen. pl.] (Botorrita III) might also be related. No convincing IE etymology has been proposed, so this word is probably a loanword from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA C-27, GPC I: 456, Falileyev 25, Schrijver 1995: 288, MLH V.1: 153.

***kalyāko-** 'rooster' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *cailech* [o m]
W: MW *keilyawc* [m] (GPC *ceiliog, ceilog*)
BRET: MBret. *kilhog, kilheg*
CO: OCo. *chelioc* gl. gallus, Co. *colyek*
GAUL: *Caliaga* [PN]
PIE: *klh$_1$- 'call' (IEW: 549)
COGN: Lat. *calo* 'announce', Gr. *kaléō* 'call', OHG *hellan* 'resound'
ETYM: The attribution of Gaul. *Caliaga* to this root is uncertain, since normally *ly > Gaul. *ll* (cf. *alyo- 'other' > Gaul. *allo-*). The Celtic forms are compatible with PIE *klh$_1$-yo- > PCelt. *kalyo- (with the early loss of H before y?), to which the frequent suffix *-āko- was added. For the development of meaning cf. Germ. *Hahn* < *kan- 'to sing', or Lat. *gallus* 'rooster' < *gel-w- 'call'.
REF: LEIA C-12, GPC I: 451, LP1 6, EIEC 90, 112, LIV 321, Delamarre 98, Campanile 1974: 25.

***kalyo-** 'spot' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *caile* [io m]
PIE: *keh$_2$l / *kh$_2$lo- 'dirty, spotted, dark' (IEW: 548)
COGN: Lat. *calidus* (or *cālidus*) 'with spotted forehead', *cālīgo* 'darkness', Skt. *kāla-* 'dark blue', Croat. *kâl* 'dirt, mud'
ETYM: The PCelt. form must be from *kh$_2$l-yo-; it is uncertain whether all of the forms adduced from other IE languages belong to a single etymon. Mayrhofer interprets *kāla-* (*s. v.*) as a Dravidian loanword.
REF: LEIA C-11.

***kambo-** 'crooked, twisted' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *camm* [o]
W: OW *cam* 'wrong, evil', MW *cam*
BRET: OBret. *camm* gl. obliquus, MBret. *kamm*
CO: Co. *cam* gl. strabo, *cam-hinsic* gl. iniustus
GAUL: *Cambo* [PN], *Cambo-dunum* [Toponym]
PIE: *(s)kambo- 'crooked' (IEW: 918)
COGN: Gr. *skambós*
ETYM: Gaul. *cambion* (Chamalières) is interpreted as 'change', and is the source of Gallo-Latin *cambiare* 'change' (Fr. *changer*, etc.). I find Pokorny's attribution of OIr. *cimbid* 'prisoner', *cimbe* 'captivity' to this root objectionable on semantic grounds (the semantic connection would be 'the one who must bow before his captor' > 'prisoner'). Both PCelt. *kambo- and Gr. *skambós* are probably borrowed from some ancient non-IE substrate; the PIE form contains two very rare sounds in PIE (*b and *a), both of which are indicative of non-IE loanwords.
REF: LEIA C-29, GPC I: 396, DGVB 94f., LP 40, EIEC 143, Falileyev 99, Ellis Evans 1967 320ff., Fleuriot 1976-7: 186, Delamarre 100, Campanile 1974: 20, Sims-Williams 2006: 58f.

***kanawon-** 'young animal, young dog, whelp' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cana, cano* [m n] 'cub, whelp'
W: MW *ceneu* [m] (GPC *cenau, cenaw*)
BRET: OBret. *ceneuan* gl. catulaster, *Ri-keneu* [PN], MBret. *kenou,* MoBret. *kenow* [m] 'small animal'.
PIE: *(s)ken- 'young, new' (IEW: 564)
COGN: Russ. *ščenók* 'young dog, puppy', Skt. *kanyà* 'girl', Arm. *skund* 'young dog'
ETYM: PCelt. *kanawon- is presumably derived from earlier *kenawon- by Joseph's rule. The word formation of this PCelt. etymon is problematic. The suffix may be the same as in *altr-awon- 'uncle', so we may have to start from something like PIE *kn-Hwon- (with the possessive suffix *-Hwon-, cf. the Hitt. suffix of appurtenance *-umen*, or Skt. *-van*, which lengthens the preceding vowel). Of course, this is just a speculation.
REF: LEIA C-32, GPC I: 461, DGVB 101, EIEC 204, Deshayes 2003: 385.

***kani-** 'good, nice' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cain* [i]
W: MW *cein* (GPC *cain*)
BRET: MBret. *quen*, MoBret. *ken*
ETYM: These Celtic words are often derived from *knyo-, from PIE *ken- 'begin' (IEW 563f., cf. Gr. *kainós* 'new', OCS *na-čęti* 'begin'), but the semantic difference is too great. Since a convincing IE etymology is lacking, PCelt. *kani- may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: GPC I: 390, LEIA C-16, Deshayes 2003: 383, LIV 314.

***kankā** 'branch' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *géc* [ā f]
W: MW *ceinc* (GPC *cainc, caing*) [f and m]
PIE: *ḱo(n)kH- 'branch' (IEW: 523)
COGN: Skt. *śā́khā,* Go. *hōha* 'plow', Lith. *šakà*, OCS *soxa* 'plough'
SEE: *kanxtu- 'plough, ploughshare'
ETYM: W *cainc* represents an u-stem (or an ū-stem), while OIr. *géc* (perhaps with *g-* by dissimilation) points rather to an ā-stem. It is difficult to see which is original.
REF: GPC I: 390, LP 43, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44, 278.

***kan-o-** 'sing' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *canaid, -cain*; *canaid, -cana* [Subj.]; *cechnaid, -cechna* [Fut.]; *cechain* [Pret.]
W: OW *canam,* MW *canu*
BRET: MBret. *canaff*
CO: Co. *kana*
PIE: *kan- 'sing' (IEW: 525f.)

COGN: Lat. *cano*, Go. *hana* 'cock'
REF: KPV 387ff., LIV 342, GPC I: 408, Falileyev 21.

***kanta-bw-iyo-** 'perceive' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ceta-bí* 'perceives'
W: MW *kanfot* 'discover' (GPC *canfod, canffod*)
SEE: *bu-yo-
REF: GPC I: 409, KPV 242.

***kanti** 'together with' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *cét-, ceta-*
W: MW *cant, can* (GPC *gan*)
BRET: OBret. *cant,* MoBret. *gant*
CO: OCo. *cant,* Co. *cans*
GAUL: *canti-*, *Cantio-rix* [PN]
PIE: *ḱm-ti- (IEW: 613)
COGN: Gr. *katá*, *kasi-* (in Hom. *kasí-gnētos* 'brother').
SEE: *kom-
ETYM: A nominal derivative from this preposition is OIr. *céite* 'assembly' < *kantyo-, cf. the ancient name of Kent, *Cantium*.
REF: LEIA C-83f., GPC II: 1379, Deshayes 2003: 266, Hamp 1974-5a: 467f., Lambert 1995.

***kantlo-** 'song, singing' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cétal* [o n]
W: MW *kathyl, kathl* (GPC *cathl*) [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *quentel,* MoBret. *kentel* 'lesson' [f]
SEE: *kan-o- 'sing'
ETYM: OIr. *cétal* is the verbal noun of *canid* 'sings'.
REF: GPC I: 442, LP 48, Deshayes 2003: 385.

***kantom** '100' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *cét*
W: OW *cant,* MW *cant*
BRET: OBret. *cant,* MBret. *kant*
CO: Co. *cans*
GAUL: *Canto-mili* [PN], Gallo-Lat. *cantedon* '100 feet' (Isidore of Seville)
CELTIB: *kantom* (Botorrita I)
PIE: *dḱmtom '100' (IEW: 192)
COGN: Lat. *centum*, Skt. *śatám*, Gr. *he-katón*, Go. *hund*, Lith. *šimtas*, ToB *kante*
REF: LEIA C-82, GPC I: 418, DGVB 96, Delamarre 104, Falileyev 21, Campanile 1974: 21, MLH V.1: 157.

***kanxsman-** 'step, act of stepping' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *céimm* [n n]
W: OW *cemmein* [p], MW *cam* [m]
BRET: MBret. *cam*
CO: Co. *cam*
CELTIB: *kamanom* (?) (Botorrita I)
ETYM: VLat. *cammīnus 'path, way' (Fr. *chemin*, It. *camino*, etc.) is a reflex of the Gaulish cognate of this word (Gamillscheg 220). Meid 1994a: 22 interprets Celtib. *kamanom* as 'way', but I doubt whether it is related to PCelt. *kanxsman at all, since the derivation requires many *ad hoc* sound changes (my doubts are shared by Wodtko, cf. MLH V.1: 155). An etymological connection of PCelt. *kanxsman- with *keng-o- 'step' appears probable.
REF: LEIA C-55, GPC I: 396, Falileyev 25, Gamillscheg 220, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 265, Stüber 1998: 64, Schrijver 1995: 375, Meid 1994a: 22, Eska 1989: 145, MLH V.1: 154f.

***kanxtV-** 'power' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cécht*
PIE: *ḱe(n)k- 'force' (IEW: 522)
COGN: Skt. *śáktí-* 'power', *śaknóti* 'is able, helps', ON *háttr* 'ability'
ETYM: This is not a particularly strong etymology, because the MIr. word is poorly attested (only as a glossary entry). W *pybyr* 'strong' is probably unrelated.
REF: LEIA C-52, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 285.

***kanxtu-** 'plough, plough-beam' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cécht* [u m]
PIE: *ḱnk-t- 'pointed object' (IEW: 523)
COGN: Skt. *śakti-* 'spear'
SEE: *kankā 'branch'
ETYM: Obviously a derivative of the PCelt. word for 'branch'. For the change of meaning cf. OCS *soxa* 'plough' vs. Lith. *šakà* 'branch' < PIE *ḱokHo-. On the connection of Skt. *śákti-* 'power' to *śakti-* 'spear' see Mayrhofer, *s. v.* A. Lubotsky (p. c.) doubts whether *śakti-* 'spear' exists.
REF: LEIA C-52, EIEC 80, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 290.

***karafyo-(mon)-** 'shoemaker'
GOID: OIr. *cairem* [n m] gl. sutor
W: MW *crydd* [m]
BRET: MoBret. *kere* [m], *kereour*
CO: Co. *quere, keryor*
PIE: *krh$_1$pi- 'shoe' (IEW: 581)
COGN: Gr. *krēpís*, Lith. *kùrpė*
ETYM: OIr. *cairem* goes back to *karafyo-mū < PIE *-mōn. The PIE suffix *-mōn is productive in OIr. names for occupations (Remmer 2002-3). The

Brittonic forms represent simple *karafyo-. The derivation from PIE is problematic. One would have to assume that *p > *f was lost before the vocalization of the resonant, i. e. *krpyo- > *krfyo- > *kryo- > *karyo-, an impossible relative chronology in the light of the development of PIE *krp- > PCelt. *krif- 'body'. Moreover, *rp would have yielded *rr in PCelt., cf. *serp- > PCelt. *serrā. The only solution seems to be to start from *kerh$_2$p- which would have yielded PCelt. *karaf- (by Joseph's rule). A derivation *karafyomon- would give *karayomon > *karēmon > OIr. *cairem*. The Brittonic forms then must be from *kerh$_2$pyo- > *karafiyo- > *karayyos (with subsequent loss of the first vowel in W *crydd* as in *cwan* from *kawano-). In any case, the proto-form *karpyo- (in LEIA C-21) is impossible. ON *hreflingr* 'a kind of shoe' does not point to a form of the root without a laryngeal (*krep-), because it is derived from PGerm. *hrefaz 'womb, belly' (OE *hrif*, cf. Orel 2003: 185).
REF: LEIA C-21, GPC I: 621, Deshayes 2003: 386, EIEC 514, Matasović 2004: 117, Remmer 2002-3: 186.

***karant-** 'friend' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cara* [nt m]
W: MW *car* [m] (GPC *câr*); *ceraint* [p]
BRET: MBret. *car*, MoBret. *kar* 'parent'
CO: OCo. *car* gl. amicus
GAUL: *Caranto-* [PN], *Carantōna* [Hydronym] (*Charente*)
SEE: *kar-o- 'love'
ETYM: In origin, this is a present active participle of the verb *kar-o- 'love'.
REF: LEIA C-37f., GPC I: 422, DGVB 97, Lambert 1994: 37, Campanile 1974: 22, Deshayes 2003: 370.

***karbanto-** '(war) chariot' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *carpat* [o m]
GAUL: *carpento-* (Titus Livius XXXI.21.17), *Carbanto-rigum* [Toponym]
ETYM: W *cerbyd* and OBret. *cerpit* are loanwords from Goidelic. A connection of PCelt. *karbanto- with Lat. *corbis* 'basket' is improbable, since *krb- would yield **krib-, not *karb- in PCelt.The a-vocalism and the root-shape (*k...b$^{(h)}$) make it probable that we are dealing with a loanword from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA C-40f., Delamarre 105.

***karno-** 'horn, hoof' [Noun]
W: MW *carn* 'hoof' [m]
BRET: OBret. *carn* gl. ungula caballi, MoBret. *karn* [f]
GAUL: *kárnon* 'Galatian trumpet' (Hesych.)
PIE: *ḱrno- 'horn' (IEW: 574ff.)
COGN: Luv. *zarwani(ya)-* 'of horn', OE *horn*, ORuss. *sъrna* 'roedeer'

SEE: *karwo- 'deer'
ETYM: The Celtic words are from an aniţ variant of the PIE root for 'horn' (*kerh$_2$-, cf. Nussbaum 1986). Probably related is also OIr. *cruë* 'hoof' (cf. Greene 1983). GPC treats *carn* 'mound' and *carn* 'hoof' as one word, which cannot be true for semantic reasons. OIr. *corn* 'horn' and W *corn* 'horn' are usually considered to be Latin loanwords (Haarmann 1970: 119, cf. Lat. *cornu*). However, Gaulish toponyms with the element *Corn-* (e.g. *Cornacum*, cf. Sims-Williams 2006: 65f.) might point to the existence of PCelt. *korno- 'horn'.
REF: GPC I: 429, DGVB 97, EIEC 272, Delamarre 106f., Deshayes 2003: 372, Greene 1983.

***karno-** 'heap of stones, tomb'
GOID: OIr. *carn* [o n]
W: MW *carn* [m and f]; *carnau, cernydd, cerni* [p]
BRET: MBret. *Pen karn* [Toponym], MoBret. *karn* [f]
CO: Co. *carn* 'heap'
GAUL: (?) *karnitu* (Todi) 'erected, constructed' (?); *Carnuntum* [Toponym]
SEE: *karno- 'hoof'
ETYM: The Gaulish form *karnitu* is presumably a denominative verb. I am not sure whether Co. *carn* 'heap' exists at all. It might be the same word as OCo. *carn* gl. ungula, OBret. *carn* gl. ungula caballi, which are related to Lat. *cornu* 'horn' (cf. Campanile 1974: 22).
REF: LEIA C-39f., GPC I: 429, Lambert 1994: 75f., Campanile 1974: 22, Deshayes 2003: 372, Sims-Williams 2006: 59f.

***kar-o-** 'love' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *caraid, -cara*; *cechraid* [Fut]; *carais* [Pret.]
W: MW *caru*
BRET: MBret. *caret*, MoBret. *kared*
CO: Co. *care*
GAUL: *Caro-* [PN]
CELTIB: *Kara* [PN]
PIE: *keh$_2$-ro- 'love' (IEW: 515)
COGN: Lat. *cārus*, OHG *huor* 'prostitute', Latv. *kārs* 'lustful'
SEE: *karant- 'friend'
ETYM: This is a deadjectival verb formed from unattested *karo- 'dear, beloved' < PIE *kh$_2$-ro-. The root is PIE *keh$_2$- (Skt. *kā́ma-* 'love', etc.).
REF: LEIA C-36, GPC I: 422, LIV 306, Ellis Evans 1967: 162, Delamarre 107, Deshayes 2003: 370, MLH V.1: 160f.

***karro-** 'wagon' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *carr* [o m]
W: MW *carr* [m] (GPC *car*); *ceir* [p]
BRET: OBret. *carr,* MBret. *carr,* MoBret. *karr* [m]

CO: Co. *car*
GAUL: *Karródounon* [PN] (Ptolemy)
PIE: *krso- 'run' (IEW: 583)
COGN: Lat. *curro* 'run', OE *hors* 'horse'
ETYM: Lat. *carrus* 'a type of four-wheeled wagon' is an early Celtic loanword (Porzio Gernia 1981: 107). The Celtic forms are regularly derived from the zero-grade of the PIE root *kers- 'run'.
REF: LEIA C-41f., GPC I: 421, DGVB 97, Ellis Evans 1967: 63, Delamarre 107f., Deshayes 2003: 372, Porzio Gernia 1981: 107, McCone 1996: 49, Sims-Williams 2006: 60f.

***karut-** 'champion' [Noun]
SEE: *kawaro- 'hero, champion'

***karwo-** 'deer' [Noun]
W: OW *caru,* MW *carw*
BRET: MBret. *caru, caro,* MoBret. *karw* [m]
CO: OCo. *caruu* gl. cervus
GAUL: *Caruus* [PN]
PIE: *ḱer-n-, *ḱerh$_2$- 'horn' (IEW: 576)
COGN: Lat. *ceruus* 'deer', *cornu* 'horn', Gr. *kéras* 'horn', OCS *krava* 'cow'
ETYM: The Celtic forms presuppose PIE *ḱrwo- > PCelt. *karwo-, i. e. a proto-form without a laryngeal, as in Lat. *cornu, ceruus.* Such a form could have been generalized in (dialectal) PIE from the environments in which the laryngeal had been regularly lost, e.g. *oRH > oR, or *RHy > *Ry. On this root and its variants see Nussbaum 1986.
REF: Pedersen I: 51f., EIEC 272, Delamarre 108, Falileyev 22, Deshayes 2003: 374.

***karyā** 'mistake, sin' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *caire* [iā f]
W: OW *cared* gl. nota, nequitiae, MW *cared, karet*
BRET: MBret. *carez* [f]
CO: Co. *cara*
PIE: *ker- 'abuse, blame' (IEW: 530)
COGN: Lat. *carīno,* OCS *u-koriti,* perhaps ToB *kärn-* 'to strike'
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be regularly derived from a PIE abstract noun *kryeh$_2$ 'blame', with the zero-grade of the root.
REF: LEIA C-20, Falileyev 22, Deshayes 2003: 370.

***kasni-** 'hare' [Noun]
W: W *ceinach* [f]
PIE: *ḱas- (or *ḱh$_2$es-) 'grey, hare' (IEW: 533)
COGN: Skt. *śaśá-* 'hare', Lat. *cānus* 'white-haired', OPr. *sasins* 'hare', OE *hasu* 'hare'

ETYM: The Welsh word for hare is derived with the common Celt. suffix *-āko-. The underived *kasni- (or, perhaps, *kasnī) is, however, unattested.
REF: GPC I: 452, Pedersen I: 86.

***kasninā** 'garlic, leek' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cainnenn, cainenn* [ā f] 'garlic, leek(s)'
W: OW *cennin* [p] 'leeks, daffodils'
BRET: OBret. *caeninn*, MBret. *quinghenn, quinhenn*
CO: OCo. *kenin* gl. allium
PIE: *kesn- (?) 'garlic'
COGN: Russ. *česnók* 'garlic', Croat. *čèšnjak* 'garlic'
ETYM: This word looks like a derivative from *kasni- 'hare', but the similarity is probably accidental. As the a-vocalism shows, these words are presumably loanwords from some non-IE substrate, see Schrijver 1995: 456. The resemblance of the Slavic words for 'garlic' might be accidental, because they can be related to the verbal root *kes- (OCS *česati* 'to comb, to peel).
REF: LEIA C-19, GPC I: 464, DGVB 93, Falileyev 26, Campanile 1974: 24, Schrijver 1995: 456, Falileyev and Isaac 2003.

***kassarā** 'hail-shower, lightning' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *casar* [ā f]
W: MW *kesseir* [p] 'hail, hailstones' (GPC *cesair*); *ceseiren, ceseiryn* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *cazarc'h*, MoBret. *kasarc'h* [m and collective]
CO: OCo. *ceser* gl. grando
PIE: *ḱad- 'fall' (IEW: 516)
COGN: Lat. *cado,* Skt. *śad-* 'fall off, fall out (of teeth)'
ETYM: This is probably originally a collective formation, derived with the suffix *-ro- (cf. *clochar* 'heap of stones, stony place' from *cloch* 'stone'; for this type of collectives cf. Tovar 1972-3). PCelt. *-ss- can be from *-ds-, or, more likely, from *-dt-. We would have PIE *ḱadto- 'fallen' > PCelt. *kasso-, from which the 'collective' *kassaro- was built. The PIE vowel *a in this word is presumably epenthetic (avoiding the initial cluster *ḱd-). It is uncertain whether these words have any connection to PCelt. *kassi- 'hate' < *$ḱh_2$d-ti-.
REF: LEIA C-46, GPC I: 470, LIV 282, EIEC 191, Deshayes 2003: 374, Campanile 1974: 24.

***kassi-** 'hatred, hate' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cais* 'love, hate'
W: OW *cas* [m], MW *cas*
BRET: MBret. *cas*, MoBret. *kas* [m] 'hatred'
CO: Co. *cas*
PIE: *ḱeh_2d- 'strong negative emotion' (IEW: 517)

COGN: Go. *hatis* 'hatred', Av. *sādra-* 'suffering'
SEE: *kādo- 'regret, hate'
ETYM: The meanings of MIr. *cais* depend on the context; the best rendition would be 'strong emotion (whether positive or negative)'. The stem and gender of that word are not stated in DIL. PCelt. *kassi- can be regularly derived from PIE *ḱh$_2$d-ti-, an abstract noun built to the root *ḱeh$_2$d-/*ḱh$_2$d-. I am not sure if this is the same root as *ḱad- 'fall' (see *kassarā 'hail').
REF: LEIA C-22, GPC I: 435, Deshayes 2003: 374, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 149, Falileyev 22f.

***kasso-** 'curly, woven, twisted' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cass* [o] (DIL *cas*), ? Ogam *CAS-ONI*
GAUL: *Cassi-* [PN], *Bodio-casses* [Ethnonym]
ETYM: The connection with the root *kes- 'to comb' (IEW 585, cf. OCS *česati*, PCelt. *kīsrā 'comb') is semantically appealing, but the a-vocalism in Celtic is unexplained (a secondary zero-grade *kasto- instead of the expected *ksto-, with epenthetic *a?).
REF: LEIA C-44f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 324, Birkhan 1967: 115f., Ziegler 1994: 108, Sims-Williams 2006: 61f.

***kato-** 'wise, able' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cath* [o] (DIL *cáid* [i]), *cád, cad*
PIE: *ḱeh$_3$- 'sharpen' (IEW: 542)
COGN: Skt. *śitá-* 'sharpened', Lat. *catus* 'clever'
ETYM: The OIr. word is spelled differently as *cath, cad, cáid and cád* (see DIL for attestetions). It is unclear whether the variability of the length of the root vowel could represent old ablaut. As in Latin, the Celtic word presupposes the semantic development of 'sharp' to 'wise, clever'. A possible cognate is also Gallo-Lat. *caddos* 'holy' (CGL V 493, 30). The attribution to the PIE root *ḱeh$_3$- 'sharp' seems probable; however, the identity of the laryngeal is surmised chiefly on the basis of Lat. *cōs, cōtis* 'whetstone', and the etymology of this word is not completely certain.
REF: Schrijver 1991: 91, de Vaan 2008: 99.

***katrik-** 'fortification' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cathir* [k f] 'town'
COGN: OE *hēaðor* 'enclosure, prison'.
ETYM: The etymology of OIr. *cathir* is quite disputed. W *cadair* 'seat, town', Co. *cadar*, MBret. *cadoer* are from Lat. *cathedra* (ultimately from Greek). OIr. *cathir* is unlikely to have been borrowed from Lat. *castrum*, but even if inherited, the stem formation *katrik-. is unusual. The closest cognate seems to be OE *hēaðor*. I am not sure whether Croat. *kôt* 'sty', *kȍtar* 'administrative unit, province' can also be connected to the Celtic and Germanic forms. The a-vocalism points to the possibility that all or any of these words are loanwords from some non-IE source.

REF: LEIA C-48f., GPC I: 375.

***katto-** 'cat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *catt* [o m]
W: MW *cath* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *caz*, MoBret. *kazh* [m]
CO: Co. *kat*
GAUL: *Cattos* [PN]
COGN: Lat. *cattus*, OHG *kazza*, Russ. *kótka*
ETYM: The word for 'cat' in the European languages is a loanword from some non-IE (maybe north-African) source (cf. Nubian *kadīs* 'cat'). Cats were first domesticated in North Africa, perhaps in the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. In Celtic, the intermediary may have been Latin, but this cannot be proved.
REF: LEIA C-49f., GPC I: 440, EIEC 91, Deshayes 2003: 378.

***katu-** 'battle' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cath* [u m], Ogam *RO-CATOS*
W: OW *cat,* MW *cad* [f]; *cadau, cadoedd* [p]
BRET: OBret. *Catoc* [PN], *-cat* (in compounds, OBret.), MoBret. *kad*
CO: Co. *cas* [f]
GAUL: *Catu-marus* [PN], *Catu-riges* [PN]
PIE: *ḱatu- 'fight' (IEW: 534)
COGN: Hitt. *kattu-* 'enmity', Skt. *śátru-* 'enemy', OHG *hadu-* 'fight', OCS *kotora* 'fight'
ETYM: Celtib. PN *Katunos* might preserve the reflex of PCelt. *katu- in Celtiberian. The a-vocalism in this PIE root is unexpected. Because of its distribution in many branches of IE, this word is unlikely to be a loanword from some non-IE language. A reconstruction *ḱh$_2$et- is unlikely. One way to reconstruct a 'normal' PIE root *ḱet- / *ḱot- (cf. Skt. *śātayati,* as if from < *ḱoteyeti) would be to assume that PCelt. *katu- is a prehistoric loanword from Germanic (borrowed before the operation of Grimm's law). Note that the Slavic reflexes were also probably borrowed from some Centum language (otherwise we would expect *ḱ > Slavic *s). Another possibility would be to reconstruct an ablauting paradigm *ḱotu- / *ḱtw-os, and assume that *a in Celtic is epenthetic, originally introduced to avoid the difficult cluster *ḱtw- in the oblique cases.
REF: LEIA C-47f., GPC I: 374, DGVB 98, EIEC 201, Delamarre 111, Falileyev 23, Deshayes 2003: 358, Ziegler 1994: 109, Sims-Williams 2006: 62f., MLH V.1: 171.

***kat-yo-** 'throw' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *caithid, -caithi*; *caithfid* [Fut.] 'throws, uses, consumes'
GAUL: *cateia* 'projectile' (Servius, *Aen.* VII, 741)

ETYM: The OIr. verb has many meanings, but it is probable that 'throw' is the original one. The PCelt. root *kat- can be compared to ORuss. *kotitisja* 'roll', Russ. *katít'* 'rush', *katát'sja* 'roll, drive', Cz. *kotiti* 'roll, turn'. This would imply a PIE root *keh_2t- / *kh_2t-, with Celtic preserving the zero-grade of the root.
REF: LEIA C-24, Lambert 1994: 202.

***kawanno-** 'owl' [Noun]
W: MW *cwan, cuan* [f]; *cuanod* [p]
BRET: OBret. *couann, couhann,* MoBret. *kaouann*
GAUL: *Cauanos* [PN]
PIE: *kaw- 'owl' (IEW: 535f.)
COGN: OHG *hūwo* 'owl'
ETYM: The existence of the Gaul. word *cauan(n)os* is confirmed by the VLat. loanword *cauannus* (ululae aues... quam auem Galli cauannum uocant, *Schol. Verg. Bern. ad egl.* 8.55), see Delamarre 111, Porzio Gernia 1981: 108. An underived Gaul. *kawā 'owl' could have influenced the development of Fr. *chouette* 'owl' (Gamillscheg 227f.). In Welsh, the vowel in the first syllable was lost irregularly (the proto-form *kawan(n)o- must be assumed because an original *kwan(n)o- would yield *pan in Welsh). The words for 'owl' are often onomatopoetic, cf. also OCS *sova* 'owl', as if from *$\acute{k}aweh_2$. However, all of these words could be parallel formations rather than inherited from the PIE word for 'owl'.
REF: GPC I: 626, Delamarre 111, DGVB 120, Porzio Gernia 1981: 108.

***kawaro-** 'hero, champion' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cuar* [? m] (DIL *cúar, caur*)
W: MW *cawr* [m] 'giant'
CO: OCo. *caur-march* gl. camelus
GAUL: *Kauaros* [PN]
PIE: *$\acute{k}ewh_2$-ro- 'strong' (IEW: 592)
COGN: Skt. *śávīra-, śūra-* 'strong', Gr. *kýrios* 'lord'.
ETYM: OIr. *cuar* is poorly attested, and was confounded with the near-synonym, *caur* [m] (Gen. sg. *curad* 'champion'), which cannot be related directly to these forms. It is rather derived from *karut- (cf. the Germanic ethnonym *Harudes*).
REF: LEIA C-262f., GPC I: 443, Delamarre 112, Morris-Jones 1913: 105, Schrijver 1995: 18.

***kawlā** 'faggot' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cúal* [ā f] 'faggot, bundle of sticks'
PIE: *keh_2ul- 'stalk' (IEW: 537)
COGN: Lat. *caulis* 'stem, stalk, penis', Gr. *kaulós* 'stem', Lith. *káulas* 'bone'
REF: Schrijver 1991: 268f.

***kawno-** 'port, haven' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cúan* [o m]
PIE: *kHp-no- 'take' (IEW: 527)
COGN: Lat. *capio* 'take', OHG *havan* 'haven'
ETYM: The formation with the suffix *-no- in the word for 'haven' is an exclusive Germanic-Celtic isogloss (could it be an early borrowing from Celtic into Germanic?). For the development of *kawno- from *kapno- cf. PCelt. *sowno- 'sleep'.
REF: LEIA C-261, LP 27, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 255.

***kaxto-** 'prisoner, slave' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cacht* [ā f] 'female servant'; *cacht* [o m] 'slave'
W: MW *caeth* [m and f] 'bond, captive, captivity'
BRET: MBret. *quaez,* MoBret. *kaezh* 'poor, unfortunate'
CO: OCo. *cait* gl. servus
PIE: *kHp-to- 'captive' (IEW: 527)
COGN: Lat. *captus*, Go. *hafts*
ETYM: It is possible that these words are borrowed from Lat. *captus* (OIr. *cachtaid* 'catch' is certainly from Lat. *captāre*); however, they could also be inherited; the usual word for 'prisoner' in Lat. is *captīuus*, not *captus*. Fr. *chétif* 'weak, feeble' is usually derived from VLat. *cactīuus, which is, in turn, the result of contamination of Lat. *captīuus* and Gaul. *kaxtos. This is, in itself, a sufficient reason to posit PCelt. *kaxto-.
REF: LEIA C-3, GPC I: 384f., EIEC 90, Deshayes 2003: 358, Picoche 1992: 88, Schmitt 1997.

***kayko-** 'having an eye defect, blind' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cáech* [o]
W: MW *coeg*
CO: OCo. *cuic* gl. luscus vel monophthalmus
PIE: *kayko- 'blind' (IEW: 519)
COGN: Lat. *caecus*, Go. *haihs*, Skt. *kekara-* 'cross-eyed'
ETYM: The a-vocalism of *kayko- is typical of expressive, vulgar words (I see no reason to reconstruct *kh_2ey-ko-, nor to connect these words to PIE *keh_2ilo- 'whole'). It may be a loanword from some non-IE language (such adjectives can be borrowed, cf. Croat. dial. *ćòrav* 'one-eyed' from Turkish *kör*). Gr. *kaikías* 'northeast wind' may be related to these words, but it is difficult to see the semantic connection.
REF: LEIA C-6, GPC I: 529, EIEC 70.

***kaylo-** 'omen' [Noun]
W: OW *coil(i)ou* [p] 'omens, auguries'; MW *coel* [m and f] 'belief, omen'
BRET: OBret. *coel* gl. haruspicem, MoBret. *koel*
CO: OCo. *chuillioc* gl. augur

PIE: *keh$_2$ilo- 'whole, healthy', perhaps also 'blessed with good omen' (IEW: 520)
COGN: Go. *hails*, OCS *cělъ*, perhaps Lat. *caelum* 'sky'
ETYM: OIr. *cél* 'omen' is a loanword from W. The first element of the toponym *Caeilo-briga* in Spain is probably also related. The semantic connection with Lat. *caelum* (de Vaan 2008: 80) might lie in the practice of divination through observing the flight of birds. Otherwise, omens might simply have been interpreted as signs from the sky, or caelestial divinities. The connection with the words meaning 'whole' might lie in the mythological belief that the sky is a firm whole made of stone (cf. Lat. *firmamentum*). However, all of this remains rather speculative.
REF: LEIA C-59, GPC I: 532, DGVB 112, Falileyev 33, LHEB 325, Deshayes 2003: 404, Kluge 364.

***kayto-** 'wood' [Noun]
W: OW *coit*, W *coed* [m]
BRET: MBret. *coat*, MoBret. *koad* [m]
CO: OCo. *cuit* gl. silva, MCo. *coys*
GAUL: *Caito-brix* [Toponym] (Ptolemy)
PIE: *kayto- 'wood, field' (IEW: 521)
COGN: Go. *haiþi* 'field'
ETYM: The element *-cetium* found in toponyms such as *Anicetis*, *Leto-cetum*, *tò ketíon óros* (Ptolemy) might reflect a late Gaul. reflex of *kayto-. This is a correspondence limited to Celtic and Germanic. The a-vocalism in these words is difficult to account for. Maybe they were borrowed from some substrate in NW Europe.
REF: GPC I: 528, Delamarre 98, Campanile 1974: 33, Deshayes 2003: 402, Sims-Williams 2006: 57.

***kek^{w}orā** 'swamp, mud'
GOID: MIr. *cechor* [ā > k f] gl. palus
PIE: *ḱok^{w}r 'excrement' (IEW: 544)
COGN: Skt. *śákṛt*, Gr. *kópros*
ETYM: The Proto-Celtic form *kek^{w}orā (or maybe *kek^{w}rā) is probably the collective/plural of the original r/n neuter stem. Lith. *šìkti* 'defecate' probably does not belong here. Russ. *serù* 'defecate', Hitt. *sakkar* (Gen. sg. *saknas*) 'excrement' and Gr. *skõr* (Gen. sg. *skatós*) 'excrement' point to a similar PIE heterocliton *(s)ḱor which is very difficult to subsume under a single etymon with *ḱok^{w}r (perhaps originally *(s)ḱok^{w}r subject to tabooistic, irregular transformations?).
REF: LEIA C-51f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 135, EIEC 186, Wodtko *et alii* 413f.

***kelfurno-** 'pail, bucket' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cilornn* gl. urceus, gl. situla

W: MW *celwrn* [m]
BRET: MBret. *quelorn*, MoBret. *kelorn*
ETYM: These Celtic forms have been compared to the British toponym *Cilurnum*, and also to Lat. *calpar* 'pitcher (of wine)', which is probably borrowed from Gr. *kálpis* 'urn'. Probably a *Wanderwort* of unknown origin.
REF: LEIA C-99, GPC I: 458, Deshayes 2003: 381

***kel-o-** 'hide' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ceilid, -ceil*; *celaid, -cela* [Subj.]; *célaid, -céla* [Fut.]; *cilt, -celt* [Pret.]; *clethae, -cleth* [Pass.]
W: MW *kelu* (GPC *celu*)
BRET: MBret. *keles*
PIE: *ḱel- 'hide' (IEW: 553f.)
COGN: Lat. *oc-culo*, *cēlo*, OE *helan*, Skt. *śárman-* 'shelter'
ETYM: The ethnonym *Keltoy 'Celts' (Lat. *Celtae*, Gr. *Keltoí*) has also been connected with this verbal root (McCone 2006: 95). It would be a vr̥ddhi derivative from the PIE passive participle *kltós 'hidden', and its original meaning would have been 'descendants of the hidden one (sc. the underworld deity)'. Though highly speculative, this etymology finds some support in Caesar's remark that the Gauls claimed descent from an underworld god, Dis Pater (*De Bello Gallico* 6, 18).
REF: GPC I: 455, KPV 394ff., LIV 323, EIEC 134, McCone 2006: 95.

***kellāko-** 'fight, war' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cellach* [o m]
PIE: *kelh$_2$- 'strike' (IEW: 546f.)
COGN: Lat. *-cello* 'strike', Gr. *kláō* 'break', OHG *hilta* 'fight', Lith. *kálti* 'strike, hew'
ETYM: Gaulish theonym *Su-cellus* (? 'good striker') might also be related to this root (this god is represented as carrying a hammer on a monument found in Sarrebourg). The origin of the geminate *ll is uncertain (*ls, *ln, and *ly are possible). The same root is probably attested in the ethnonym *Celtae* (from *kel-to-, cf. PGerm. *hildyō > OE *hild* 'fight', etc.). Since the PIE root ended in a laryngeal, this etymology presupposes that the laryngeal was lost in Celtic. This is possible if we assume a verb with a nasal present *kl-neh$_2$- (cf. Lat. *per-cello* 'strike') which could have served as the source from which the root form without the laryngeal was generalized. However, such a verb is unattested in Celtic, which casts some doubt on the IE part of this etymology.
REF: LEIA C-61.

***kēlyo- / *kilyo-** 'companion' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *céile* [io m]
W: MW *cilit, kilid* (GPC *cilydd*) [m] 'companion, other'
BRET: MBret. *e-gile* 'other'

CO: Co. *y-gyla, e-gele*
GAUL: *cele* (?) 'companion'(Chateaubleau)
ETYM: The interpretation of Gaul. *cele* (hapax) is doubtful, see Delamarre 112. OIr. *céile* presupposes PCelt. *kēlyo-, while the Brittonic forms can be from *kilyo-, *kiliyo-. While this looks like Indo-European ablaut (*keyl- / *kil-) it is difficult to associate the Celtic forms with any PIE root.
REF: LEIA C-52f, GPC I: 481, Delamarre 112, Deshayes 2003: 392.

***kenetlo-** 'race, kind' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cenél* [o n]
W: OW *cenetl* [f]; MW *kenedyl* (GPC *cenedl, ceneddl*)
BRET: OBret. *chenetl,* MoBret. *kenel* [f]
CO: OCo. *kinethel* gl. generatio, Co. *kenel*
PIE: *ken- 'begin' (IEW: 563f.)
COGN: Lat. *re-cens* 'new', Gr. *kainós* 'young, new'
SEE: *ken-o- 'descend from, come into being, be born', *kani- 'good, nice'
ETYM: OW feminine *cenetl* is probably the original Nom-Acc. pl. (or collective) of the neuter *kenetlon.
REF: LEIA C-64, GPC I: 461, DGVB 101, Falileyev 25, Deshayes 2003: 384.

***kenget-** 'warrior' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cing* [t m]
GAUL: *Cingeto-rix* [PN]
PIE: *keng-o- 'tread, step, walk (lamely)' (IEW: 930)
SEE: *keng-o- 'tread'
ETYM: The same root is probably found in PN like Gaul. *Es-cinga, Eskeggai* (Dat.).
REF: LEIA C-102, Delamarre 116.

***keng-o-** 'tread, step, walk' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *cingid, -cing*; *céiss, -cé* [Subj.]; *cichis, -cich* [Fut.]; *cechaing* [Pret.]
PIE: *(s)keng- 'limp, walk lamely' (IEW: 930)
COGN: Gr. *skázō*, OHG *hinkan*
SEE: *kenget- 'warrior', *kanxsman- 'step'
ETYM: The same root is probably attested in MW *caseg* (pl. *cesig*) 'mare', OCo. *cassec* gl. equa, MBret. *casec*. These words could represent PCelt. *kanxst-ikā 'she belonging to the stallion', cf. PGerm. *xanxista- 'stallion' (OE *hengest*, OHG *hengist* 'gelding'), The original meaning of (unattested) PCelt. *kanxsto- would have been 'trotter', vel sim., but it is possible that the Celtic words were borrowed from Germanic at an early stage.
REF: KPV 397ff, LIV 555, LEIA C-102f., C-54, Delamarre 116, Zimmer 2000: 499, Meid 2005: 174.

***kenno-** 'skin' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ceinn* 'peel, rind' (gl. scamae)
W: OW *ceenn* [m] 'murex', W *cen* [m] 'skin'
BRET: OBret. *cennenn* gl. membrana, MoBret. *ken* [m] 'skin'
CO: Co. *cen*
PIE: *(s)ken- 'peel' (IEW: 929f.)
COGN: OE *scinn* 'skin', MHG *scint* 'fruit shell'
ETYM: OIr. *ceinn* is not well attested; MoBret. *skant* [Collective] 'dandruff' probably reflects *skanto- from the same root (PIE *skn-to-). Thus both variants with and without s-mobile are attested in Celtic.
REF: LEIA C-55, GPC I: 460, Falileyev 23, Deshayes 2003: 383, 659, Schrijver 1995: 36.

***ken-o-** 'descend from, come into being, be born' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *cinid*; *cinis, -cin* [Pret.]
PIE: *ken- 'begin' (IEW: 564)
COGN: Lat. *re-cens*, Gr. *kainós* 'new', OCS *na-čęti* 'begin'
SEE: *kentu- 'first'
ETYM: The Gaulish patronymic suffix *-cno-* (e.g. in *TRUTICNOS* = Druti filius in the inscription from Todi) might be etymologically related to this verb. The same root might be in the second element of W *bach-gen* 'young boy'.
REF: LEIA C-103, LIV 314, Ellis Evans 1967: 182.

***kentu-** 'first' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cét-*
W: MW *cynt*
BRET: OBret. *cint,* MBret. *quent*, MoBret. *kent* 'before'
CO: Co. *kyns*
GAUL: *Cintu-gnatus* [PN]
PIE: *ken-t- (IEW: 564)
COGN: Lat. *re-cens* 'new', Gr. *kainós* 'young, new', OHG *hintar* 'behind'
SEE: *ken-o- 'descend from, come into being, be born'
ETYM: This is originally an abstract noun derived from the root *ken- 'begin'.
REF: LEIA C-83, GPC I: 800, EIEC 169, Ellis Evans 1967: 178, Delamarre 117, Deshayes 2003: 385.

***kentu-samonyo-** 'May' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cétamain* [Indecl.]
W: MW *kintevin* [m] (GPC *cyntefin*) 'beginning of summer, May'
SEE: *kentu-, *samon-
ETYM: This is a compound containing *kintu- 'first' and *samon- 'summer'.
REF: LEIA C-58, GPC I: 801.

***kerV-** 'fall' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-cer* 'felled' [3s Pret.]; *-torchar* [3s Perf.]
PIE: *ḱerh$_2$- 'break' (IEW: 578)
COGN: Skt. *śar-* 'break', *śīrti-* 'breaking', Gr. *keraïzō* 'destroy'
ETYM: OIr. *do-cer* < *to-kera- or *to-ker-e- with secondary depalatalization of *-r* (MIr. forms with palatalized *-r* are attested admittedly late, but *kera- should have been assimilated to *kara- by Joseph's rule). In Old Irish, forms derived from this root serve as suppletive preterites to *tud-o- 'fall', see KPV 399.
REF: KPV 399, LIV 327f., Schrijver 1995: 88f.

***kerbo-** 'pointed, sharp' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *cerb* [o]
PIE: *(s)kerb^{h}o- 'sharp' (IEW: 943)
COGN: OE *scearp*, Latv. *skarbs* 'sharp, rough', ToB *kärpye* 'rough'
ETYM: MIr. *cerb* is attested rather late. The Germanic forms with *p do not point to PIE *b, but may be explained by Kluge's law. Lat. *scrobis, scrobs* 'ditch, trench, hole in the ground' may be related, but only if *Schwebeablaut* (*skrob^{h}-) is admitted, and the difference in meaning is significant.
REF: LEIA C-71.

***kerdā** 'art, skill' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cerd* [ā f] 'skill, art (esp. poetic art), craftsman'
W: MW *cerdd* [f] 'skill, poetry, music'
BRET: OBret. *cherdoran* gl. parasitaster
PIE: *kerd- 'profit' (IEW: 579)
COGN: Gr. *kérdos* 'gain, profit'
ETYM: This etymology is based on the comparison of just two branches of IE (Greek and Celtic) and is therefore not completely compelling. Moreover, the semantic connection is not quite persuasive. Bammesberger (1996) relates these words to the PIE root *ḱerd- 'heart', but I do not find his argument persuasive. From the purely formal point of view, PCelt. *kerdā can be related to PCelt. *kerd-o- 'put, lay, move', but the semantic connection is weak.
REF: LEIA C-71f., GPC I: 465, DGVB 103, LP 37, EIEC 139, 143, Bammesberger 1996.

***kerd-o-** 'put, lay, move' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fo-ceird* 'put, throw'; *fo-cerr* [Subj.]; *fo-cicherr* [Fut.]; *fo-caird* [Pret.]; *fo-cress* [Pass.]
W: MW *kerddet* 'walk, go' (GPC *cerdded*); *kerdd* [3s Pres.]
BRET: OBret. *cerd* 'movement', MBret. *querzet* 'go, run', MoBret. *kerzed, kerz* [m] 'a march, a walk'
CO: Co. *kerdhes* 'go'

PIE: *kerd- 'swing' (IEW: 934f.)
COGN: Gr. *kradáō* 'swing, wave'
ETYM: OIr. *fo-ceird* < *ufo-kerd-o- (the simplex verb is unattested in Goidelic). OBret. *credam* gl. vado has the unexpected *re* instead of *er; this could be due to metathesis. The IE connections of these Celtic forms are notoriously difficult. I prefer Pokorny's etymology to more recent proposals. Gr. *kradáō* does not justify the reconstruction of the PIE root as *kerdh$_2$-, since the suffix *-aō* may have been extended analogically. Lat. *cardō* 'hinge of a door or gate, pivot' may also be related, as well as OHG *scerdo* 'hinge', but both the semantic and formal connections are weak.
REF: KPV 401ff., GPC I: 465, DGVB 103, LIV 353ff., 502f., LEIA C-72, Deshayes 2003: 387.

***kerkā** 'hen' [Noun]
SEE: *korxsā 'heron'

***kernā** 'angle, corner' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cern* [ā f]
W: MW *cern* [f] 'corner, jaw, cheek, side'
BRET: MBret. *quern* 'top', MoBret. *kern* [f]
CO: Co. *Kernow* 'Cornwall'
PIE: *ḱer(h$_2$)-no- 'horn' (IEW: 576)
COGN: Go. *haurna* 'horn', Lat. *cornu* 'horn'
SEE: *karno- 'horn, hoof'
ETYM: MIr. *cern* 'corner' might be the same word as *cern* 'receptacle, dish' (if this latter word originally denoted only dishes of angled shape). If this etymon is indeed from the PIE root for 'horn', Celtic must have generalized the root shape without the laryngeal (just as Latin *cornu*). The same root is in the zero-grade in PCelt. *karno-.
REF: LEIA C-74, GPC I: 468, Deshayes 2003: 387, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 58.

***ki / *koy / *kē** [Demonstrative Particle or pronoun]
GOID: OIr. *ce, cé* demonstrative particle: *in bith ce* 'this world', Ogam CI, COI 'this'
GAUL: *koui* (?), *iso-c* 'thus' (Chamalières)
PIE: *ḱey- 'this' (IEW: 609)
COGN: Lat. *cis,* Eng. *he-re*Lith. *šis*
ETYM: The OIr. form *cé* could represent the Nom. s masc. form of the pronoun, PIE *keys > PCelt. *kēs* (like *k^{w}eys 'who' > *k^{w}ēs). The short form *ce* is due to shortening in atonic position. The Ogam particle COI probably also belongs here; since its meaning seems to be equivalent to Lat. *hic (iacet)*, it has been interpreted as the Loc. sg. of the same pronominal stem.
REF: LEIA C-51, EIEC 458, Eska 1990, Hamp 2003.

***kīkā** 'breast' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cích* [ā f] 'breast'
W: MW *cig* [m] 'meat'
BRET: OBret. *cic-guan* gl. fuscina, MBret. *quic,* MoBret. *kig* [m]
CO: OCo. *cic* gl. caro, *chic, kyk*
GAUL: *Cic-ollus* [PN]
ETYM: There is some evidence (according to DIL) that *cích* was a neuter s-stem in OIr., so maybe PCelt. *kīkos- should be reconstructed (this would be more in accordance with the gender of the Brittonic words). It is assumed here that the meaning attested in MIr. is original; this is a popular, expressive word, such as are often used for (female) body parts.
REF: LEIA C-96, GPC I: 477, DGVB 105, LHEB 304, Delamarre 116, Campanile 1974: 26f., Deshayes 2003: 391.

***kina, *kinā** 'besides' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *cen* [+Acc.] 'without'
W: MW *am-gen* 'other, different'
BRET: MBret. *quen* 'other, otherwise'
CO: Co. *ken* 'other, otherwise'
ETYM: W *gan* 'with, by' has also been related to these words (but cf. PCelt. *kanti- 'together, with'). It appears that these words are connected to the demonstrative base *ḱi- (Lat. *cis* etc.), but details are unclear.
REF: LEIA C-64, GPC I: 86.

***kīsrā** 'comb' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cír* [ā f]
PIE: *kes- 'comb' (IEW: 585)
COGN: Gr. *ksaínō* 'comb', OCS *česati* 'to comb', Lith. *kasýti* 'to scratch'
ETYM: The lengthened grade of OIr. *cír* is unexpected. On the other hand, a proto-form *kes-erā would presumably yield **keherā > **cíar in OIr. It is tempting to posit a reduplicated proto-form *ke-ks-reh$_2$ > *kexsrā (for the zero grade cf. Gr. *ksáinō* < *ks-n-) and assume lengthening of vowels before *xsL (cf. *tāxslo- 'axe' < *tokslo-). If this is accepted, we would have *kexsrā > *kēsrā > *kīsrā regularly.
REF: LEIA C-105, Schrijver 1995: 446.

***kistā** '(woven) basket' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cess* (DIL *ces*) [ā f] 'basket, causeway of wickerwork, beehive'
W: OW *cest* [f] gl. fiscina
BRET: MBret. *kest*
COGN: Gr. *kístē*
ETYM: Borrowing from Lat. *cista* (itself from Gr. *kístē*) seems improbable. All of these words could be from some unknown, non-IE source. Lat.

cissium 'a kind of car with two wheels' is considered to be a loanword from Gaul. It may be from the same Celt. root. For the evolution of meaning cf. OIr. *corb* 'chariot', vs. Lat. *corbis* 'basket'.
REF: LEIA C-78f., GPC I: 740, DGVB 104, Delamarre 117.

***kiw-o-** 'fog' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ceó* [? f and m]
PIE: *ḱeyH- 'gray' (IEW: 951)
COGN: Skt. *śyāvá-* 'dark brown', OCS *sivъ* 'gray', Lith. *šývas*
ETYM: The derivation from the PIE root is doubtful both formally and semantically (for the phonetic development cf. OIr. *béo* from PCelt. *biwo- 'alive'). The vowel length could have been lost by Dybo's law if PIE end-stressed *kiH-wó- is posited. OE *héow, hiw* 'appearance' and the related Germanic words probably do not belong here (Orel 2003: 171 relates them convincigly to OE *heawan* 'to hew').
REF: LEIA C-68f.

***ki-yo-** 'fall, cry' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ciid, -cí* 'cry'; *cieid, -cia* [Subj.]; *cichid, -cichi* [Fut.]; *cich* [Pret.]
W: MW *-chiawr* 'fall' [3s Pres.] (GPC *ciawr*)
BRET: MBret. *coezaff* 'fall, happen'
CO: Co. *koedha* 'fall, happen'
PIE: *ḱey- 'fall' (IEW: 542 (*keyd-))
COGN: Skt. *śīyate* 'falls', perhaps ON *hitta* 'light upon, meet with'
ETYM: Breton and Cornish forms are from PCelt. *kē-do-, presumably a derivative from the same verbal root. Cf. also W *cwyddaw* 'fall' (denominal verb).
REF: GPC I: 475, KPV 404ff., LIV 321, LEIA C-9, C-98.

***kladiwo-** 'sword' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *claideb* [o m]
SEE: *klado-, *klādo- 'trench'
ETYM: The Brittonic words (MW *cledyf,* MBret. *clezeff,* Co. *clethe*) are early loanwords from Goidelic. It is usually assumed that Lat. *gladius* was borrowed from Celtic in prehistoric times, but it could also be inherited (with *kl > *gl-* as in Lat. *glōria* < *klowesyā).
REF: LEIA C-110f., Porzio Gernia 1981: 110.

***klad-o-** 'dig, bury' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *cladaid, -claid*; *cláiss, -clá* [Subj.]; *cechlais, -cechla* [Fut.]; *cechlaid* [Pret.]; *classae, -class* [Pass.]
W: MW *claddu*
BRET: MBret. *claza*, MoBret. *klazañ*
PIE: *kelh$_2$- 'hit, break' (IEW: 546f.)

COGN: Lat. *per-cello,* Gr. *klā́ō,* Lith. *kálti*, OCS *klati* 'stab'
SEE: *klādo-, *klado- 'trench'
ETYM: The Celtic forms show the reflexes of the zero-grade of the PIE root. Schumacher (KPV 412) thinks that *klad- is the regular reflex of *klh$_2$d-, which I find unlikely. The expected reflex *klād- is preserved in the Subjunctive, OIr. *-cláiss* < *klāds-, while the short vowel in the present may be the result of Dybo's law, if the original present was *klh$_2$déti, *klh$_2$dónti (the type of Skt. *tudáti*).
REF: GPC I: 486, KPV 410ff., LIV 350, LP 352f., LEIA C-111f., Deshayes 2003: 395.

***klādo-, *klado-** 'trench' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *clad, clod* [o m] 'hole dug in the ground, trench'
W: MW *cladd* [m and f] 'pit, ditch' (GPC *cladd*), *clawd* [m] 'mound, ditch, pit, bulwark' (GPC *clawdd*); *cloddiau, cloddion* [p]
BRET: MBret. *kleuz* (MoBret.)
CO: Co. *cleath*
GAUL: *Vindo-cladia* [Toponym]
PIE: *kleh$_2$-d- (IEW: 546)
COGN: Lat. *clādes* 'devastation'
SEE: *klad-o- 'dig, bury'
ETYM: There is also a verbal derivative from the same root, PCelt. *klad-o- (v.). MBret. *kleuz* and W *clawd* must be from PCelt. *klād- with long *ā. The forms with short *a must somehow be analogical, because *klh$_2$d- (with PIE zero-grade) would have yielded PCelt. *klād- as well. The source of the analogy could have been the verb *klad-o- 'dig', where the short *a might be regular.
REF: LEIA C-109, GPC I: 486, 491, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 47, Schrijver 1991: 173ff.

***klamo-** 'sick, suffering from leprosy' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *clam* [o] 'leprous'
W: MW *claf* 'sick, ill, leprous'
BRET: MBret. *claff*, MoBret. *klañv*
CO: OCo. *claf* gl. eger
ETYM: The a-vocalism of this etymon points to non-IE origin.
REF: LEIA C-112, GPC I: 487, LP 54, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 45, Campanile 1974: 27, Deshayes 2003: 394.

***klāro-** 'board, plank' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *clár* [o n and m] 'plank, flat article, surface'
W: OW *claur,* W *clawr* [m] 'cover, lid, plank'; *cloriau* [p]
BRET: MoBret. *cleür, kleur* [m] 'limon de charrette, cheville du limon'
PIE: *kleh$_2$ro- 'plank' (IEW: 545)
COGN: Gr. *klē̃ros* 'lot, piece of wood for casting lots'

ETYM: A connection with the root *kelh$_2$- 'cut' (Gr. *kláō*, Lith. *kálti*, etc., Pokorny 545f.) appears probable, otherwise this would be an exclusive Celtic-Greek isogloss. Both PCelt. *klāro- and Gr. *klẽros* can be from PIE *klh$_2$ro- (the Greek form shows that the accent was on the first syllable, so the length of the root vowel was preserved in Celtic).
SEE: *kellāko- 'fight, war', *klad-o- 'bury, dig', *kolgā 'dagger'
REF: LEIA C-113f., GPC I: 491, EIEC 431, Falileyev 32, Deshayes 2003: 397, Schrijver 1995:189

***klāwo-** 'bolt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cló* [o m] 'nail, spike'; *cloë* [io m]
W: MW *clo* [m] 'lock, bolt'
BRET: OBret. *clou* gl. acitamenta (for *acutamenta), MBret. *clou*, MoBret. *klow* [m] 'key, bolt'
PIE: *kleh$_2$-w- 'bolt, bar, hook' (IEW: 604)
COGN: Lat. *clāuis* 'key, bolt', Gr. *kleís* (Dor. *klāís*)
ETYM: Some think these words were borrowed from Lat. *clāuus*, but inheritance is equally probable.
REF: LEIA C-121, GPC I: 501, EIEC 272, Deshayes 2003: 401.

***klētā** 'palisade, hurdle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *clíath* [ā f]
W: MW *clwyd* [f] 'barrier, wattle, scaffolding, gate'
BRET: MBret. *cloet, kloued, klwed* [f]
CO: OCo. *cluit* gl. clita
PIE: *ḱley-t- (IEW: 601)
SEE: *klit- 'pillar, post'
ETYM: Fr. *claie*, Cat. *cleda* are derived from Gaul. *clēta, the exact correspondence of these Celtic words, see Delamarre 118.
REF: LEIA C-119, GPC I: 513, Delamarre 118, Campanile 1974: 28, Deshayes 2003: 401, Gamilscheg 233, Schrijver 1995: 224, 230, 241.

***klēyo-** 'left' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *clé*
W: OW *cled,* MW *cled* (GPC *cledd*) 'left, left hand or side' ([f] when used as a noun)
BRET: MBret. *cleiz*, MoBret. *kleiz*
CO: Co. *cledh*
PIE: *ḱley- (IEW: 601)
COGN: Lat. *clīuius* 'inauspicious, ominous', Go. *hleiduma* 'left', Lith. *šleĩvas* 'bow-legged'
ETYM: It seems that the original meaning of PIE *ḱley- was 'bow-shaped', or 'sloping', cf. Lat. *clīuus* 'slope, hill'.
REF: LEIA C-115, GPC I: 493, EIEC 131, 159, 349, Falileyev 32, Deshayes 2003: 396, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 204.

***kli-nu-** 'hear' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ro-cluinethar*; *-cloathar* [Subj.]; *cechladar* [Fut.]; *-cualae* [Pret.]; *-closs* [Pass.]
PIE: *ḱlew- (IEW: 605ff.)
COGN: Skt. *śru-*, Gr. *klýō*, OCS *sluti*
SEE: *klus-ī- 'hear', *klowstā 'ear'
ETYM: OIr. *ro-cluinethar* < *fro-kli-nu-tor. The verb loses its prefix *ro-* in non-present tense. The PCelt. stem *kli-nu- was probably reshaped by transposition to *klu-ni- in Primitive Irish, hence regularly OIr. *-cluin-ethar.*
REF: LIV 334, EIEC C-127f., McCone 1996: 224f., Kortlandt 2007: 137.

***klisso-, *klissu-** 'feat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cles* [o and u m] 'feat, trick, strategem'
PIE: *kleys-d-
COGN: Skt. *krīḍati* 'plays, dances'
ETYM: If OIr. *cles* is related to Skt. *krīḍati*, the PIE root should be reconstructed as *kleys-d-. PCelt. *klisso- < *klisd-to- preserves the zero-grade of the root from the past participle. However, Skt. *krīḍati* has also been related to ON *hrista* 'shake', which must be from PIE *kreys-d-. Another possibility would be to relate OIr. *cless* to Skt. *śreṣ-* 'hang' (Mayrhofer II: 670f., LIV 297), in which case we should reconstruct PCelt. *klisso- (< PIE *ḱlis-so-), or *klisto- (< PIE *ḱlis-to-).
REF: LEIA C-117.

***klit-** 'pillar, post' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *clí* [m] and *cleth* [ā f] 'housepost, support, prop'
PIE: *ḱley-t- 'post, trimmed log' (IEW: 601)
COGN: Skt. *śritá-* 'attached', Gr. *klíta* 'cloister' (Hesych.), OE *gehlid* 'fence'
ETYM: OIr. *clí* can be from *klit-, whereas *cleth* is from the derived *klitā. Reflexes in other IE languages may point to a PIE root noun, *ḱleyt- / *ḱlit-os, but most languages seem to have generalized the oblique stem with the zero-grade of the root, attested also in the verb *ḱley- 'lean' (Skt. *śray-*, Lat. *clīno*, OHG *hlinēn*, Lith. *šliẽti*).
REF: LEIA C-118, EIEC 441, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 57, Watkins 1979.

***klito-** 'warm' [Adj]
W: MW *clyd* 'warm, sheltered'
PIE: *ḱlto- 'warm' (IEW: 551)
COGN: Lith. *šil̃tas*, Lat. *calidus*, *caleo* 'be warm'
ETYM: Formally, PCelt. *klito- is a past participle of the verbal stem *ḱel-, which is attested in Lat. *caleo*
REF: GPC I: 515.

***klokko-** 'bell' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *clocc* [o m]
W: MW *cloch* [f]
BRET: MBret. *cloch*, MoBret. *kloc'h* [m]
CO: OCo. *cloch* gl. clocca
ETYM: Fr. *cloche* 'bell' < MLat. *clocca* was probably borrowed from the language of the Celtic missionaries in the early Middle Ages (*clocca* is first attested in the work of Adomnán in the 7th century). It is improbable that it is from Gaulish, cf. also Germ. *Glocke*. The PCelt. word is clearly onomatopoetic.
REF: LEIA C-122f., GPC I: 502, Campanile 1974: 27f., Deshayes 2003: 399, Gamillscheg 237.

***klowni-** 'meadow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *clúain* [i m]
W: OW *clun* [m], MW *clun*
GAUL: *Clunia* [Toponym]
ETYM: Pokorny hesitates between the roots *klep- (IEW 603) and *ḱlew- (IEW 607), but neither etymology is completely persuasive. I find the derivation from PIE *ḱlopni- (Lith. *šlãpius* 'wet', Gr. *klépas* 'swamp') somewhat more probable. PIE *ḱlopni would have given PCelt. *klowni- quite regularly.
REF: LEIA C-126, GPC I: 510, Falileyev 33, GOI 140, Sims-Williams 2006: 63.

***klowni-** 'thigh' [Noun]
W: MW *clun* [f]; *cluniau* [p]
BRET: MBret. *clun*, MoBret. *klun* [f] 'buttock'
CO: Co. *clun*
PIE: *ḱlowni- (IEW: 607f.)
COGN: Lat. *clūnis*, OIc. *hlaun,* Lith. *šlaunìs*
REF: GPC I: 510, LP 41, Deshayes 2003: 401.

***klowstā** 'hearing, ear' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *clúas* [ā f]
W: MW *clust* [m and f]; *clustiau* [p]
GAUL: *Rokloisiabo* [Dat p, Theonym]
PIE: *ḱlews-t- 'hear' (IEW: 606)
SEE: *kli-nu- 'hear'
COGN: OE *hlyst* 'hearing'
REF: LEIA C-126f., GPC I: 510f., Schrijver 1995: 400, 409, 412.

***klukaro-** 'heap of stones, rocky place' [Noun]
SEE: *klukā 'stone'

***klukā** 'stone, rock' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cloch* [ā f]
W: MW *clog* [f] 'rock'
BRET: MoBret. *Cleguer* [Toponym]
CO: Co. *clog*
ETYM: MBret. *Cleguer*, MoBret. *Kleger* (also *kleger* [m] 'heap of stones') is a collective formation with the suffix *-ro-, cf. OIr. *clochar* [o n], W *clegyr* 'a heap of stones' (on this type of formation see Tovar 1972-3). In all likelihood, this PCelt. etymon was borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA C-123f., GPC I: 505, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 471.

***klus-ī-** 'hear' [Vb]
W: MW *clywet, clybot* (GPC *clywed, clybod*)
BRET: MBret. *clevet*, MoBret. *klewed*
CO: Co. *klywes*
PIE: *ḱlews- (IEW: 605ff.)
COGN: OHG *hlosēn,* OCS *slyšati*
SEE: *kli-nu- 'hear'
ETYM: The forms of the verb 'to hear' in Goidelic are derived from the form *ḱlew-, e.g. OIr. *ro-cluinethar* 'hears', cf. the preterite 3sg. *-cualae* < *ku-klow-e (= W *cigleu*).
REF: GPC I: 516, KPV 412ff., LIV 336, Deshayes 2003: 397.

***kluto-** 'fame' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cloth* [o n]
W: MW *clod* [m and f]
BRET: OBret. *clot* gl. rumoris, MoBret. *klod* [m]
CO: Co. *clos*
PIE: *ḱlu-to- (IEW: 605ff.)
COGN: Gr. *klytós* 'famous', Lat. *in-clutus*
ETYM: This word is a substantivized neuter passive participle. W *clod* < *klutā is best interpreted as the reflex of the old neuter plural, rather than as an independent feminine etymon.
REF: LEIA C-124f. GPC I: 503, DGVB 109, Deshayes 2003: 399, de Bernardo Stempel 1999:143.

***kluwos** 'fame' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *clú* [s n, later f] gl. rumor; *cluë* [Gen s]
PIE: *ḱlewos 'word, fame' (IEW: 606)
COGN: Skt. *śrávas-*, Gr. *kléos,* Lat. *cluōr*
SEE: *kli-nu- 'hear', *kluto- 'fame'
ETYM: The unexpected *-u- in Celtic could be due to the analogy with the participle of the verb 'to hear', *klu-to-. PIE *ḱlewos should probably have given PCelt. *klowos > OIr. **clúa. The same root is attested in Gaul.

personal names such as *Ver-clovus, Veru-cloetius* (Caesar). Gaul. (?Theonym) *rokloisiabo* [Dat. pl.] (Glanum) can represent *fro-klowes-yā (Hamp 1986).
REF: LEIA C-125f., EIEC 192, 437, Meid 2005: 180.

***knāmi-** 'bone' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cnáim* [i m]
PIE: *konh$_2$m 'leg' (Gen. s *knh$_2$m-os) (IEW: 613)
COGN: Gr. *knḗmē* 'leg', OE *hamm* 'ham'
ETYM: The OIr. word is derived from the oblique stem of the PIE etymon, *knh$_2$m-. W *cnaw* [m] 'bone, skull' is probably a loanword from OIr.
REF: LEIA C-129f., GPC I: 518, EIEC 349, Matasović 2004: 107, Schrijver 1995: 182, 189.

***knawī** 'fleece' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cnaí* [ī f]
W: MW *cnaif* [m] 'fleece, clipping, a shearing'
BRET: MBret. *kneau, cnev*, (Vannetais *kaneo*), MoBret. *knew* [m]
CO: Co. *kneu*
ETYM: Cf. also MW *cnu, cnuf* [m] 'fleece' < *knowo-. An etymological connection to PCelt. *knā-yo- 'bite, chew' is probable.
REF: LEIA C-128f., GPC I: 517, Deshayes 2003: 402.

***knā-yo-** 'bite, chew' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *imm-cná, -cná*
W: MW *cnoi; cny* [3s Pres.]
PIE: *kneh$_2$- 'bite, gnaw' (IEW: 560)
COGN: Lith. *knóti* 'peel', Gr. *knēstḗr* 'a kind of knife'
ETYM: OIr. *imm-cná* < *ambi-knā-yo-. Cf. also OIr. *cnaid* 'bites, gnaws'. The verbal noun OIr. *cnám* < *knāmā might be etymologically identical to MW *cnaw* 'bone' (but see PCelt. *knāmi- 'bone').
REF: KPV 418, LIV 365, LP 354, LEIA C-129.

***knokko-** 'protuberance, hill' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cnocc* [o m] 'lump, swelling, ulcer, hill, mound'
W: MW *cnwch* [m] (GPC *cnwch, clwch*)
BRET: OBret. *cnoch* gl. tumulus, MBret. *qnech*, MoBret. *krec'h* [m]
PIE *knek- (IEW: 559)
COGN: OE *hnecca* 'neck', OHG *hnac* 'back, top', ToA *kñuk* 'neck'
ETYM: W *cnwc* is a loanword from Irish (the regular reflex of *kk is W *ch*). Its vocalism may have influenced *cnwch*, which is inherited, (otherwise we would have to reconstruct PCelt. *knukko-, and attribute *-o-* in OIr. to lowering). Celtic shows evidence of both *knokko- (OIr. *cnocc*) and *knekko- (MoBret. *krec'h*, with *kn* > *kr*). PCelt. *knokko- agrees with the vocalism of the Germanic cognates.

REF: LEIA C-132, GPC I: 523, Deshayes 2003: 429.

***knū-** 'nut' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cnú* [ū f]
W: MW *cnau* [p]; *cneuen* [Singulative f]
BRET: MBret. *kanou*, MoBret. *know* [Collective], *knoen* [Singulative]
CO: Co. *cnyfan* [Singulative]
PIE: *knew- 'nut' (IEW: 558)
COGN: Lat. *nux*, OE *hnutu*
ETYM: These words, all derived from the same root (*knew-), have different suffixes (*-k- in Latin, *-d- in Germanic, ? -H- in Celtic). They may have been ultimately borrowed from some unknown non-IE source of W Europe.
REF: LEIA C-132, GPC I: 518, EIEC 405, Deshayes 2003: 402, Schrijver 1995: 330.

***kob(o)-** 'victory' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cob* [o n (?)]
GAUL: *Uer-cobius* [PN]
PIE: *kob- (IEW: 610)
COGN: ON *happ* 'chance, good luck', OCS *kobъ* 'destiny'
ETYM: Ir. *cob* is a rare, poetic word glossed as *buaid* 'victory' in O' Davoreen's dictionary. It could have been neuter originally, but this is not certain. The comparison of the Gaulish names with this element is also rather speculative.
REF: LEIA C-134f., Delamarre 120, Ellis Evans 1967: 183.

***koldo-** 'destruction' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *coll* [o n]
W: MW *coll* [m]
BRET: MBret. *coll,* MoBret. *koll*
CO: OCo. *colled* gl. iactura
PIE: *kold-'strike, cut' (IEW: 545)
COGN: OE *healtian* 'limp'
REF: LEIA C-158, GPC I: 546, LP 37, Deshayes 2003: 407, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44.

***kolgā** 'sword, dagger' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *colg, calg* [ā f later o m]
W: MW *col, coly* [m] 'sting, spike, chaff'; OW *colginn* gl. aristam, MW *colyn* [m] 'sting, pivot'
CO: Co. *col, colgh*
PIE: *kelh$_2$- 'pierce, strike' (IEW: 545)
COGN: Lat. *per-cello,* OCS *klati*

ETYM: If we start from PIE *kolh$_2$-geh$_2$, the loss of the laryngeal is regular after *oR (de Saussure's rule). But the velar suffix *-go- is unusual.
REF: LEIA C-157, GPC I: 542, 546, LP 33, Falileyev 34, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 99

***koligno-** 'pup, small animal' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cuilén* [o m] 'pup, whelp, cub, kitten'
W: MW *colwyn* [m]; *colwynod* [p]
BRET: OBret. *coloinan* gl. catulaster, MBret. *quoalen*
CO: OCo. *coloin* gl. catulus
ETYM: Theoretically, it would be possible to derive *koligno- by dissimilation from *koni-gno-, and relate the first element of this compound to PIE *ken- 'young, new' (see PCelt. *kanawon-). The second element would be derivable from PIE *ǵenh$_1$- 'bear, give birth to' (see PCelt. *genos-). However, this is highly speculative. Since no persuasive IE etymology is at hand, it is quite likely that this word was borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA C-269, GPC I: 545, DGVB 114.

***kolino-** 'holly tree' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cuilenn* [o m]
W: MW *celyn*
BRET: MBret. *quelenn*, MoBret. *kelenn* [Collective]
CO: OCo. *kelin* gl. ulcia
PIE: *kol-ino- 'pricky tree, ?holly' (IEW: 545)
COGN: OE *holegn* 'holly', OHG *hulis(boum),* Alb. *kallí* 'straw, chaff'
ETYM: The Germanic forms point to PGerm. *hulisa-, which would have to reflect the zero-grade of a PIE root *kol-, *kel-. Note, however, that OIr. *cuilenn* would be compatible with *kulisno- rather than *kolino-. If *kulisno- is the correct PCelt. reconstruction, we are dealing with a loanword from some unknown non-IE language. But the vocalism of the Brittonic reflexes is best explained as the result of assimilation from *kylyn, which would be the regular reflex (by raising) of *kolyn (cf. W *dylysc* and *delysc* < PCelt. *dolisko- 'seaweed').
REF: LEIA C-270, EIEC 367, 451, Deshayes 2003: 380.

***kom** 'with' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *co, cu* [Nasalizing, +Dat.]
W: MW *cyf-*
BRET: MBret. *kev-*
CO: Co. *kev-*
PIE: *ḱom 'with' (IEW: 612)
COGN: Lat. *cum,* OCS *sъ*
SEE: *kanti- 'together with'

ETYM: A derivative of this preposition is PCelt. *kanti- < *ḱmti- 'together, with'
REF: LEIA C-133, C-161, GOI 502f.

***kom-altiyo-** 'foster-brother' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *comaltae* [io m]
W: MW *cyfeillt* [m] 'friend' (GPC *cyfaill, cyfaillt*)
CO: OCo. *chevals* gl. *artus*
SEE: *altiyo- 'fosterling, client'
REF: GPC I: 675.

***kom-angu-** 'narrow' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cumung* [o]
W: MW *cyfwng* [m] 'gap, chasm, straits'
SEE: *angu- 'narrow'
ETYM: Cf. also the denominative verb W *cyfyngu* 'to narrow, distress, restrict'.
REF: LEIA C-292, GPC I: 724, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 428.

***kom-are-(yo)-** 'direction, presence' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *comair* (used as a preposition: *comair caich* 'in front of everyone')
W: MW *cyfair* [m and f] 'direction, place, spot, acre' (GPC *cyfair, cyfer*)
BRET: MBret. *e queffuer*, MoBret. *keñver*
CO: Co. *-kever*
SEE: *kom-, *fare
REF: LEIA C-163, GPC I: 675, Deshayes 2003: 386.

***kom-ber-o-** 'bring together' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *con-beir* 'brings together, bears'
W: MW *kymryt* 'take, receive' (GPC *kymryd, cymeryd*)
BRET: MBret. *quempret* 'take, receive', *kemeret*
CO: Co. *kemmeres* 'take, receive'
SEE: *ber-o- 'carry'
REF: KPV 219ff., GPC I: 759.

***kom-bero-** 'confluence (of rivers)' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *commar* [o]
W: OW *cimer* [m], *cymer*
BRET: MBret. *kemper*
SEE: *kom-, *ber-o- 'carry'
REF: LEIA C-178, GPC I: 759, Falileyev 30, Hamp 1982: 30.

***kom-bi-na-** 'cut off' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *con-ben* 'cuts off'

W: MW *kymynu* 'hew, cut off, hack'; *kymyn* [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *quemenas* 'cut' [3s Pret.]
REF: GPC I: 774.

***kom-dati-** 'confluence' [Noun]
SEE: *dasti- 'heap, pile'

***kom-daw-to-** 'firewood' [Noun]
SEE: *daw-yo- 'kindle, burn'

***kom-delgo-** 'contract, comparison'
SEE: *delg-o- 'hold'

***kom-fro-ank-o-** 'meet, fight' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *con-r-icc* 'meet'
W: MW *kyfreing, kyfrang* [3s Pres.] 'meet, fight' (GPC *cyfrengi*)
SEE: *ank-o- 'reach'
REF: KPV 200f., GPC I: 710.

***kom-koro-** 'meeting' (?) [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cocur* [o m] 'consultation, conspiracy'
W: MW *cynghor* [m] 'counsel' (GPC *cyngor*)
SEE: *kom-, *koro- 'act of putting'
REF: LEIA C-205, GPC I: 740.

***kom-men-** 'memory' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cuman, cumen* (in *is cuman lim* 'I remember')
W: MW *cof* [m], *covein, cofawr* [p]
BRET: OBret. *com, cam,* MBret. *couff, coff,* MoBret. *koun* [m]
CO: Co. *cof*
SEE: *man-yo- 'think, remember'
ETYM: OBret. *com, cam* is not adduced in DGVB.
REF: LEIA C-287f., GPC I: 536, Deshayes 2003: 422, Schrijver 1995: 37.

***kom-oxti-** 'power, wealth' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cumachtae* [io n] 'power'
W: OW *comoid* [m] 'power', MW *cyfoeth, kyuoeth* 'wealth'
CO: OCo. *chefuidoc* gl. omnipotens
REF: LEIA C-286, GPC I: 708, Falileyev 34.

***kom-rigā** 'binding, bond' [Noun]
SEE: *rig-o- 'bind'

***kom-skara-** 'divide, destroy' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *con-scara* 'cut to pieces, destroy'

W: MW *kyfsycaraf* [1s Pres.] 'separate (oneself)' (GPC *cyfysgar*)
SEE: *skara- 'separate'
REF: KPV 576, GPC I: 727.

***kom-sniy-o-** 'contend, strive for' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *con-sní*; *con-séna* [Pret.]
W: MW *kynnif, kynnyddu* 'grow, enlarge'
SEE: *sniy-o- 'spin, weave'
REF: KPV 599f., GPC I: 797.

***kondo-** 'protuberance, preeminence, reason' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *conn* [o m] 'protuberance, adult person, intelligence'
PIE: *ḱom-d^{h}h$_1$o- 'put together' (IEW: 613)
COGN: Lat. *condō,* OCS *sądъ* 'court, judgement'
ETYM: It is not certain whether there is only one PCelt. word *kondo- encompassing all of the meanings attributable to OIr. *conn.* This OIr. word was also interpreted as *k^{w}onno-, which would be in ablaut to *k^{w}enno- 'head' (v.), in which case it cannot be from PIE *ḱom-d^{h}h$_1$o- 'put together'.
REF: LEIA C-196.

***koret-** 'palisade, wall' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cora* [t f]
W: MW *cored* [f] 'weir, dam'
BRET: OBret. *coret*
ETYM: The Germanic words for 'hurdle' (Germ. *Hürde*, OE *hyrdel*) may be related, as well as OPr. *corto* 'hedge' and Lat. *crātis* 'hurdle', but the proto-form is difficult to reconstruct. In all likelihood these words were borrowed from some non-IE language. MIr. *ceirtle* [iā f] 'clew, ball of thread' (? < *kert-li-yā) probably does not belong here.
REF: LEIA C-206, GPC I: 558, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 165.

***korkkyo-** 'oats' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *corca, coirce* [io m]
W: MW *ceirch, cerch, cyrch* [p]; *ceirchyn, ceirchen* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *kerch,* MoBret. *kerc'h* [Collective]
CO: OCo. *bara keirch* gl. *panis avena*
ETYM: The e-vocalism of the root in Brittonic is secondary, the regular reflex is preserved in MW *cyrch*, which is the result of raising (from *korkki); sequences of *y..i/y often dissimilate to *e...i/y in Brittonic (cf. PCelt. *dolisko- > W *delysc, dylysc*). OSw. *hagre* 'oats' (from which Fin. *kakra* 'id.' was borrowed) can be derived from *kokro-; these words for 'oats' were probably borrowed from some pre-IE source in NW Europe.
REF: LEIA C-208, GPC I: 454, Deshayes 2003: 386, Schrijver 1995: 259, 283, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 39.

***kormi** 'beer' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cuirm* [i n]
W: OW *curum,* W *cwrw* [m]
CO: OCo. *coruf* gl. ceruisia, MCo. *kor*
GAUL: *curmi, curmí* (Vertault), *kórma*
PIE: *kerm- (IEW: 572)
COGN: Russ. *kórm* 'fodder', ?Lat. *cremor* 'broth, pap, juice made by boiling grain'
ETYM: The reconstruction PCelt. *kormi- is preferable to the alternative *kurmi-, because such a vocalism can more easily be related to the PIE root *kerm-; Gaul. *curmi* must have the vowel *u* by a secondary development. Lat. *ceruēsia, ceruisia* 'beer' (Pliny, 22.64) was borrowed from a Celtic form with the e-vocalism. Falileyev does not adduce OW *curum.*
REF: LEIA C-277f., GPC I: 649f., LP 55, EIEC 82, Lambert 1994: 123, 191, Delamarre 133, Campanile 1974: 31, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 245, Porzio Gernia 1981: 108.

***korno-** 'horn' [Noun]
SEE: *karno- 'horn, hoof'

***koro-** 'act of putting, casting, a throw' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cor* [o m]
PIE: *(s)ker- 'turn, curve' (IEW: 935)
COGN: Lat. *curuus* 'curved'
ETYM: In OIr., there is a denominative verb *do-cuirethar* 'put, place' (< *to-koryetor) derived from this root. The IE etymology is conjectural; if true, the meaning changed from 'turn' to 'cast' and 'put' in Celtic. The same root may be contained in OIr. *echair,* [i and k, f] 'key', (DIL *eochair*), if from *exs-kor-i (the original meaning would have been 'the opener', while MW *agor* 'open' can be from *ad-kor- (cf. also Co. *egory, ygeri* 'open'). Pedersen's derivation of these words from *e-kāri- is impossible.
REF: LEIA C-204ff., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 45, Pedersen I: 123, GPC I: 48.

***koruko-** '(leather) boat' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *curach* [o m]
W: MW *corwg, corwgl* [m] 'coracle, vessel, body'
ETYM: A connection of these words with PIE *(s)koro- 'leather' (OCS *kora*, Lat. *corium*, IEW 939) appears probable.
REF: LEIA C-294f., GPC I: 567, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 312.

***korxsā** 'heron, crane' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *corr* [ā f]
W: MW *crychydd* [m] 'heron'
BRET: OBret. *corcid* gl. ardea, MBret. *quercheiz*, MoBret. *kerc'heiz* [f]

CO: OCo. *crechit, cherchid* gl. ardea, Co. *kerghyt, keryth*
ETYM: The derivation is not without problems, since the root is onomatopoetic. MW *crychydd* points to *krixsiyā, from the zero-grade of the same root as PCelt. *kerkā 'hen' > OIr. *cerc* [ā f]. This word may also have influenced the developent of Bret. *kerc'heiz*. Cf. also W *creyr, crehyr,* MBret. *querhair* 'heron', which may be from a similar onomatopoetic root. The PIE etymology is uncertain, but other IE languages have similar onomatopoetic words, e.g. Skt. *kṛka-vā́ku-* 'cock'.
REF: LEIA C-71, C-212, GPC I: 620, Deshayes 2003: 386f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 505.

***koryo-** 'troop, tribe' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cuire* [io ?m]
W: MW *cordd* [f] 'tribe, clan'
GAUL: *Vo-corii* [Ethnonym], *Ate-corius* [PN]
PIE: *koryo- 'troop' (IEW: 615)
COGN: OPers. *kāra-* 'people', Go. *harjis* 'army', Lith. *kãrias* 'army'
ETYM: Cf. also OW *cas-goord* 'retinue of attendants' (? *kom-exs-koryo-). IEW (579) compares MW *cordd* with Skt. *śárdhas-* 'herd, troop', Go. *hairda*, etc., but this is clearly less probable.
REF: LEIA C-275, GPC I: 557, EIEC 30, Delamarre 125, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 202, Falileyev 23, de Vaan 1999, Meid 2005: 165f., Sims-Williams 2006: 64f.

***koslo-** 'hazel' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *coll* [o m] gl. corylus
W: OW *coll* gl. corilis [coll.], MW *coll(en)*; *cyll* [p]
BRET: OBret. *colguid* gl. colurnus, MBret. *queluez,* MoBret. *kelwez* [Collective]
CO: OCo. *colwiden* gl. corillus
PIE: *kos(V)lo- 'hazel' (IEW: 616)
COGN: Lat. *corulus,* OHG *hasal,* perhaps OLith. *kasulas* 'hunting spear'
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived by syncope. MoBret. *kelvezen* and OCo. *colwiden* represent compounds, with the second element *widu- 'wood'. There may have existed a related word *koslo- in Gaulish (see LEIA C-158). The word for 'hazel' is clearly an innovation of the European branches of IE.
REF: LEIA C-157f., GPC I: 546, EIEC 260, Falileyev 34, Campanile 1974: 29, Deshayes 2003: 382, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44, Oettinger 2003: 190.

***kotto-** 'old' [Adj]
BRET: MBret. *coz*, MoBret. *kozh*
CO: OCo. *coth*
GAUL: *Ate-cotti* [Ethnonym]

ETYM: According to Sims-Williams (2006: 67) Cat. *cot* 'hill', Sp. *cueto* are from the Gaulish reflex of this word. The semantic development was presumably from 'old' to 'curved, humpbacked hillock'. In any case, these words are probably of non-IE origin.
REF: Deshayes 2003: 425, Sims-Williams 2006: 67f.

***kowdo-** 'hiding place' [Adj]
W: MW *cudd* [m] 'hiding-place, concealment'
BRET: MBret. *cuz,* MoBret. *kuz*
PIE: *ḱewd^{h}- 'hide' (IEW: 952)
COGN: Gr. *keúthō*, Arm. *suzanem* 'submerge, hide'
ETYM: Celtic forms point to an o-grade nominal derivative, PIE *ḱowd^{h}o-; cf. the denominative verbs W *cuddiaf*, MBret. *cuzaff*, Co. *cuthe* 'hide'.
REF: GPC I: 627f., EIEC 268, Deshayes 2003: 442.

***kowik-** 'cuckoo' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cói* [k f] (DIL *caí*)
PIE: *kew-k- 'cuckoo' (IEW: 535)
COGN: Gr. *kókkyks*, Lat. *cucūlus*, cf. also Gr. *kaúaks* 'gull'
ETYM: There are similar onomatopoeic words for 'cuckoo' in Brittonic, MW and Co. *cog*, but they do not formally match OIr. *coí*, the formation of which seems more archaic. The Brittonic words may go back to *kokā (cf. Skt. *kāka-* 'crow').
REF: LEIA C-9, Mac Éoin 1974.

***kownā** 'litter (of dogs)' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cúan* [ā f]
W: MW *cun* [Collective] 'pack (of dogs)'
ETYM: MIr. *cúan* 'troop' may represent the metaphoric use of the same word. A connection with the word for 'dog' (*kwon-) is possible if one assumes a vṛddhi derivative (*kowno- < *kewno- 'dog's offspring'), but note that there are no other examples of such derivatives built to *CuC- roots in Celtic. Another possibility would be to relate PCelt. *kownā to PIE *keHup- 'heap' (Lith. *kaũpas* 'heap'), but the semantics of the connection are difficult.
REF: LEIA C-261, GPC I: 630, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 257.

***kow-wari-** 'proper, fitting' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cóir, coïr, coair* [i]
W: OW *couer* 'complete', MW *kyweir cyweir,* (GPC *cywair*) [m and f] 'proper state, proper order, preparation, state of mind, temper'
PIE: *wer- (IEW: 1164)
COGN: Lat. *uereor* 'show respect, fear', Go. *wars* 'attent', ToB *wärs-* 'to pity'

ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *córae* < *kowwaryā 'justice'. The development *wr-yo- > PCelt. *waryo- was regular in Celtic, and the root-form *war- was generalized from this stem. It is doubtful whether Gr. *horáō* 'see' belongs to the same root, as claimed by IEW.
REF: LEIA C-152, GPC I: 828, GOI 123, Falileyev 35, Schrijver 1995: 326, Uhlich 1993.

***koxsā** 'leg' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cos* [ā f]
PIE: *kokso- 'hollow of joint' (IEW: 611)
COGN: Lat. *coxa* 'hip', OHG *hāhsa* 'back of knee', ToB *kakse* 'loins'
REF: LEIA C-214, EIEC 323, Matasović 2004: 212, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 60.

***koylo-** 'thin' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cóil* [o] (DIL *cáel*) gl. macer
W: MW *cul* 'narrow, lean'
BRET: MBret. *cul*
CO: OCo. *cul* gl. macer vel macilentus
PIE: *koyHlo- (IEW: 610)
COGN: Latv. *kaîls* 'naked, bold'
ETYM: The laryngeal in the root is deduced from the broken tone in Latvian, but the reconstruction is uncertain, since cognates are attested only in Celtic and Baltic. Moreover, the semantic side of the connection leaves much to be desired.
REF: LEIA C-6, GPC I: 629, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 222.

***koymo-** 'dear, nice' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cóim* [o] (DIL *cáem*)
W: MW *cu*
BRET: OBret. *cum,* MBret. *cunff, cuff,* MoBret. *kuñv*
CO: Co. *cuf, cueff*
PIE: *koymo- 'homely, belonging to the family' (IEW: 540)
COGN: OE *hám* 'home', Latv. *sàime* 'family', Russ. *semjá* 'family'
ETYM: Gaul. PN *Coemo* might belong here (Meid 2005: 191); cf. also the compound OIr. *maccóem* 'page', from *makk^{w}o-koymo- (Mac Cana 1991); W *makwyf* 'page' was borrowed from Goidelic.
REF: LEIA C-7, GPC I: 626, Deshayes 2003: 440, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 246, Meid 2005: 191, Mac Cana 1991.

***krābi-** 'devotion, religious practice' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *crábud* [u > o m]
W: MW *crefydd* [f and m]
ETYM: W *crefydd* has *-e-* rather than *-o-* on the analogy with the verb *credu* 'believe'. It has the suffix *-yo-, while OIr. *crábud* has another suffix, *-itu-.

Pokorny's etymology of these words (IEW 617) is not convincing, since a connection with Skt. *śrambhate* 'relies on someone' is formally extremely difficult (PIE *ḱreb^{h}-, with the completely unmotivated lengthened grade in Celtic?).
REF: LEIA C-220f., GPC I: 587, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 388.

***krāfo-** 'stable, enclosure' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cró* [o m]; *cróe, cróa* [io m]'enclosure, shed, sty'
W: MW *creu* [m] 'shed' (GPC *crau, craw*)
BRET: OBret. *crou* gl. hara .i. stabulum porcorum, MBret. *kraou*
CO: Co. *crow* 'hut'
PIE: *kroh$_1$-po- 'roof'
COGN: ON *hróf* 'boat-shed', OE *hróf* 'roof'
ETYM: The PIE etymology of these words is uncertain because of the semantics of the Celtic cognates, which points to the PCelt. meaning 'round, circular, enclosure' (rather than 'covered, roof' which seems to be primary in Germanic). Formally comparable is OCS *krěpъ* 'strong' and OIc. *hraefa* 'endure' (PIE *kreh$_1$po-), but their meanings are too far apart. Go. *hrot* 'roof, house', ON *hrót*, and OCS *krada* 'pile of logs, pyre, altar' point to the same root with a dental suffix (*kreh$_1$-do-), while we probably have *kreh$_1$to- in OHG and OFris. *rāza* 'honeycomb'. Greene 1983 relates the Celtic words for 'enclosure' to OIr. *cruind*, W *crwnn* 'round' (PCelt. *krundi-). However, this is difficult from the formal point of view (*-ndi- does not seem like a possible suffix).
REF: LEIA C-240, GPC I: 582, DGVB 123, EIEC 217, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 25, Greene 1983, Stalmaszczyk & Witczak 1995.

***kred-dī-** 'believe' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *creitid, -creiti; -cretis* [2s Pret.]
W: MW *credu*
BRET: MBret. *crediff, critim*
CO: Co. *cresy, krysi, cregy*
PIE: *ḱred-d^{h}eh$_1$- 'believe, trust' (IEW: 235ff.)
COGN: Skt. *śrad-dhā-*, Lat. *crēdo*
ETYM: The geminate in Celtic is only explainable if one assumes an old compound equivalent to Skt. *śrad-dhā-*. The first element of that compound is usually identified with the PIE word for 'heart', but for doubts see Benveniste 1969. Note also that we would expect PIE *dd > PCelt. *ss, so the geminate cannot be old.
REF: KPV 278ff., GPC I: 586, LIV 136ff., DGVB 123, LEIA C-228f., Benveniste 1969.

***kreddīmā** 'faith, believing' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cretem* [ā f]
BRET: MBret. *critim*, MBret. *cridiff*

ETYM: This is the verbal noun of *kred-dī- 'believe'.
REF: LEIA C-228f., DGVB 123.

***kredro/i-** 'relic, sacred object'
GOID: OIr. *cretair* [i f], (?earlier *cretar* [o])
W: OW *creirriou* [p], MW *creir* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *kreir* [m]
CO: Co. *crêr*
ETYM: Obviously related to *kred-dī- 'believe', *kreddīmā 'faith, belief'.
REF: LEIA C-232, GPC I: 578, Falileyev 36, Deshayes 2003: 430, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 231ff.

***kremu-, *kramo-** '(wild) garlic' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *crem* [u ?], *crim*
W: W *craf* [Collective] 'garlic'
BRET: OBret. *cram,* MoBret. *krav* [m] 'wild onion'
PIE: *kremHu-s-, *kermHu-s- 'wild garlic, *Allium ursinum*' (IEW: 580f.)
COGN: Gr. *kremýon*, Lith. *kermùšė*, OE *hramsan*, Croat. *crijèmša*
ETYM: The Irish word is attested only late, and W *craf* and MoBret. *krav* seem to represent the secondary zero-grade of the root (PCelt. *kramo- rather than *krimo-). The toponym *Cremona* in N Italy is often related to these words and interpreted as 'garlic town', but this is, of course, rather speculative. Various irregularities in the reflexes point to non-IE origin of this word. It is presumably a *Wanderwort* of some kind.
REF: Mallory & Adams 2006: 167, Delamarre 129, Deshayes 2003: 428, de Bernardo Stempel 2000: 91.

***kre(n)xtu-** 'wound' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *crécht* [? m]
W: MW *creith* [f] (GPC *craith*)
BRET: OBret. *creithi* [p] gl. ulcera, MBret. *creizenn* [Singulative], MoBret. *kreizh*
ETYM: The original stem formation of MIr. *crécht* is unclear. It may have been a u-stem, but also an ā-stem, which renders the PCelt. reconstruction tentative.
REF: LEIA C-226, GPC I: 579, Pedersen I: 123, DGVB 121f., Deshayes 2003: 430.

***kret-o-** 'meet, approach' [Vb]
W: MW *dygredu* 'go come near, meet, visit'
BRET: OBret. *credam* [1s Pres.] gl. vado
PIE: *kret- 'shake' (IEW: 620f.)
COGN: Gr. *krotéō* 'rattle, clap, strike', OHG *redan* 'sift', OCS *krotiti* 'tame'

ETYM: W *dygredu* < *dī-kred- (the simplex verb is unattested in W). This is a very speculative etymology, since the meanings are very divergent. One could, in principle, imagine a development from 'shake' to 'hit' and then 'meet, go to', but this is not quite persuasive.
REF: KPV 419, GPC I: 1132, DGVB 121.

***krē-tro-** 'sieve' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *criathar* [o m]
W: OW *cruitr* gl. pala, W *crwydr* [m] 'a wandering'
BRET: OBret. *croitir,* MBret. *croezr*
CO: OCo. *croider* gl. cribrum
PIE: *(s)kre(h_1)y- 'separate' (IEW: 946)
COGN: Lat. *crībrum* 'sieve', OE *hridder*
SEE: *kri-ni- 'sift, shake'
REF: LEIA C-233, GPC I: 617, DGVB 123, LP 46, EIEC 518, Falileyev 37, Campanile 1974: 32, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 304.

***krid-** 'shrink, grow thinner' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *credb(a)* 'shrinkage', *credba(ig)id, -credbaigi* 'contract, grow thinner'
W: MW *cryddu* 'shrink'
BRET: MBret. *crezz*, MoBret. *krez* 'stingy'
PIE: *(s)krd^{h}-
COGN: Skt. *kṛdhu-* 'short, shortened, small', Lith. *skur̃sti* 'lack'
ETYM: MIr. *credb* can be from *kridwV (stem and gender are unknown).
REF: LEIA C-227, GPC I: 621, Deshayes 2003:, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 216.

***kridyo-** 'heart' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cride* [io n]
W: W *craidd* [m] 'center'
BRET: MBret. *creis,* MoBret. *kreis* [m] 'center'
CO: Co. *creys* 'center'
PIE: *ḱerd- 'heart' (IEW: 580)
COGN: Hitt. *kir, kardiyas* [Gen s], Gr. *kardía*, Lat. *cor, cordis*, Go. *hairtō*, Lith. *širdìs,* OCS *srъdьce*, Arm. *sirt*
ETYM: Some linguists reconstruct a root noun in PCelt., with Nom. sg. *kred- (> W *craidd*), Gen. sg. *krid-os (> OIr. *cride*). It has been pointed out, however, that W *craidd* may be a ghost-word (cf. Schrijver 1995: 319ff.). It is quite scarcely attested, and not before the 15th century (according to GPC). If that is indeed the case, then OIr. *cride* and its Brittonic cognates may go back to PCelt. *kridyo- < PIE *ḱrd-yo-. PIE *ḱerd- was a neuter root noun (Gen. sg. *ḱrd-os, cf. Lat. *cord-is*), with some languages preserving the stem of the Nom.-Acc. sg., and others, like Celtic, generalizing the stem of the oblique cases.

REF: LEIA C-235f., GPC I: 578, EIEC 98, 263, Deshayes 2003: 430, Schrijver 1995: 319ff., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 35, 202, 412, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 417.

***krif-** 'body' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *crí* [Indeclinable] 'body'
W: MW *cryf* 'strong'
BRET: MBret. *creff,* MoBret. *kreñv* 'strong'
CO: OCo. *crif* gl. fortis, MCo. *creff, cref*
PIE: *krep- 'body'
COGN: Skt. *kṛp-* 'form, shape', Lat. *corpus* 'body', OE *hrif* 'guts, womb'
ETYM: The OIr. form is from the oblique case-stem of the PIE etymon, *krp-, while OE *hrif* preserves the nominative stem (*krep-). The word was a root noun in PIE. The British forms are from a thematic adjective, PCelt. *krif-mo-.
REF: LEIA C-223, GPC I: 621, EIEC 76, Matasović 2004: 110, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 31ff.

***krīk^{w}ā** 'furrow, trench, boundary' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *crích* [ā f]
W: OW *crip* gl. pectens, MW *crib* [f and m] 'comb, crest'
BRET: MBret. *crib* 'comb', MoBret. *krib* [f]
CO: Co. *cryb, cryben*
PIE: *krek- 'post' (IEW: 619)
COGN: Russ. *krókva* 'stake', Lith. *krẽklas* 'rafter'
ETYM: This etymology is not wholly convincing, since it requires an unmotivated lengthened grade in Celtic (PIE *krēk-w-). Cf. also ON *hraell* 'weaver's rod', which can be from *krok-ilo-.
REF: LEIA C-234f., GPC I: 594f., EIEC 441, Deshayes 2003: 433, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 220f.

***kri-ni-** 'sift, shake' [Vb]
W: MW *crynu* 'shake, tremble'
BRET: MBret.*crenaff*
CO: Co. *crenna, krena*
PIE: *kre(h_1)-y- 'sift, divide' (IEW: 945ff.)
COGN: Lat. *cerno*, Gr. *krínō*
ETYM: The laryngeal in PIE is based on Lat. *crēuī* [Perf.], *crētus*, and the alleged connection with OCS *krai* 'edge, end', Croat. *krâj, krâja* (Gr. *krínō* < *krin-yō). However, Lat. *crēuī* may be analogical (after verbs such as *lino, lēuī*), and *crētus* could have its shape under the influence of *crēuī*, whereas the original participle is preserved as *certus* 'certain, fixed' < *kri-to-. If this is indeed the case, and if OCS *krai* is unrelated, then the PIE root was *krey- rather than *kreh$_1$y-.
REF: LEIA C-237f., KPV 420ff., GPC I: 623, LIV 366f., Hamp 1987.

***krīno-** 'withered, dry' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *crín* [o]
W: OW *crin* gl. ar(i)dum, MW *crin*
BRET: MBret. *crin,* MoBret. *krin*
CO: Co. *crin*
PIE: *$\acute{k}reh_1$(y)- 'separate, sieve' (IEW: 945f.)
COGN: Lat. *cerno*, OCS *kroiti* 'cut'
SEE: *kri-ni- 'sift, shake'
ETYM: The semantic connection of the Celtic forms with those in other languages is rather weak, so this etymology is uncertain. The alternative, adopted by LEIA and LIV, of treating these words as derived from *$\acute{k}erh_2$- 'break' (IEW 578, cf. Skt. *śṛṇāmi* 'break', Gr. *keraízō* destroy'), is impossible, since the Celtic forms clearly presuppose *eh_1 in PIE (*krHno- would give PCelt. * krāno-).
REF: LEIA C-236f., GPC I: 597, Falileyev 36f., Deshayes 2003: 434, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 252.

***krissu-** 'belt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cris* [u m]
W: OW *guecrissou* [p], MW *crys* [m] 'shirt', *gwregys* 'belt, girdle'
BRET: MBret. *cres* 'shirt', MoBret. *kres* [m] 'shirt', OBret. *guo-cris* 'belt'
CO: OCo. *kreis* gl. camisia
PIE: *$kerd^h$- 'belt'
COGN: Russ. *čéres* 'leather belt'
ETYM: The PCelt. form is from the zero-grade of the PIE root with the added suffix *-tu- (PIE *krd^h-tu-).
REF: LEIA C-238f., GPC I: 625, Pedersen I: 42f., DGVB 122f., EIEC 224, Falileyev 65, Campanile 1974: 32, Deshayes 2003: 431, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 262, 574.

***krito-** 'trembling, fever' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *crith* [o m]
W: OW *crit* gl. timore, MW *crid, cryt, cryd* [m]
BRET: OBret. *crit* gl. frenesin
CO: Co. *dor-gryz* 'earthquake'
PIE: *krit- (IEW: 937)
COGN: OE *hriða* 'fever'
REF: LEIA C-239f., GPC I: 620, Falileyev 37, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 287, 412.

***krittā** 'body, frame, shape' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *crett, creit* [ā f]
W: MW *creth* [f] 'nature, appearance, form'

ETYM: The MIr. word is often used to refer to the frame of a chariot. The comparison with Lat. *crātis* 'hurdle, construction of wickerwork', OPr. *corto* 'fence', OHG *hurd* 'hurdle', since these words are from PIE *korHt- (OPr.), *krHt- (Italic and Celtic), which would have given **krāt- in PCelt. The comparison with PCelt. *kruttā 'round object, womb', also with a geminate that cannot be old (since PIE *TT > PCelt. *ss), points to borrowing from a non-IE source.
REF: LEIA C-233, GPC I: 592.

***krixso-** 'curly-haired' [Adj]
W: MW *crych* 'curly, wrinkled, rough'
BRET: MBret. *crech*, MoBret. *krec'h*
GAUL: *Crixus* [PN]
PIE: *kris-po- 'curly-haired' (IEW: 938)
COGN: Lat. *crispus*, Alb. *krip* 'hair'
ETYM: For the development of *sp > Brittonic x (W *ch* etc.) see Schrijver 1995: 374. Presumably the same development occurred in Gaulish, if the name *Crixus* is related. The PIE root is the same as in Lat. *crīnis* 'hair' < *kris-ni-. Alb. *krip* may be a Latin loanword.
REF: GPC I: 619, Pedersen: I: 75, Deshayes 2003: 429.

***krok(ke)no-** 'skin' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *croicenn* [o m]
W: MW *croen* [m] 'peel, hide, rind'
BRET: MBret. *crochenn*, MBret. *kroc'hen* [m]
CO: OCo. *croin* gl. pellis, MoCo. *croghen*
ETYM: Gallo-Lat. *crocina* 'mastruca, a garment made of skin' probably represents the Gaulish equivalent of these words. W points to the original *krokno-, while other languages show reflexes of *krokkeno-. A connection with PIE *sker- 'cut' (IEW 943) is difficult (*(s)kr-ok- does not look like a possible stem-shape). Thus, this word is probably a loanword from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA C-243f., GPC I: 602, Deshayes 2003: 435.

***krowdi-** 'rude' [Adj]
SEE: *krū- 'blood'

***krowko-** 'heap, hill' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *crúach* [ā f] 'stack (of corn), rick, heap, hill'
W: OW *cruc,* W *crug* [m] 'cairn, hillock'
BRET: OBret. *cruc* gl. gibbus, MoBret. *krug* [m]
CO: OCo. *cruc* gl. collis
PIE: *krew-k- (IEW: 938)
COGN: ON *hraukr* 'heap'

ETYM: Related words (of Gaulish origin) are attested in Romance dialects (e.g. Béarnais *cruque* 'heap (of earth)'). Since W *crug* is masculine, and MIr. *crúach* is feminine, it is doubtful whether to reconstruct PCelt. *krowkā or *krowko-; I assume that the form *krowko- is original, and *krowkā is a collective thereof.
REF: LEIA C-249f., GPC I: 613, DGVB 124, Deshayes 2003: 438.

***krū-** 'blood' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *crú* [? n] 'gore, blood' [Gen. s *króu, cró*]
W: MW *creu* [m and f] 'blood' (GPC *crau*)
CO: Co. *crow*
PIE: *ḱrewh$_2$- 'gore, raw meat' (IEW: 621)
COGN: Skt. *kraviṣ-* 'raw meat', Lat. *cruor,* Gr. *kréas* 'raw meat', Lith. *kraũjas* 'blood'
ETYM: OIr. *crúaid* 'crude, rude' presupposes a PCelt. *krowdi-, similar in form to Lat. *crūdus* 'raw', see LEIA C-250f. MW *creu* cannot be from *krū- (we would expect MW *kri, cf. *ki* < *kū 'dog'), but it may be from *kruwo-, a thematicized form, generalized from the oblique stem of the PCelt. root-noun (cf. PIE Gen. sg. *ḱruh$_2$-os). For the sound development cf. MW *geu* < PCelt. *guwo- (oblique stem of *gāwā 'lie'), *Lleu* 'god Lug' < *Luwos < *Lugos).
REF: LEIA C-248f., GPC I: 582, LP 12, EIEC 98, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 25, Greene 1983.

***krumbo-** 'round, curved' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *cromm* [o]
W: MW *crwm*
BRET: OBret. *crum* 'hunchback', MoBret. *kromm*
CO: Co. *crom*
ETYM: Germ. *krumm* , OE *crumb* 'round' point to PGerm. *krumba-, which was borrowed either from Celtic, or from the same non-IE source as the Celtic words.
REF: LEIA C-244f., GPC I: 615, DGVB 124, Deshayes 2003: 436, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 281.

***krundi-** 'round, compact'
GOID: OIr. *cruind* [i] 'round, globular, circular' (DIL *cruinn*)
W: OW *crunn,* MW *crwn*
BRET: OBret. *cron* gl. tornatili, MBret. *crenn*, MoBret. *krenn* 'round'
CO: Co. *cren*
SEE: *krumbo- 'round, curved'
ETYM: Greene 1983 relates these words to OIr. *cró* 'stable, enclosure', but this is less likely than the relation to *krumbo- 'round, compact'. If so, *krundi- is from earlier *krum-di-, but the IE etymology is unknown. Both *krundi- and *krumbo- may be loanwords from some non-IE language.

REF: LEIA C-252f., GPC I: 615, DGVB 123, Falileyev 37, Deshayes 2003: 431, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 258.

***krutto-** 'round object, womb' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *crott* [ā f] 'harp, lute'
W: MW *crwth* [m] 'round object, harp', *croth* [f] 'womb'
BRET: OBret. *courz* gl. uulua, MoBret. *kourzh* [m]
CO: Co. *crothak* 'abdomen, uterus'
ETYM: A connection with Lith. *krūtìs* 'woman's breast' appears possible (IEW 624), but the meanings are quite difficult to reconcile (? 'a round body part'), and the geminate in Celtic needs an explanation. Maybe PCelt. *krutto- is a loanword from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA C-248, GPC I: 616, Deshayes 2003: 423, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 510ff.

***kuf-sko-** 'sleep' [Vb]
W: MW *kyscu*; *cusc* [3s Pres.] (GPC *cysgu*)
BRET: MBret. *cousquet, couscq*, MoBret. *kousk* [m]
CO: Co. *koska*
PIE: *(s)kewb^{h}- 'lie' (IEW: 589f.)
COGN: Lat. *cubo, cubāre*
ETYM: Since the reflexes are limited to Italic and Celtic, we cannot be sure whether the root was *kewb^{h}- or *kewb-. In both cases the root structure is untypical for PIE. On the other hand, *skewb^{h}- (with s-mobile) is a possible root, and Italic and Celtic forms might be related to PGerm. *skeubanan 'throw' (Go. *af-skiuban* 'reject', OE *sceófan* 'shove', etc.). For the connection of 'throw' and 'lie' cf. Lat. *iacio* 'throw' and *iaceo* 'lie'.
REF: KPV 424f., GPC I: 813, LIV 357f., Deshayes 2003: 423f.

***kukro-** 'curved' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *cúar* [o]
PIE: *kew-k- 'curve' (IEW: 589)
COGN: Lith. *kaũkaras* 'high ground, hill', Croat. *kùka* 'hook'
ETYM: For *kr > *r with compensatory lengthening of the preceding syllable in OIr., cf. *akro- 'high' > OIr. *ér* 'noble'; a PCelt. form *kowkro- would also be possible. Skt. *kucati* might be related, but it is attested late, and it is unclear whether its primary meaning was 'bend, curve' (Mayrhofer, *s. v.* KUC). OHG *hōh* 'high' and ToA *koc* 'high' could be from the same root, but the semantics of this comparison are difficult ('curved' > 'protruded' > 'high'(?)).
REF: LEIA C-262, EIEC 62.

***kul(f)o-** 'sin, violation' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *col* [o n]
W: OW *ciliauc* gl. scelestus, MW *cwl* [m] 'fault, sin'

BRET: OBret. *col, caul* gl. nefariam rem
ETYM: OIr. *col* often occurs in the phrase *is col do* 'it is unlawful to...' These words have been compared with Lat. *scelus* (< ?PIE *(s)kel-) and with Lat. *culpa* (< ?*kelp-). The second possibility appears more promising; if this is true, the correct reconstruction in PCelt. is presumably *kulfo-. OE *hwealf* 'vault' and OPr. *po-quelbton* 'kneeling', if related, might point to a PIE root *kwelp- 'bent, crooked' (thus in LIV 335, IEW 630).
REF: LEIA C-155, GPC I: 639, DGVB 99, Falileyev 28, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 69, Joseph 1986: 125.

***kuli-** 'mosquito, fly' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cuil* [i f] gl. culex
W: MW *cylion* [p]; *cylionyn, cylionen,* [Singulative]
BRET: OBret. *colaenn,* MBret. *quelyen* [p], MoBret. *kelenn*
CO: Co. *kelionen* [Singulative] gl. musca
PIE: *kul- (IEW: 626)
COGN: Lat. *culex* 'mosquito', perhaps Arm. *slak^{c}* 'spit, dagger'
ETYM: Skt. *śū́la-* 'spear' may be from the same root only if we assume that short *u in Italic and Celtic is due to Dybo's law (although the place of accent in PIE is unknown in this particular instance). I think it is more likely that the similarity of Skt. *śū́la-* to these words is accidental.
REF: LEIA C-268, GPC I: 751, Deshayes 2003: 380.

***kūlo-** 'corner' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cúl* [?ā f], *cúil* 'corner, recess', *cúl* [o m] 'back'
W: MW *cil* [m] 'corner, angle'
BRET: MBret. *quil*, MoBret. *kil* [m] 'back'
CO: OCo. *chil* gl. cervix
PIE: *kuH-lo- 'back' (IEW: 951ff.)
COGN: Lat. *cūlus* 'anus, arse'
ETYM: Note the divergence in gender between Brittonic and Goidelic. Maybe two words should be distinguished: *kūlo- 'back' and *kūlā 'corner'. The first one could have been borrowed from Lat. *cūlus*, although this means just 'anus', not 'back' in the sense of the Celtic words.
REF: LEIA C-268f., GPC I: 478, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 526, Deshayes 2003: 391.

***kumbā** 'valley' [Noun]
W: MW *cwm* [m]; *cymoedd* [p]
BRET: MoBret. *komm* [m] 'river-bed'
GAUL: *cumba > VLat. *cumba* (Isidore of Seville)
PIE: *kumb^{h}o- (?) (IEW: 592)
COGN: Skt. *kumbhá-* 'pot'
ETYM: OIr. *comm, which is sometimes adduced as cognate, actually does not exist. Fr. *combe* 'dale, coomb' is from VLat. *cumba* < Gaul. *kumbā.

The structure of this root does not seem to be IE. Beekes (1996) compares also Gr. *kýmbē* 'beaker', and counts these words among his 'ancient European loanwords'.
REF: GPC I: 640, Delamarre 131f., Deshayes 2003: 408, Gamillscheg 245, Porzio Gernia 1981: 108, Beekes 1996.

***kurro-** 'pointed, protruding, angled' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *corr* [o] 'protruding, pointed, sharp'
W: MW *cwrr* [m] 'corner, edge, end, brim' (GPC *cwr*)
ETYM: MIr. *-o-* in the adjective is the result of generalization of the a-affected variant, which is expected in the nominalized *corr* [ā f] 'protruding part' < *kurrā. Fr. dial. *cor, coron* 'edge, corner' is presumably from Gaul. *korro-, or *kurro- (Gamillscheg 364). The connection with Lat. *curuus* 'curved', Gr. *kyrtós* 'bent' appears possible (de Vaan 2008: 158), but the PIE root is difficult to reconstruct (? *kew-ro-, *ku-ro-, with the Celtic forms from *kur-so-).
REF: LEIA C-211f., GPC I: 646, Gamillscheg 264.

***kuti-** 'sack, scrotum' [Noun]
W: MW *cwd* [m] 'pouch, bag, scrotum'
PIE: *kuHti- 'skin' (IEW: 952f.)
COGN: Lat. *cutis,* OHG *hūt*, ToA *kāc*
ETYM: MIr. *codal* 'skin' is borrowed from Lat. *cutilia*. Lat. *cutis* has short *-u-* as a result of Dybo's law. W *cwd* is also compatible only with the pre-form *kuti-, rather than *kūti- (which would have given W **cid). ToA *kāc* is a hapax, and its meaning is not completely certain, but it probably means 'skin' (Hilmarsson 1985).
REF: LEIA C-139, GPC I: 635, Matasović 2004: 108, Hilmarsson 1985: 162f.

***kuwo-** 'hollow' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *cúa* 'hollow, cavity'
W: MW *keu,* (GPC *cau*) 'hollow, closed'
BRET: OBret. *cau* 'covered', MBret. *queu*, MoBret. *kew* 'hollow'
PIE: *ḱewh$_2$- 'vault, hole' (IEW: 592f.)
COGN: Skt. *śūnyá-* 'empty, hollow', Gr. *kýar* 'eye of the needle', Lat. *cauus* 'hollow', ToB *kor* 'throat'
SEE: *kuwyo- 'small animal'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *cúas* [o] 'hollow', which may be from *kow-sto-. There is some doubt whether OBret. *cau* 'closed' belongs here, but since MW *keu* means both 'hollow' and 'closed', it is possible that both meanings were present in PCelt. This adjective might have been influenced by Lat. *cauus* 'hollow, empty'. Various cognates in other PIE languages presuppose a PIE heterocliton, *ḱowHr / *ḱuHnos. Celtic preserves the thematicized stem *ḱuHo-, with the regular loss of *H between vowels.

REF: LEIA C-258, GPC I: 441, EIEC 96, DGVB 98, Deshayes 2003: 390, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 204.

***kuwyo-** 'young animal' [Noun]
W: MW *cyw* [m]
PIE: *ḱew(h_2)- 'swell, be pregnant' (IEW: 593)
COGN: Gr. *kýos* 'fetus'
SEE: *kuwo- 'hollow'
ETYM: This etymology is not completely persuasive, because the PIE root, as reconstructed in IEW, has an exceedingly broad meaning ('swell, be hollow') and it is difficult to avoid random associations.
REF: GPC I: 828.

L

***lab(a)ro-** 'eloquent, talkative' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *labar* [o]
W: MW *llafar* 'loud, resonant, talkative'
BRET: OBret. *labar* 'talking', MBret. *lauaret* 'talk', MoBret. *lavar* [m] 'language, speech'
CO: OCo. *lauar* gl. sermo
GAUL: *Labarus, Labrios* [PN]
ETYM: In OIr., there is also the denominative deponent verb *labraithir, -labrathar* 'talks'. Cf. the parallel formation of the antonyms W *aflafar* 'mute' and OIr. *amlabar* 'mute'. These Celtic words may have been onomatopoetic in origin; the connection with ME *flappen* 'hit' suggested by IEW (831) is a mere possibility (if this is correct, the PCelt. form of the root was *flab-), cf. also Germ. *labern* . 'babble'.
REF: DGVB 236, Delamarre 194f., Deshayes 2003: 453, Zimmer 2000: 486, Meid 2005: 56.

***lăfigo-** 'calf' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lóeg* [o m]
W: OW *lo,* MW *lloe, llo* [m]
BRET: MBret. *lue*, MoBret. *leue* [m]
CO: OCo. *loch* gl. vitulus, Co. *lugh*
PIE: *leh$_2$p- 'cattle' (IEW: 654)
COGN: Alb. *lopë* 'cow', Latv. *lùops* 'cattle'
ETYM: The monosyllabic form found in MW *llo* must have been remodeled after the plural *lloe-au* (falsely reinterpreted as *llo-eau, llo-iau*). If

the IE side of this etymology is correct, the Celtic words must be from something like *leh$_2$p-igo-. If this is rejected, the Celtic words for 'calf' can also be derived from PCelt. *loygo- rather than *lāfigo-.
REF: GPC II: 2196, Deshayes 2003; 461, Schrijver 309f., Falileyev 105, LHEB 451, Campanile 1974: 73.

***laggo-** 'weak, slack' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *lac* [o]
PIE: *(s)leh$_2$g- 'slack' (IEW: 959f.)
COGN: Lat. *laxus* 'spacious, loose', *languo* 'be sluggish', Gr. *lagarós* 'slack, thin', OE *sleack*, ToB *lakkare*
ETYM: MW *llacc* 'slack' was probably borrowed from Goidelic. OIr. *lacc(c)* is, in principle, derivable from PIE *lh$_2$g-ko-. The pronunciation of MoIr. *lag* confirms that there was a geminate [gg] in OIr. that failed to undergo lenition.
REF: EIEC 523, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 509f.

***lam-yo-** 'dare' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ro-laimethar*; *ro-lamathar* [Subj.]; *ro-lilmathar* [Fut.]; *lámair* [Pret.]; *ro-lét* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *llafasu, llyfasu, llyfasel*
BRET: MBret. *lafuaez*
CO: Co. *lauasos* 'to be allowed'
PIE: *h$_3$lem- 'to tire (oneself)' (IEW: 674)
COGN: Gr. *nōlemés* 'untiring', OHG *lam* 'lame', Lith. *lémti* 'to ordain'
ETYM: OIr. *ro-laimethar* < *fro-lam-yo- (the simplex verb is unattested in Goidelic). The acute in Lith. *lémti* (3sg. *lémsta*) must be due to metatony, which is expected in sta-presents.
REF: KPV 446f., GPC II: 2086, LIV 412, LP 376, EIEC 81, Stüber 1998: 135.

***landā** 'open land' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lann* [ā f] 'land, plot, church'
W: MW *llann* [f] 'church-yard', (GPC *llan*)
CO: Co. *lan*
GAUL: *landā > Fr. *lande* 'sandy moor, heath'
PIE: *lond^h- 'open land, waste' (IEW: 675)
COGN: OE *land*, OPr. *lindan* 'valley'
ETYM: The Celtic forms stem from the zero-grade, PIE *lnd^h- (as in OPr. *lindan*), while the Germanic words contain PIE *lond^h-. This probably points to an ablauting paradigm Nom. *lōnd^h-s, Gen. *lnd^h-os, Acc. *lond^h-m. Cf. also the parallel compounds OIr. *ith-land*, MW *yd-lan* 'threshing floor'.
REF: EIEC 200, Delamarre 196, Falileyev 100, Gamillscheg 558, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 351, 472, McCone 1994: 70.

***lanx-sman-** 'jump' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *léimm* [n n]
W: MW *llam*
BRET: MBret. *lam*, MoBret. *lamm* [m]
CO: Co. *lam*
GAUL: *Lingones* [Ethnonym]
ETYM: A nominal derivative form the verbal base *leng- preserved in OIr. *lingid* 'jumps'. Zero-grade of the root is expected in such a formation (cf. *kanxsman).
REF: GPC II: 2091, Deshayes 2003: 448.

***lati-** 'liquid, fluid' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *laith* 'ale, liquor'
W: MW *llad* 'drink, beer'
BRET: OBret. *lat* gl. crapulam
CO: OCo. *lad* gl. liquor
GAUL: *Are-late* [Toponym] = *Arles*
PIE: *lat- 'wet' (IEW: 654f.)
COGN: OHG *letto* 'mud'
ETYM: OIr. *laith* does not mean 'swamp' *pace* IEW 654. Connection of these Celtic words with Gr. *látaks* 'drops of wine from the bottom of a wine-cup', suggested by Pokorny, is unconvincing (*látaks* is a loanword from some pre-Greek substrate). The connection with Lith. river-names such as *Latuvà* is as uncertain as anything in toponomastics. The a-vocalism in the PIE root is difficult to account for, so this word may have been borrowed from some non-IE source.
REF: DGVB 237, Delamarre 197.

***lāto-** 'furor, ardor [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *láth* [o m]
W: W *llawd* [m] 'heat (of sow), sow's desire for boar'
SEE: *lāyko- 'warrior'
ETYM: The first element in the Gaulish Ethnonym *Lato-bici* might be derivable from this Celtic etymon (Delamarre 198, Meid 2005: 54). W *llawd* is attested very late (17th century) and shows somewhat unusual semantic development.
REF: GPC II: 2106, Delamarre 198, Meid 2005: 54, Zimmer 2000: 288.

***latyo-** 'day' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *laithe* [io n] (DIL *lá*)
GAUL: *lat-* (Coligny)
PIE: *leh$_1$t- 'warm part of the year (?)' (IEW: 680)
COGN: OCS *lěto* 'year', Croat. *ljȅto* 'summer', Swedish dial. *låding* 'spring'

ETYM: The Celtic forms contain the zero-grade of the root, which points to an ablauting paradigm *leh$_1$ti-/*lh$_1$tyo-, with Celtic generalizing the shape of the root in the oblique cases (the development *lh$_1$tyo- > *latyo- is regular, cf. *laggo- 'weak'). The semantic development in Celtic was from 'warm part of the year' to 'warm part of the day', and, finally, 'day' (for a similar development cf. Croat. *gòdina* 'year' vs. Polish *godzina* 'hour').
REF: Lambert 1994: 112.

***lawano-** 'provisions, food, sustenance'
GOID: OIr. *lón, lán, loon, loan* [o m] 'provisions, sustenance, fat, victuals'
PIE: *lewH- 'cut off, loose' (IEW: 681f.)
COGN: Skt. *lunā́ti* 'cuts off', Lat. *luo* 'suffer, make amends for', OE *lē* 'sickle', Lith. *liáutis* 'to be cut'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *as-loí* 'flees' < *exs-luw-o- (< *lowH-o-, cf. PCelt. *luw-o-). OIr. *lón* is always written with a long vowel, so it cannot be from *luno- as stated by IEW (681). In early OIr. texts it is also spelled as a disyllabic word (*loon, loan*, see attestations in DIL). The semantic development from 'a cut' to 'share' and 'portion, provision' is clear, but the formal development needs some clarification. PCelt. *lawano- may, perhaps, be derived from PIE *lewHno- by Joseph's rule, but it is uncertain if *lawano- should yield OIr. *lán*, or **lúan. In the latter case, maybe *w was lost early between identical vowels, so *laano- yielded *lán, lón* regularly. On the other hand, PCelt. *lowano- (from *lowH-no-) would presumably have yielded the same result.
REF: EIEC 481, Kortlandt 1981.

***lawaro-** 'many, a lot' [Adj]
SEE: *ufo-lawto- 'property, wealth'

***laweno-** 'merry' [Adj]
SEE: *ufo-lawto- 'property, wealth'

***lawgo-** 'prize, price' [Noun]
SEE: *ufo-lawto- 'property, wealth'

***lāyko-** 'warrior' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *láech, lóech* [o m]
PIE: *leh$_2$- 'war' (?)
COGN: Hitt. *lahh-* 'military campaign', Gr. *lā(w)ós* 'army, folk', Phrygian *lawagtaei* [Dat. s] 'military leader'
ETYM: OIr. *láech* is often considered to be a loanword from Latin *laicus* 'layman' < Gr. *laikós* (e.g. in DIL, cf. also Sharpe 1979). Indeed, it means not only 'warrior', but 'layman' in some early texts. However, the semantic development would have been strange, and there is no such Latin loanword in British (but see below). If it is indeed inherited, OIr. *láech* would have to

be a derivative in *-iko- from the root *lā- that we might also have in PCelt. *lāto- 'furor'. A possible cognate in Brittonic is the Welsh name for England, *Lloegr*. This name, which has not been satisfactorily explained so far, could represent the collective *lāykor (as in OIr. *clochar* 'a heap of stones', from *cloch* 'stone'), *vel. sim.* On collectives in *-r see Tovar 1972-3.
REF: EIEC 31, Watkins 1965, Sharpe 1979.

***la-yo-** 'put, lay down, throw' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ro-lá*; *-laa* [Subj.], *ro-laa* [Pret.]
PIE: *leh$_1$- 'let, leave' (IEW: 666, 682f.)
COGN: Lat. *lētum* 'death', OCS *lěnъ* 'lazy', Hitt. *laizzi* 'lets', Lith. *liáutis* 'stop', Go. *lewjan* 'betray', *lew* 'opportunity, cause'
ETYM: OIr. *ro-lá* < *fro-la-yo- (the simplex is unattested). The Gaulish inscription from Voltino (CIL V 4883, RIG II.2: 188) might contain this verb (*TO-ME-Z-EC-LAI* ?'put me up'), but this is very doubtful, see KPV 442. The PCelt. form is regularly derived from PIE *lh$_1$-yo-. Baltic and Germanic reflexes presuppose *leh$_1$w- rather than *leh$_1$-, and the status of *-w- is unclear. I do not believe these words are connected to PCelt. *latyo- 'day' for semantic reasons, although formally, the connection is possible. On the other hand, OIr. *airle* [ā f] 'counsel' might be derivable from the same root and represent PCelt. *fare-la-yā (either with generalised *-lă-, or with *-lā- < *loh$_1$).
REF: KPV 442ff., LIV 399, LP 354ff.

***laxsaro-** 'burning, shining' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *lassar* [ā f] 'flame' (DIL *lasar*)
W: MW *llachar* 'shining, shiny, brilliant'
PIE: *leh$_2$p- 'shine'
COGN: Hitt. *lāpzi* 'glows', Gr. *lámpō*, OPr. *lopis* 'flame'
ETYM: OIr. *lassar* is probably a substantivized adjective. PCelt. *laxs-aro- appears to be derivable from PIE *lh$_2$ps-, with *lHC- > *la- as in *natu- and *latyo-. From the same root we have OIr. *lasaid* 'burn'. For the suffix see Zimmer 2000: 485f.
REF: LP 19, EIEC 513, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 266, 467, Zimmer 2000: 486.

***lēgā** 'spoon' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *liag* [ā f] (DIL *líach*)
W: MW *llwy* [f]
BRET: OBret. *loi,* MBret. *loa* [f]
CO: OCo. *loe,* MoCo. *lo*
PIE: *leyǵ^h- 'lick' (IEW: 668)
COGN: Lat. *lingo*, OE *liccian*
SEE: *lig-o- 'lick'

ETYM: The forms with a final *g* are clearly older in OIr., see Hamp 1984. The derivation from the root *leyǵ^{h}- 'to lick' is semantically trivial.
REF: Deshayes 2003: 469, GPC II: 2237, LP 31, Hamp 1984.

***leg-o-** 'melt' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *legaid, -lega* 'melts, melts away, perishes'
W: MW *dilein* 'destroy' (GPC *dileu, dilein, dilain*) < *dī-leg-o-
PIE: *leg- 'leak, drop' (IEW: 657)
COGN: ON *leka* 'leak, pour out in drops', OE *hlec* 'leak', Arm. *lič* 'bog'
ETYM: Cf. also W *dadleithio, dadlaith* 'melt' from *to-ate-lex-t-.
REF: KPV 449, GPC I: 871, 1012, LP 376, EIEC 207.

***leg-o-** 'to lay, lie down' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *laigid, -laig; leiss, -lé* [Subj.]; *leiss, -lé* [Fut.]; *láig* [Pret.]
PIE: *leg^{h}- 'lie' (IEW: 658ff.)
COGN: Go. *ligan*, OCS *lešti*, Falisc. *lecet* 'lies'
SEE: *leg(y)o- 'bed'
ETYM: OIr. *lige* [io n] 'lying, bed' is a nominal derivative from PCelt. *legyo-. Cf. also the Brittonic words for 'bed', which presuppose *ufo-leg-yo- (OW *gueli*, W *gwely*, OBret. *gueli*, MBret. *guele* [m]), MoIr. *golighe* 'setting of the sun'.
REF: KPV 448, LIV 398f., LP 375.

***legu-, *lagu-** 'small' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *laugu, laigiu* 'smaller' [Comparative]
W: MW *llaw* 'small, sad'
BRET: OBret. *lau* gl. petusculum 'small, bad', MoBret. *law* 'miserable, bad'
PIE: *h$_1$le(n)g^{wh}- 'small, light' (IEW: 661)
COGN: Skt. *raghú-* 'light', Gr. *elakhýs* 'small', Lat. *leuis* 'light', Go. *leihts* 'light', Lith. *lengvas* 'light'
ETYM: For a possible parallel in Gaul. see Delamarre 195. OIr. *laigiu* might be derivable from *leg^{w}-yōs, the PCelt. comparative of an adjective stem PCelt. *leg^{w}u- > *legu- (cf. the u-affection in OIr. *laugu* and in the superlative *lugam, lugimem*, but with *e* in MW *lleiaf*). OIr. has *-a-* which is the regular development of PCelt. *e before palatalized *g (cf. PCelt. *yegi- 'ice' > OIr. *aig*). Similar comparatives are MW *llei*, Co. *le* 'smaller', cf. also OIr. *lagat* [? n] 'smallnes'. The derivation from PIE *h$_1$leg^{wh}- 'light, swift' is probable, but the Brittonic a-vocalism is surprising. The comparison with OIr. might point to an ablauting paradigm in PCelt., with Nom. sg. *leg^{w}u- < *h$_1$leg^{wh}u-, Gen. sg. *lag^{w}wo- < PIE *h$_1$lg^{wh}wo-. The development *RCC- > *RaCC- would have been regular. In many languages the root shows nasalization (*h$_1$leng^{wh}-, cf. Lith. *leñgvas*), presumably from the verbal present stem (cf. OHG *gi-lingan* 'attain'). On the other hand, some linguists

prefer to reconstruct the PIE root as *$h_1$leng^{wh}- 'move effortlessly' and relate these forms to PCelt. *leng-o- 'jump'. This possibility cannot be excluded.
REF: DGVB 237, EIEC 353, LIV 220, Delamarre 195, GOI: 51, Deshayes 2003: 454.

***leg(y)o-** 'bed, couch, place' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lige* [io m]
W: MW *lle* [m] 'place'
BRET: OBret. *le* 'place', MoBret. *le* [m]
GAUL: *legasit* 'placed' [3s Pret.] (Bourges)
PIE: *leg^h- 'lie' (IEW: 658f.)
COGN: Gr. *lékhos* 'bed', Lat. *lectus* 'bed', ToB *leke, leki* 'bed, resting place'
ETYM: Gaul. *legasit* is a denominal verb. Also related is MBret. *lech* [m] 'place' < *lexso- < *leg^h-s-. Fr. *lie* 'dregs, lees' is often derived from Gaul. *ligyā or *ligā 'layer' (Gamillscheg 568). This, or rather *liyā, attested as *lias* 'lees, dregs' in the Reichenau Glosses (8th century) could actually be the VLat. form of Gaul. *legyā < PCelt. *legyā 'layer', from the same root as *leg(y)o- 'bed'.
REF: DGVB 238, EIEC 57, Delamarre 199, Deshayes 2003: 454.

***lēmo-, *limo-** 'elm' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *lem* [o m]
W: MW *llwyfen* [Singulative]; *llwyf* [p]
GAUL: *Lemo-uices* [Ethnonym] > *Limoges*
PIE: *$h_1$leym- 'elm' (IEW: 303)
COGN: Lat. *ulmus,* Eng. *elm,* ON *almr*, Russ. *il'm* 'mountain elm'
ETYM: MIr. *lem* < *limo-, W *llwyf-en* < *lēmā. Together with the IE cognates, this probably points to an ablauting paradigm, PIE *$h_1$leyōm / *$h_1$lim-os. Lat. *ulmus* can be derived from *$h_1$elimos by syncope (*elmos > *olmos > *ulmus* is regular). Syncope would also have to be assumed for the Germanic reflexes, which are derivable from PGerm. *elmaz (Eng. *elm*) and *almaz (ON *almr*). Russ. *il'm* can be from *jьlьm < *$h_1$limo-. All of these words for 'elm' are not related to the Balto-Slavic words for 'linden' (Russ. *lípa*, Lith. *liepa*, etc.), as suggested by some (Vasmer, etc.). The Balto-Slavic words are from the PIE root *leyp- 'stick, adhere to' (the linden tree produces sticky juice).
REF: GPC II: 2243, EIEC 178, Delamarre 199, de Bernardo Stempel 246, Sims-Williams 2006: 83f.

***leng-o-** 'jump' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *lingid, -ling*; *léiss, -lé* [Subj.]; *iblais, -ibail* [Fut.]; *leblaing, eblaing* [Pret.]; *-eblacht* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *$h_1$leng^{wh}- 'move effortlessly' (IEW: 660f.)

COGN: Skt. *rámhate* 'hurry', Gr. *elaphrós* 'quick', OHG *gi-lingan* 'succeed'
SEE: *lanxsman- 'jump'
ETYM: The name of the Gaulish tribe *Lingones* may be related to this root (Delamarre). KPV 522ff. relates this verb to PIE *(s)preng^{h}- 'jump' (Germ. *springen*, etc.), but the developments that need to be assumed are too complex. I prefer to follow LIV's attribution to PIE *h$_1$leng^{wh}-, the phonological development is quite straightforward. The same root may be attested in PCelt. *legu-, *lagu- 'light'
REF: KPV 522ff., LIV 247f., LEIA D-162., Delamarre 203.

***lēro-** 'complete, diligent' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *léir* [i] 'assiduous, earnest, diligent'
W: MW *llwyr* 'utter, whole, full, total'
BRET: OBret. *loir* gl. diligens
ETYM: None of the IE etymologies proposed so far is satisfying. The connection with Lat. *plēnus* 'full' < *pleh$_1$-no- is impossible, because PCelt. *ē must be from *ey or *eyH rather than *eh$_1$.
REF: GPC II: 2246, DGVB 245, Walde-Hoffmann II: 323.

***lestro-** 'vessel' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lestar* [o n] 'container (for liquids), vessel, ship, receptacle'
W: OW *lestir* gl. rati, MW *llestyr, llestr* [m] 'vessel, container'
BRET: MBret. *lestr* [m]
CO: OCo. *lester* gl. nauis, MCo. *lester*
ETYM: OIr. *lestar* might be a W loanword (the cluster *-st-* is unexpected). Both OIr. *lestar* and W *llestr* can also mean 'beehive'. A persuasive IE etymology is lacking. However, if the original meaning was actually 'piece of wickerwork', or 'container made of wickerwork', then we may reconstruct PCelt. *flexstro- < PIE *plék-stro-, from the root *plék- 'weave' (Gr. *plékō*, Lat. *plecto*, OE *fleohtan*, cf. IEW 834f.).
REF: GPC II: 2159, Schrijver 1995: 400, GOI 120, 178, Campanile 1974: 71, Deshayes 2003: 460.

***letos** 'side' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *leth* [s n] 'side'
W: MW *lled* [m] 'breadth, width, half'
BRET: MBret. *let, led* 'large', *led* [m] 'greatness'
CO: Co. *les*
PIE: *letos ? 'side'
COGN: Lat. *latus* 'side'
ETYM: A different etymology derives these nouns from PIE *pleth$_2$-es- 'breadth' (see PCelt. *flitano-), which is also possible. he OIr. preposition *la* 'with, among' [Geminating, +Acc.] might represent a form of PCelt. *letos- (presumably *letos > *let-s, with the second vowel lost in allegro speech).

For a different etymology see de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 142; she relates the Celtic words to PIE *plē-t-, presumably *pleh$_1$-t-, but there is no trace of the laryngeal in Celtic. Another possibility is to reconstruct, with Schrijver (1994), a locative sg. of a root noun *pleth$_2$- > PCelt. *flet-i > OIr. *la* (with early apocope of *-i). The vocalism of Lat. *latus* is puzzling, and this word has also other possible etymologies (cf. IEW 1018f., de Vaan 2008: 330).
REF: GPC II: 2126ff., GOI 523, Deshayes 2003: 456, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 142, Schrijver 1994, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 564.

***lig-o-** 'lick' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ligid, -lig*; *lilis, -lil* [Fut.]; *lelaig* [Pret.]
W: MW *llyu* (GPC *llyfu, llyo, llyu*)
BRET: MBret. *leat*, MoBret. *lead*
PIE: *leyǵ^h- 'lick' (IEW: 668)
COGN: Gr. *leíkhō*, Lat. *lingo,* OCS *lizati*
SEE: *lēgā 'spoon'
REF: GPC II: 2253, KPV 451f., LIV 404, EIEC 351, Deshayes 2003: 455.

***lim-ā-** 'sharpen, polish' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *límaid* 'shaprens, polishes'; *limsat* [3p Pret.]
W: MW *llymhau* 'sharpen, whet, quicken'
BRET: OBret. *lemhaam* gl. acuo, MBret. *lemaff*, MoBret. *lemmañ*
ETYM: These words are most probably related to Lat. *līma* 'carpenter's file', OHG *slīm* 'mud, slime', *slīman* 'make smooth', etc. The PIE root would be *(s)ley- (IEW 663), with the suffix *-mo- in Italic, Germanic, and Celtic. However, the length in OIr. *límaid* is unexpected (but cf. the short vowel in 3 pl. Pret. *limsat*).
REF: GPC II: 2271, DGVB 239, Deshayes 2003: 458.

***li-na-** 'stick' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *lenaid, -len,* 'remains, adheres to, follows'; *lieid, lia* [Subj.]; *lilid, -lil* [Fut.]; *lil* [Pret.]
W: MW *llynu* 'corrupt, pollute, infect, ?smear'
PIE: *h$_2$leyH- 'smear' (IEW: 662)
COGN: Lat. *lino,* Gr. *alínein* (Hesych.)
ETYM: In OBret., cf. *linom* gl. litturam, which is parallel to OIr. *lenamon* [ā f], *lenamain* 'act of adhering, cleaving, following'.
REF: GPC II: 2273, KPV 453ff, LP 378, DGVB 243.

***lindu-, *lindo-** 'liquid, lake' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lind* [u m] 'drink, liquid, ale'
W: MW *llynn* [m and f] 'drink, lake' (GPC *llyn*)
BRET: OBret. *lin* 'lake', MoBret. *lenn* 'pool'
CO: OCo. *gre-lin* gl. lacus
GAUL: *linda* [Nom. p] (Banassac), *Lindiacum* [Toponym]

ETYM: GPC has two different entries, *llyn* [m and f] 'lake, pool' and *llyn* [m] 'drink, beverage'. It is possible that this difference goes back to PCelt. (? *lindo- 'drink', *lindā 'pool, lake'); the basic meaning of *lind- could have been 'drinkable water' (St. Zimmer, p. c.). In principle, it would be possible to derive these words from the same root as in *liy-o- 'flow', but the derivation is difficult: PIE *liH-nd-u (with unclear word formation) would give PCelt. *līndu-, and *ī could have been shortened either by the Celtic variant of Osthoff's law, or by Dybo's law, if it had been in the pretonic position.
REF: GPC II: 2272, DGVB 243, Pedersen I: 37, Delamarre 203, Sims-Williams 2006: 84.

***li-n-k^{w}-o-** 'leave, let' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *léicid, -léici* 'leaves, lets, allows'
PIE: *leyk^{w}- 'leave' (IEW: 669f.)
COGN: Skt. *riṇákti*, Lat. *linquo*, Gr. *leípō*, Go. *leihwan*, Lith. *lìkti*
REF: KPV 454ff., LIV 406ff., LP 377f., EIEC 348.

***linnā** 'veil, cloak' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lenn* [ā f] 'cloak, mantle' (gl. sagana)
W: MW *lenn* [f] 'veil, curtain' (GPC *llen*)
BRET: OBret. *escei lenn* gl. cortina, MoBret. *lenn* [f] 'couverture d'enfant'
CO: OCo. *len* gl. sagum
GAUL: Gallo-Lat. *linna* 'mantle' (Isidore of Seville)
ETYM: Some linguists have tried to provide these words with a PIE etymology by starting from *pltneh$_2$ > PCelt. *flitnā, *flinnā (cf. PIE *polt- > Croat. *plâtno* 'cloth', Germ. *Falte* 'fold'; Skt. *paṭa-* 'cloth' does not belong here unless one accepts Fortunatov's law). However, *tn should have been preserved in PCelt., and the subsequent loss of *t should have caused the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in OIr. (cf. *én* 'bird' < *fetno-), so this etymology is improbable. More promising is to start from *lino- 'flax, linen' (Gr. *línon*, OCS *lьnъ*). W *llin* Co. *lyn*, MBret. *lin* and OIr. *lín* 'flax, linen' are borrowed from Lat. *līnum* (which is compatible with *leyno-, just as OE *līn*, which might also be a loanword from Lat.), but the inherited word for 'linen, flax' could have been extended by a suffix (? *-sno-, *-do-, or *-no-) and acquired the meaning 'cloth' > 'mantle'. The cultivation of flax was widespread in Europe and the Middle East from the Neolithic times, so it is impossible to locate the source of the original word, if it was initially borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: Falileyev 102, Campanile 1974: 71, GPC II: 2151, Deshayes 2003: 459, EIEC 206.

***līno-** 'flow, flood' [Noun]
GOID: MoIr. *líon* 'a fill, flood' (Ó Donaill)
W: MW *llin* [m] 'flow of blood, pus'

BRET: MBret. *lin*
CO: Co. *lyn*
PIE: *leyH- 'flow' (IEW: 664f.)
COGN: OCS *liti* 'flow, pour', Lith. *lieti* 'pour'
SEE: *liy-o- 'flow'
ETYM: A nominal derivative from PCelt. *liy-o- 'flow'. It presupposes the zero-grade of the PIE root (*liH-no-).
REF: GPC II: 2181.

***liro-** 'sea, ocean' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ler* [o m]
W: OW *lirou* [p] 'seas, oceans', MW *llyr* [m] (GPC *llŷr*)
ETYM: The IE etymology offered by IEW (664, from *leyH- 'flow') is unconvincing. If anything, 'sea' is not 'flowing' in any possible sense. Moreover, the PIE root was *leyH- (see LIV 363f.), with a laryngeal, and there is no trace of long *ī < *iH in Celtic (though, admittedly, PIE *liHró- would have been shortened to PCelt. *liro- by Dybo's law). I believe that this word was borrowed from some non-IE substrate (the inherited word for 'sea' is PCelt. *mori).
REF: GPC II: 2275, Falileyev 104.

***lissu-** 'abhorrence' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lius* [u m] 'loathing, disgust'
PIE: *$h_2$leyt- 'do something hateful' (IEW: 672)
COGN: OE *lāþ* 'loathsome', OHG *leid* 'hate', Gr. *aloitós, aleitḗs* 'sinner'
ETYM: Although this etymology is speculative, the PCelt. form would be derivable straightforwardly from PIE *$h_2$lit-tu-, with the expected zero-grade of the root in an abstract noun with the suffix *-tu-.
REF: EIEC 259, de Bernardo Stempel 288.

***līti(-āko)-** 'accused' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *líthech* [o] 'accused person'
COGN: Lat. *līs, lītis*, OLat. *slis* (Lex Acilia: *quanti eius rei slis ae[stumata erit* 'such damages as shall have been assessed in this case')
SEE: *li-yo- 'accuse'
ETYM: OIr. *líthech* is a legal term, occurring mostly in early legal tracts. It is a nominalized adjective derived from unattested *(s)līti- 'lawsuit, accusation'. The connection to Lat. *līs* is compelling, but we must assume that the PCelt. word lacked the s-mobile, which is attested in Old Latin.
REF: Joseph 1986.

***lītu-** 'feast, celebration' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *líth* [u m]
BRET: OBret. *lit,* MoBret. *lid* [m] 'feast, rite'

ETYM: Gaulish names with the first element *Litu-* may contain the same root (e.g. *Litu-genus*, *Litu-maros*), but they can also be related to PCelt. *flitano- 'broad'. The absence of clear cognates outside Celtic means that the PCelt. reconstruction is quite uncertain (PCelt. *flītu- would also be possible). In principle, PCelt. *lītu- can be derived from *liH-tu- 'flowing (of drinks/libations)', from the PIE root *leyH- 'flow' (see PCelt. *liy-o- 'flow'), but this is, of course, merely a root etymology.
REF: Deshayes 2003: 464, Pedersen I: 132.

***līwank-** 'stone, pillar' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *líe, lïa*; *lïac* [Gen s]
PIE: *leh$_1$- 'stone' (IEW: 683)
COGN: Gr. (Hom.) *lãas* 'stone', *leúō* 'to stone', Myc. *ra-e-ja*, Alb. *lerë* 'rock slip, boulder'
ETYM: MoBret. *liac'h* 'stone' is a borrowing from Goidelic. It. *lava* 'lava', Fr. dial. *lave*, Pr. *lavo, lauvo* 'flat stone' may be from Gaul. *lawā < *lh$_1$w-. Gallo-Lat. *lausiae* 'pebbles in a stone-quarry' (cf. Fr. *lause, lauze* 'pierre plate utilisée comme dalle') may be from an old s-stem *laws- < *lh$_1$us-, cf. also Fr. *losange* 'lozenge' and the toponym *Lausanne*, which may be from *laws-on- < *lh$_1$u-s-on-, or *lh$_1$us-h$_3$en-, with the possessive suffix *-h$_3$en-. If the etymology is correct, we should probably reconstruct an u-stem in PIE, with Nom. sg. *leh$_1$u-s, Gen. sg. *lh$_1$w-os. OIr. *líe* preserved the full-grade of the Nom. sg.
REF: Gamillscheg 562, Mallory & Adams 2006: 122, Schmitt 1997: 825.

***līwo-** 'stream' [Noun]
SEE: *li-yo- 'flow'

***liwo-** 'color' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lí* [? f, perhaps earlier n] 'complexion, beauty, color'
W: OW *liu* [m], MW *lliw*
BRET: OBret. *liou*, MBret. *liu*, MoBret. *liw* [m]
CO: OCo. *liu* gl. color, MCo. *lyw*
PIE: *(s)liHwo- 'blue' (IEW: 967)
COGN: Lat. *līuor, līuidus*, OCS *sliva* 'plum', OE *slāh* 'sloe'
ETYM: OIr. *lí* is often indeclinable. Gaul. *Lionus* [PN] may be derivable from the same root (Delamarre).
REF: GPC II: 2192, DGVB 243f., EIEC 113, 246, Delamarre 205, Deshayes 2003: 469, Falileyev 105, Campanile 1974: 72, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 178.

***liy-ant-** 'flood' [Noun]
SEE: *liy-o- 'flow'

***liy-o-** 'charge, accuse' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *liid, -lí; líthae, -líth* [Pass.] 'accuses'
PIE: *sleyH- 'accuse' (IEW: 650f.)
COGN: Lat. *līs, lītis* 'strife, accusation'
SEE: *līti-(āko)- 'accused'
ETYM: Perhaps related is Celtib. *litom* (?) 'what is permitted' (Botorrita I), cf. Meid 1994a: 17f. However, this Celtib. form allows many other etymological interpretations including, e.g., PCelt. *lixtom < *lik^{w}-to- (from the root *leyk^{w}- 'to leave', Lat. *linquo*, OIr. *léicid*, etc.).
REF: KPV 452, Joseph 1986, Meid 1994a: 17, Jordán Cólera 1998: 85f., MLH V.1: 226f.

***liy-o-** 'flow' [Vb]
W: MW *dillydd* [3s Pres.]
PIE: *leyH- 'flow' (IEW: 664f)
COGN: OCS *liti*, Lith. *lieti*
SEE: *līno- 'flow, flood'
ETYM: W *dillydd* < *dī-exs-liy-o- (the simplex verb is unattested). Derived from the same root are W *lli, llif* [m] Co. *lyf*, 'stream, flow' (< *līwo-). OIr. *li(a)e* 'flood' and W *lliant* 'flood, flux' can be old present participles of this verbal root (PCelt. *liy-ant-).
REF: KPV 451f., GPC I: 1018, LIV 405f.

***loferno-** 'fox' [Noun]
W: MW *llewyrn* [Collective, sometimes m] 'foxes', W *llwyrn, llwyrn* 'will-o'-the-wisp, *ignis fatuus*'
BRET: MBret. *louarn*, MoBret. *louarn, lowern* [m]
CO: OCo. *louuern* gl. vulpes, Co. *lowarn*
PIE: *h$_2$lop- 'fox'
COGN: Skt. *lopāśá-* 'fox, jackal', Gr. *alṓpēks* 'fox', Lith. *lãpė* 'fox', Arm. *aɫuēs* 'fox'
REF: GPC II: 2172, Deshayes 2003: 475, Schrijver 1998.

***loku-** 'lake, pool' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *loch* [u n]
PIE: *loku- 'pond, pool' (IEW: 653)
COGN: Lat. *lacus*, Gr. *lákkos*, OE *lagu*, OCS *loky*
ETYM: W *llwch* (OW *lichou*) and OBret. *loch*, MoBret. *loc'h* 'lake, pond' are either loanwords from Goidelic, or point to a geminate *lokku-. MBret. *laguenn* 'inundated field' and OCo. *lagen* gl. stagnum are probably borrowed from Lat. *lacus* (this would explain the vocalism). The difficulties presented by the IE cognates can be resolved if one starts from a PIE ablauting paradigm with Nom. sg. *loku-s, Gen. sg.*lkew-s (Matasović 2004: 104).
REF: EIEC 343, DGVB 244, Delamarre 206, Campanile 1974: 70, Falileyev 103, Deshayes 2003: 447, 470, Matasović 2004: 104.

***lomanā** 'rope, thong' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *loman* [ā f] 'rope, leash, thong, bridle'
W: W *llyfan* [f and m]
BRET: MW *louffan*, MoBret. *louan* [m]
CO: Co. *lovan*
ETYM: W *llyfan* is attested only very late (19th century). The reconstruction is uncertain, since all of the attested forms might go back to *lumanā as well as *lomanā (Schrijver 1995: 31). The lack of cognates in other IE languages makes it probable that this word was borrowed from some non-IE source.
REF: GPC II: 2253, Pedersen I: 33, Deshayes 2003: 475, Schrijver 1995: 31.

***longā** 'boat, vessel' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *long* [ā f]
W: MW *llong* [f]
BRET: OBret. *locou* [p]
GAUL: *Longaticum* [Toponym] (= *Nau-portus* in Pannonia)
ETYM: It has been argued that this word is an old pan-Celtic loanword from Latin, derived from Lat. (*nāuis*) *longa* (note the equivalence of Gaul. *Longaticum* and Lat. *Nauportus*). However, I believe it is more probable that we are dealing with an inherited Celtic word for 'vessel', with unknown etymology, cf. also McCone 1993 for arguments against borrowing from Latin. Cisalpine Gaul. *LOKAN* may be the same word in the Acc. sg. (the alphabet used in Todi would render /ng/ as *K*).
REF: GPC II: 2204, Delamarre 207, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 270, 351.

***lorgo-** 'trace' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *lorg* [o m]
W: MW *llwrw, llwry* [m]
BRET: OBret. *lerg,* MoBret. *lerc'h* [m]
CO: Co. *lergh*
ETYM: The vocalism of MoBret. *lerc'h* and Co. *lergh* points to a variant *lorgyo- (Jackson 1967: 716), or *lergo-, cf. also Gaul. ethnonym *Au-lerci*, which has been interpreted as 'those who are far away from their traces' (Lambert 1994: 36). Pedersen (I 105) compares Arm. *ołork* 'smooth', but this is more likely to be a chance similarity.
REF: GPC II: 2236f., Pedersen I 104f., Deshayes 2003: 459, Jackson 1967: 716, Lewis 1989: 48, Lambert 1994: 36.

***lorgā** 'stick, club' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lorg* [ā f] 'staff, stick, club'
W: MW *llwry, llory* [m]; *llyry* [p]

BRET: MoBret. *lorc'henn* [f] 'shaft', also 'vane woman', *lorc'h* [m] 'vanity, strong impression'
CO: OCo. *lorch* gl. baculus, MCo. *lorgh*
PIE: *lorg-o- 'club' (IEW: 691f.)
COGN: ON *lurkr* 'club'
ETYM: The ON word is possibly a loanword from Celtic. If so, the Celtic word is isolated in IE, and may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: GPC II: 2210, EIEC 112, LP 33, Deshayes 2003: 474, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 60, 117.

***lowatro-** 'bath' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *loathar* [o n]
BRET: MBret. *lovazr*
GAUL: *lautro* gl. balneo (Endlicher's Glossary)
PIE: *lowh_3-tro- 'bath' (IEW: 692)
COGN: Lat. *lauābrum,* Gr. Hom. *loetrón*, OE *lēaþor* 'soap-foam'
ETYM: The identity of the laryngeal in the PIE reconstruction seems to be assured by Myc. *re-wo-to-ro-* = Hom. *loetrón* (with metathesis *ewo- > *owe-).
REF: EIEC 52, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 305, Delamarre 198, McCone 1996: 51.

***lowdo-** 'obstacle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *lod* [o m] 'fence' (?)
W: MW *lludd* 'obstacle, hindrance'
BRET: MBret. *luz* 'obstacle'
PIE: *lowd^h-o- 'obstacle'
COGN: Skt. *rudh-* 'hinder', *ródhas-* 'obstacle'
ETYM: MIr. *lod* is a rather obscure technical term from the legal language; DIL renders its meaning as 'one of three perishable fences'; it can be related to MW *lludd* only if the original form was *lód* (from which we would expect *lúad* in MIr., but we may be dealing with the archaism of the legal language). The PIE root is not in IEW, but the correspondence with the Skt. root *rudh-* is perfect, both formally and semantically.
REF: GPC II: 2219, Hamp 1978a.

***lowko-** 'bright, light' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *luach* (*lóch*) [o] 'glowing white'
W: MW *llug* [m] 'eyesight, perception'
GAUL: *Leucus* [PN]
PIE: *lewko- 'bright, shining' (IEW: 687ff.)
COGN: Lat. *lūx* 'light', Go. *liuhaþ* 'light', Gr. *leukós* 'white', ToB *lyūke* 'light'
SEE: *luk-o- 'perceive'

ETYM: The same PCelt. root is presumably attested in MW *llygad* 'eye' [m and f], OCo. *lagat* gl. oculus, Co. *lagas*, MBret. *lagat*, MoBret. *lagat* [m] (PCelt. *lukato-?). The semantic connection of 'light' and 'eye' is based on a common metaphor (note that Lat. *lūces* can also mean 'eyes').
REF: GPC II: 2235, 2261, EIEC 83, Delamarre 200, Deshayes 2003: 447.

***lowteto-** 'muddy' [Adj]
SEE: *lutā 'dirt'

***lowtu-** 'ash' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *lúaith* [i f]
W: MW *lludw* [m] (GPC *lludw, lludu*)
BRET: MBret. *ludu* [m]
CO: Co. *lusow*
ETYM: MIr. *lúaith* points to *lowtwi-, which may represent a secondary i-stem form a n earlier u-stem *lowtu-. MW *lludw* is best explained from *lowtwo-. Pokorny's connection of these words with PIE *lewh$_3$- 'wash' (Lat. *lauo,* Gr. *loúō*, Arm. *loganam* 'bathe', cf. IEW 692, LIV 375) is possible, under the assumption of the loss of laryngeal (by de Saussure's law, *owH > *ow?). The original sense of PCelt. *lowtu- would have been 'washing substance' (cf. PCelt. *lowatro- 'bath'). Another possibility would be to relate these words to PCelt. *lutā 'mud, dirt', from a root without a laryngeal.
REF: GPC II: 2218, Deshayes 2003: 479, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 218.

***loydā** 'poem, lay' [Noun]
SEE: *loyd-o- 'exhort'

***loyd-o-** 'exhort, incite' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *laídid*
PIE: *leyd- 'let go, play' (IEW: 666)
COGN: Lat. *lūdo* 'play', Lith. *láidyti* 'throw'
ETYM: OIr. *laídid* may be the denominative verb to OIr. *laíd* [?ā f] 'poem, lay'< *loydā. Cf. also Gr. *lízei* 'plays' (Hesych.), which is not completely reliable as a cognate. Although formally flawless, the etymology relating Lat. *lūdo* and MIr. *laídid* is problematic both because of the difference in meaning, and because the o-grade in the root is unexpected (unless we have to do with the intensive presents of the type Lat. *fodio* 'dig', OCS *bosti* 'sting' < PIE *b^{h}od^h-).
REF: LIV 361.

***lub-o-** 'love' [Vb]
GAUL: *lubi* [Ipv.] (Banassac)
PIE: *lewb^h- 'love' (IEW: 683)
COGN: Lat. *lubīdō* 'sexual desire', OE *lēof* 'love', OCS *ljubiti* 'love'

ETYM: Although this verb is unattested in Insular Celtic, the meaning of the Gaul. forms derived from *lub-o- appears well established. Cf. also the Celtib. PN *Lubos* (Botorrita I), which may also be related.
REF: Delamarre 209, LIV 372, MLH V.1: 234.

***lubī/ā** 'herb, plant' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *luib* [ī? and ā f]
W: OW *luird* [p] gl. horti, MW *lluarth*
BRET: OBret. *-lub, -lob,* MBret. *lou*
PIE: *(h_3)lewb^h- 'leaf' (IEW: 690)
COGN: OHG *loub* 'leaf', Lat. *liber* 'bark, rind', Russ. *lub* 'bark', Lith. *lubà* 'plank'
ETYM: OW *luird* is the plural to *luord, which is the compound corresponding to MBret. *luorz, lyorz* 'garden', Co. *lowarth*, OIr. *lub-gort*. OIr. *luib* inflects mostly as an ā-stem, but Nom. pl. *luibi* may indicate that it had been originally an ī-stem. The Celtic, Baltic, and Italic forms are from the zero grade of the PIE root (*lub^h-), while the Germanic and Slavic forms come from the o-grade (*lowb^h-). If Gr. *olóuphō* 'peel' (Hesych.) is related, the correct PIE reconstruction is *$h_3$lewb^h-. I do not see the need to suppose that any of these words are loanwords from non-IE sources (cf. Beekes 1996).
REF: DGVB 274, Kluge 505, Beekes 1996.

***lud-** 'went' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *luid* 'went' [Pret.]
PIE: *$h_1$lud^h- 'grow, tread' (IEW: 684f., 306f.)
COGN: Skt. *ródhati* 'grows', Go. *liudan* 'grow', ToB *lac* 'went out'
ETYM: Judging by OIr. *téit* 'goes', pret. *luid*, the form *lude- was a suppletive thematic aorist of the verb 'to go' in PCelt., cf. also Gr. (Hom.) *ēlythe* 'he went'.
REF: KPV 456, LIV 248f., EIEC 228.

***lugiyo-** 'oath' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lugae* [io n] (DIL *luige*)
W: MW *llw* [m and f]; *llyfon, llyain, llwon* [p]
BRET: MBret. *le*, MoBret. *le* [f]
CO: Co. *gov-lya* 'to swear falsely'
PIE: *$h_2$lewg^h- (IEW: 687)
COGN: Hitt. *haluga-* 'news, message', Go. *liuga* 'marriage', *liugan* 'marry, lie'
ETYM: OBret. *di-lu* gl. detestantur probably also contains this root. The semantic connection of the Celtic forms with those in other languages is weak, so this etymology is rather speculative.
REF: GPC II: 2233, DGVB 142, KPV 650, Deshayes 2003: 455, Schrijver 1995: 310.

***lugrā** 'moon' [Noun]
W: OW *loyr* , MW *lloer* [f]
BRET: OBret. *loir, loer,* MBret. and MoBret. *loar* [f]
CO: OCo. *luir* gl. luna, Co. *lo(e)r*
PIE: *lewg- 'to bend, twist' (IEW: 685f.)
COGN: Gr. *lygízō* 'bend', Lith. *lùgnas* 'twisted', Skt. *rujáti* 'breaks'
ETYM: The semantics of this derivation are somewhat stretched; however, this can be remedied if one starts from the meaning 'young moon' as 'twisted, bent'. Pokorny's (IEW 690) connection with the root *lewk- 'to shine' (Lat. *lūx*, etc.) is implausible from the phonological point of view (there is no evidence for the variant of this root with a voiced velar). A different etymology is offered 'as a mere possibility' by Schrijver (1995: 332). He relates W *lloer* etc. to Lat. *lūridus* 'pale, yellow', from a putative PIE *lows-.
REF: GPC II: 2198, Pedersen II: 50, DGVB 245, Deshayes 2003: 470, Schrijver 1995: 233f., 332.

***Lugu-** 'god Lug', perhaps originally 'the shiny one' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *Lug* [PN], Ogam *LUGU-DECCAS*
W: MW *Llew*
GAUL: *Lugus* (e.g. RIG G-159)
CELTIB: *LUGUEI* [Dat. s] (Peñalba)
ETYM: Cf. the parallelism of the compound PNs OIr. *Lugaid* (Gen *Luigdech*), Ogam *LUGUDECCAS* (CIIC no. 263) and Gaul. *Lucudeca* 'serving the god Lug' < PCelt. *Lugu-dek-s (Uhlich 2002: 409). For the second element of this compound see PCelt. *dekos.
REF: EIEC 97, Delamarre 211, Jordán Cólera 1998: 63, 207ff, Uhlich 2002: 409, Ziegler 1994: 112, Kalygin 2006: 102ff., Sims-Williams 2006: 86, MLH V.1: 235f.

***luk-o-** 'see, perceive, set eyes upon' [Vb]
W: W *gorllwyn* 'expect, perceive, follow'
PIE: *lewk- 'shine' (IEW: 687)
COGN: Hitt. *lukk-* 'to get light, dawn', Skt. *rócate* 'shines', OLat. *lūceo* 'make light', OPr. *luckis* 'torch, log', ToB *luk-* 'to shine'
SEE: *lowko- 'bright'
ETYM: W *gorllwyn, gorllygaf* [1 sg. Pres.] < *ufor-luk-o- (the simplex verb is unattested). From the same root there is OW *licat* (MW *llygat*) 'well, source', OCo. *lagat* gl. oculus, MBret. *lagat*. The words for 'well' and 'eye' are etymologically related in many languages, cf. Persian *časme* 'well, source, eye'.
REF: GPC II: 1491, KPV 459, LIV 418, Falileyev 103.

***lukot-** 'mouse' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *luch* [t f]
W: MW *llygoden* [Singulative]; *llygod* [p]
BRET: OBret. *loc,* MoBret. *logodenn* [Singulative]
CO: OCo. *logoden* gl. mus [Singulative], MoCo. *logaz*
GAUL: *Lucotios* [PN]
ETYM: The IE etymology is unknown. Pedersen's connection with Lith. *pelẽ* 'mouse', Gr. *poliós* 'gray' has little to recommend itself. A PCelt. *flukot- < PIE *plukot- would be completely intransparent from the point of view of word formation. Thus, PCelt. *lukot- is probably a loanword from some non-IE language.
REF: GPC II: 2265, DGVB 244, EIEC 387, Campanile 1974: 73, Deshayes 2003: 472, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 160, 388, Delamarre 210, Pedersen II: 101.

***lu-n-g-o-** 'put, place' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fo-loing* 'support'; *fo-ló* [Subj.]; *fo-lil* [Fut.]; *fo-lolaig* [Pret.]; *fo-locht* [Pass.]
W: MW *dillwng* 'set free' (GPC *dillwng, dillyngio*)
PIE: *lewg- 'bend' (IEW: 685f.)
COGN: Lat. *luctor* 'wrestle', Go. *ga-lūkan* 'close'
ETYM: MW *dillwng* < *dī-exs-lu-n-g-o-. Cf. also OIr. *in-loing* 'connect', MW *ellwng* 'set free' (< *exs-lung-o-).
REF: KPV 461f., GPC I: 1018, LP 379, McCone 1991: 42f.

***lu-n-g-o-** 'eat' [Vb]
SEE: *slu-n-k-o- 'swallow'

***lussu-** 'herb, vegetable' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lus* [u m] 'herb, plant, garden herb'
W: MW *llysieu*, (GPC *llysiau, llysau*) [Collective]
BRET: MBret. *lousou*, MoBret. *lousow* [p]
CO: Co. *losow* [p]
ETYM: OIr. *lus* has also the more specific meaning 'leek'. Brittonic words for 'bilberries' (W *llus*, MoBret. *lus*) are probably not related, because they denote altogether different kinds of plants (*pace* Deshayes 2003: 480). Pokorny's derivation of these words from PIE *$h_1$lewd^h- 'grow' (Skt. *ródhati*, Go. *liudan*, cf. also Gr. *eleútheros* 'free' < 'grown up') is possible (PIE *$h_1$lud^h-tu- would yield PCelt. *lussu- regularly, cf. also MIr. *indlos, indlas* [o m] 'growth, riches' < *ande-lussu-).
REF: GPC II: 2279f., Deshayes 2003: 476f.

***lutā** 'mud, dirt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *loth* [ā f] 'mud, mire'
GAUL: *Luto-magus, Lutetia* (Paris) [Toponyms]
PIE: *lew-to- 'mud, dirt' (IEW: 681)

COGN: Lat. *lutum* 'mud', *po-lluo* 'make dirty, infect', Alb. *lum* 'slime, dirt'
ETYM: In W, we have *lluddedic* < *lowd-eto- 'muddy' (dissimilated from *lowt-eto-) with the full grade of the same root. A Celtiberian cognate might be incorporated into *lutiakos* (A.76) 'belonging to **Lutia*', where *Lutia would be a toponym derived from PCelt. *lutu-. Lith. *liūtýnas* 'puddle' is sometimes adduced as belonging to the same PIE root, but it is probably unrelated (the accentuation points to a laryngeal root).
REF: EIEC 160, Delamarre 211, Lewis 1989 42f., MLH V.1: 238.

***lūtu-** 'anger, power' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lúth* [u m] 'power of motion, vigour'
W: MW *llid* [m] 'anger'
GAUL: *Lutu-marus* [PN]
PIE: *lewH-to- 'angry' (IEW: 691)
COGN: OCS *ljutъ* 'angry'
ETYM: The Gaulish PN *Lutumarus* has the exact parallel in OIr. *lúthmár* 'powerful'. The IE part of this etymology is somewhat speculative, since it relies only on Celtic and Slavic; moreover, the Celtic forms must be from *luHtu-, while OCS *ljutъ* must represent *lewHto-.
REF: GPC II: 2175, Delamarre 212, Ellis Evans 1967: 218.

***luwā** 'louse' [Noun]
W: MW *lleu* (GPC *llau*) [p]; *lleuen* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *louenn* [Singulative], *lou* [Collective], MoBret. *low*
CO: OCo. *lewen(ki)* gl. pediculus, MoCo. *low*
PIE: *lewH- 'louse' (IEW: 692)
COGN: OE *lūs*, ON *lús*
ETYM: The PCelt. form is compatible with both PIE *lowHo- > *luwo-, and with PIE *luHo- > *luwo-. The Germanic reflexes contain a sigmatic suffix (PIE *luHs-). Skt. *yūkā-* 'louse' might be from *luH-keh$_2$, but *y- instead of *r- is unexplained. ToA *lu* 'animal' (ToB *luwo*) might also be ultimately from the same PIE root, but with an unusual generalization of meaning.
REF: GPC II: 2103, Deshayes 2003: 477.

***luw-o-** 'escape' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *as-loí*; *as-loa* [Subj.]
PIE: *lewH- 'cut off, set free' (IEW: 681f.)
COGN: Gr. *lýō*, Lat. *luo* 'pay, release from debt', *so-luo* 'release'
SEE: *lawano- 'provisions, food, sustenance'
ETYM: OIr. *as-loí* < *exs-luw-o- (the simplex is unattested in Goidelic).
REF: KPV 463, LIV 417, LP 379f.

***luxsman-** 'drop, a sip' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *loimm* [n n] 'sip, mouthful', later 'milk'

W: MW *llymeit*, (GPC *llymaid*) [m] 'a sip, drink'
BRET: OBret. *lom-coll* gl. sucus arboris, MoBret. *loum, lomm* 'drop'
ETYM: It is assumed here that the formation in OIr. is original; MoBret. *lomm* can be from the same prototype. The IE etymology is unknown, but a connection with Lith. *liū̃gas* 'puddle', Russ. *lúža* 'puddle, pool' is possible (? from PIE *lewg- 'liquid'; however, Derksen 2008: 293 thinks that the Baltic and Slavic words were borrowed from some unknown substrate).
REF: GPC II: 2269, DGVB 246, Deshayes 2003: 472, Stüber 1998: 82f., 87.

***luxtu-** 'contents; crowd, people' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *lucht* [u m] 'charge, contents, people'
W: OW *luidt, luith* [m] 'tribe, lineage, family', MW *luith,* (GPC *llwyth*)
BRET: OBret. *loit* gl. oppidanus
CO: OCo. *leid* gl. progenies
GAUL: *luxtos* [?Gen. s] (La Graufesenque)
ETYM: The etymology in IEW (686) deriving these Celtic words from PIE *lewǵ- 'break' is not convincing because of the difference in meaning. In Celtic, the basic meaning is 'contents' from which the meaning 'people' developed in a similar manner as in Lat. *plēbs* < *pleh$_1$- 'be full'. The word may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: GPC II: 2248f., Delamarre 212, Falileyev 107, GPC 2248, LHEB 405, Campanile 1974: 73, Kortlandt 2007: 37, 88.

M

***mā, *ma** 'if' [Conjunction]
GOID: OIr. *ma, má*
BRET: OBret. *ma,* MBret. *ma, mar*, MoBret. *mar*
CO: Co. *mar*
PIE: *meh$_2$- (particle) (IEW: 966)
COGN: Gr. *mḗn* (particle)
ETYM: The short vowel seen in OIr. *ma* and MBret. *ma* could perhaps be explained by shortening in clitics. Cf. also particles such as Hitt. *-ma* 'but', Skt. *sma*.
REF: LEIA M-1, DGVB 248ff., Deshayes 2003: 492.

***mad-yo-** 'break' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *maidid, -maid*; *máis, -má* [Subj.]; *memais, -mema* [Fut.]; *memaid* [Pret.]
W: MW *maeddu* 'break, win'
BRET: MBret. *mezaff* 'knead', MoBret. *mezañ*

PIE: *mad- ? (*mh_2d-) 'be wet, become wet' (IEW: 694f.)
COGN: Lat. *madeo*, Gr. *madáō*, Skt. *mádati* 'rejoice, be intoxicated'
ETYM: For the possibility that this PCelt. verb originally had athematic i-inflexion (Kortlandt 2007: 137), cf. *ar-yo- 'plough'. The PIE etymology is semantically dubious because it is difficult to derive the meaning in Celtic ('break') from the PIE meaning 'be wet'. However, OIr. *maidid* can be used impersonally in the sense of 'burst', and this may have been the original meaning of the root in Celtic. If so, then the meaning 'to burst' may have been extended from the more specific (the bursting of streams and torrents) to the more general, cf. the connection in Croatian between *pȓskati* 'sprinkle' and *pȓsnuti* 'burst, explode'. Formally, Celtic *mad- can be from PIE zero-grade of the root (*mh_2d-).
REF: KPV 464f., GPC III: 2304, LIV 421, Deshayes 2003: 509.

***madyo-** 'futile, useless' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *madae* [io] 'useless'
W: MW *madeu* in *eneit vadeu* 'lost soul'; *madau* (GPC *maddau*) 'forfeit, give up, lose'
BRET: OBret. *in vadau* gl. pessum
SEE: *mad-yo- 'break'
ETYM: It is possible that this adjective is derived from the root *mad- 'to break'. The semantic development would be from 'broken' to 'useless'.
REF: LEIA M-6, GPC III: 2303

***magino-** 'stone, place' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *magen, magan* [ā, f] 'place' (DIL *maigen*)
W: MW *maen* [m] 'stone, grindstone'; *main, meini, maenau* [p]
BRET: OBret. *main,* MBret. *men*, MoBret. *maen* [m] 'stone'
CO: Co. *men*
SEE: *magos 'plain, field'
ETYM: W *maen* is not just any stone, but one 'having some speciality or a particular use', according to GPC. The OIr. form in -ā is a collective built from *magino-, like Lat. *loca* from *locus*. The attribution in IEW (709) to the root *$meǵh_2$- 'great' is possible, cf. Skt. *mahī́*- 'earth' (< *'the great one') and PCelt. *magos 'field', which might also be related.
REF: LEIA M-9, GPC III: 2306ff., DGVB 250, Deshayes 2003: 484.

***maglo-** 'noble, chief' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mál* [o m], Ogam *CUNA-MAGLI*
W: MW *mael* [m] 'chieftain, lord'; MW *-mael, -fael* (in PN) (e.g. *Brochfael* < *Brocco-maglos);
BRET: MBret. *-mael* (in PN, e.g. *Tiernmael*)
GAUL: *Magalos, -maglus* [PN]
PIE: *$meǵh_2$- 'great' (IEW: 709)
COGN: Gr. *mégas,* Go. *mikils*

ETYM: If the etymology is correct the a-vocalism in Celtic should be explained by Schrijver's rule (*mC^{voiced}- > *maC^{voiced}-), but this rule is not beyond doubt. Gaul. *Magalos*, if related, might represent PIE *mǵh$_2$-lo- with the expected vocalization of the laryngeal (which was, for some reason, lost in Insular Celtic and in Gaul. *-maglus*).
REF: LEIA M-13, GPC III: 2305, Delamarre 213, Ziegler 1994: 112.

***magos-** 'plain, field' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mag* [s n]
W: OW *maessid* [p], MW *-ma* [m and f], *maes*
BRET: OBret. *-ma,* MoBret. *ma* 'place', *maes* [m] 'field'
CO: Co. *-ma*
GAUL: *-magus* (e.g. *Noviomagus, Rigomagus*)
PIE: *meǵh$_2$- 'great' (?) (IEW: 709)
COGN: Skt. *mahī́-* 'earth'
SEE: *magino- 'stone'
ETYM: MW *maes* and MBret. *maes* should be derived from a formation in *-tu, i. e. PCelt. *magestu-. The connection with the PIE adjective *meǵh$_2$- 'great' is uncertain. Skt. *mahī́-* 'great (f.), earth' is a substantivized adjective, originally a standing epithet of 'earth'.
REF: LEIA M-8, GPC III: 2293, DGVB 249f., LHEB 445, Delamarre 214, Falileyev 108, Deshayes 2003: 483, Sims-Williams 2006: 87f.

***magyo-** 'great' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *maige* [io]
GAUL: *Magios* [PN]
PIE: *meǵh$_2$- 'great' (IEW: 709)
COGN: Lat. *maius*
ETYM: MIr. *maige* is a rare, poetic word.
REF: LEIA M-10, Delamarre 213, Meid 2005: 197f.

***mak^{w}o-** 'son' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *macc* [o m]
W: OW *map* [m], MW *map* (GPC *mab*)
BRET: OBret. *mab, map*, MBret. and MoBret. *mab* [m]
CO: OCo. *mab* gl. filius, *map*
GAUL: *Maponos* [Theonym]
PIE: *meh$_2$ḱ- 'raise, grow' (IEW: 709 (*meǵ^{h}-))
COGN: Lat. *macer* 'meagre', Gr. *makrós* 'great'
SEE: *mak-o- 'grow, increase'
ETYM: The IE etymology proposed here is rather uncertain for semantic reasons; the verbal stem *mak- means 'grow, raise, feed' in Celtic, so the development would have been from 'raised, fed' to 'son'. PIE *mh$_2$k-wo- would yield PCelt. *mak^{w}o-, so the geminate *k^{w}k^{w} in Goidelic is unexplained (the Brit. forms are derivable from *mak^{w}o-).

REF: LEIA M-1f., GPC III: 2293f., DGVB 249, Delamarre 216, Falileyev 109, Campanile 1974: 75, Deshayes 2003: 483.

***mak-o-** 'increase, raise, feed' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-formaig* 'increase, add'; *do-forma* [Subj.]; *do-formacht* [Pret.]
W: MW *magu* 'feed, produce, rear'
BRET: MBret. *maguaff* 'feed, rear', MoBret. *maezhur*, *magañ* 'feed, rear'
CO: Co. *maga*
PIE: *meh$_2$ḱ- 'thin, elongated' (IEW: 709 (*meǵ^h-))
COGN: Lat. *maceo* 'be lean', Gr. *makrós* 'big', Hitt. *maklant-* 'thin, meagre, slim (of animals)', OHG *magar* 'meagre'
SEE: *makk^{w}os 'son'
ETYM: OIr. *do-formaig* < *to-wor-mak-o- (the simplex is unattested in Goidelic). The Celtic forms presuppose the zero-grade of the root, PIE *mh$_2$ḱ- > PCelt. *mak-. The development of meaning would have been from 'make thin' to 'make long' and, finally 'increase' (cf. also Gr. *makrós* 'great' from '*long, elongated').
REF: KPV 466, GPC III: 2316, Deshayes 2003: 485.

***makīnā** 'bellow' [Noun]
W: MW *megin* [f] 'a pair of bellows'
BRET: MBret. *meguin,* MoBret. *megin* [f]
CO: Co. *mygen*
PIE: *mak- 'leather sack' (IEW: 698)
COGN: OHG *mago* 'belly', Lith. *mãkas* 'purse'
ETYM: If the etymology is correct, the a-vocalism points to a borrowing from some unknown source.
REF: GPC II: 2404f., Deshayes 2003: 499.

***mallo-** 'slow, lazy' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *mall* [o] gl. tardus
W: MW *mall* 'evil, sick, bad, rotten, dull'
PIE: *mel- 'be late, hesitate' (IEW: 720)
COGN: Gr. *méllō* 'be late, must', Lat. *prō-mello*
SEE: *mello- 'destruction'
ETYM: The meaning of W *mall* according to GPC is not as close to the meaning of OIr. *mall* as implied by LEIA. As a noun, *mall* means 'plague, pestilence' in W. The Celtic geminate *ll can be both from PIE *ls and *ln. Lat. *prōmellere*, which means *litem promovere*, according to Lewis & Short (s. v.), is a hapax. Other possible cognates include Lat. *malus* 'bad', Gr. *méleos* 'idle', Arm. *mel* 'sin', Lith. *mẽlas* 'lie'. Maybe we should distinguish two roots, *mel- (1) 'be late, hesitate', and *mel- (2) 'evil'. In that case OIr. *mall* is from *mel- (1) and W *mall* (and OIr. *mell* 'destruction') are from PIE *mel- (2).

REF: LEIA M-15, GPC III: 2331.

***mal-o-, *mel-o-** 'grind' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *meilid, -meil*; *melaid, -mela* [Subj.]; *mélaid, -méla* [Fut.]; *milt, -melt* [Pret.]; *mlethae, -mleth* [Pass.]
W: W *malu*
BRET: OBret. *maletic* gl. contritum [Past Part.], MBret. *malaff* 'grind'
PIE: *melh$_2$- 'grind' (IEW: 716f.)
COGN: Lat. *molo*, Lith. *málti*, Arm. *malem*
ETYM: The Brittonic forms can be derived from the zero-grade of the root, PIE *mlh$_2$-o- > *malH-o- > PCelt. *mal-o-. OIr. *meilid* preserves the full grade (PIE *melh$_2$-o-).
REF: KPV 470ff.,GPC III: 2326f., DGVB 250, LIV 432f., LP 381, LEIA M-32, Schrijver 1995: 81f., Hamp 1973: 152.

***mālo-** 'praise' [Noun]
SEE: *mol-ā- 'praise'

***mamm(y)ā** 'mother, nanny' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *muimme* [iā f] 'nurse, fostermother'
W: MW *mam* [f] 'mother'
BRET: MBret. *mam(m)* [f]
CO: OCo. *mam* gl. mater, MCo. *mam*
PIE: *mam(m)a 'mommy' (IEW: 694)
COGN: Lat. *mamma*, OHG *muoma*
SEE: *mātīr 'mother'
ETYM: These forms are from the children's language, while the 'formal' word for 'mother' is preserved in OIr. *máthir*. The fact that the nursery word *mammā usually does not denote the biological mother is explained by the Celtic custom of fosterage (children are raised by foster-parents, with whom they develop an intimate relationship).
REF: LEIA M-71f., GPC III: 2332f., Deshayes 2003: 489, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 514ff.

***māni-** 'turf, peat' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *móin* [i f]
W: MW *mawn* [p]; *mawnen* [Singulative]
BRET: MoBret. *man* [m] 'moss'
ETYM: MoBret. *man* 'moss' has aberrant vocalism (**meun would be expected), so I doubt whether this is the same word (the meaning is also different). OIr. *móin* and W *mawn* might be derivable from *makni- < *mh$_2$kni- 'swamp' (cf. OIr. *tón* < *tuknā). The root would be the same as in Alb. *makë* 'mud', OCS *mokrъ* 'wet', Lith. *maknóti* 'walk through the mud' (IEW 698).
REF: LEIA M-60, GPC III: 2378, Deshayes 490, EIEC 639.

***man-yo-** 'think, remember' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *muinithir, -muinethar* 'think'; *menaithir, -menathar* [Subj.]; *ménair* [Pret.]; *métae, -mét* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *men- 'think' (IEW: 726ff.)
COGN: Skt. *mányate*, Go. *munan*
SEE: *mentyon- 'thought, mention', *menman- 'thought'
ETYM: W *mynnu,* MoBret. *mennout*, Co. *mynnas* 'want, wish, desire' are probably from the same root. The geminate *-nn-* can be from *nd < *nd^{h}, cf. Gr. *manthánō* 'learn'. The root is probably also attested in Celtib. *MONIMAM* (K.11.1), which may be identical with the formation of OBret. verbal noun *guo-monim* 'promise' (? formed from the causative stem *mon-eye- > PCelt. *monī- and the suffix *-mā).
REF: KPV 473ff., LIV 435f., LP 382f., LEIA M-35, GPC III: 2537, MLH V.1: 262f.

***mantī-** 'quantity' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *méit* [ī f]'greatness, magnitude'
W: OW *pa-mint* gl. *quam;* MW *maint* 'size, quantity'
BRET: OBret. *ment*, MoBret. *ment* [m and f] 'dimension, size'
CO: Co. *myns*
PIE: *meh$_1$- 'measure', *mh$_1$-nt- (IEW: 703)
COGN: Skt. *mā́-* 'to measure', Lat. *mētior*
ETYM: Fr. *maint* 'several' preserves the Gaulish cognate of the same Celtic word, derived from the PIE participle *mh$_1$-nt-. It is possible that the root is attested in Gaul. anthroponymy, e.g. *Cara-mantius*.
REF: LEIA M-31f., GPC III: DGVB 254, Falileyev 111, 114, Deshayes 2003: 503, Gamillscheg 589, Schrijver 1995: 175.

***manto-** 'gums, jaw' [Noun]
W: MW *mant* [m] 'mandible, gums'
PIE: *men-t- 'jaw' (IEW: 726)
COGN: Lat. *mentum* 'jaw', OHG *munt* 'mouth', ? Hitt. *mēni-, mēna-* 'face, cheek'
ETYM: OIr. *mant* 'gums, jaw' (attested in Corm. ^{2}897) is a W loanword according to DIL, s. v. It is possible that Gaul. PNs such as *Mantus, Manta, Mantusa*, etc., also contain this root.
REF: LEIA M-17f., GPC III: 2345, Delamarre 216, Mallory & Adams 2006: 176.

***mantro-** 'trampling, grinding' [Noun]
SEE: *menā 'flour'

***mark-āko-** 'horseman' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *marcach* [o m]

W: OW *marhauc* [m], MW *marchawc*
BRET: OBret. *marcoc* gl. aequester, MBret. *marhec*, MoBret. *marc'heg* [m]
CO: Co. *marrec*
SEE: *marko- 'horse'
ETYM: A trivial derivative (with the common suffix *-āko-) from PCelt. *marko- 'horse'.
REF: LEIA M-20, GPC III: 2357, DGVB 251, Falileyev 110, Deshayes 2003: 493.

***marko-** 'horse' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *marc* [o m]
W: MW *march* [m]; *meirch* [p]
BRET: OBret. *marh,* MBret. *march*, MoBret. *marc'h*
CO: OCo. *march* gl. equus, MCo. *margh*
GAUL: *markan* [Acc. s], *marcosior* 'may I ride' [Vb]
PIE: *marko- (?) 'horse' (IEW: 700)
COGN: OHG *marah* 'horse', OE *mearh*
ETYM: MIr. *marc* is a rare, poetic word, but the derivative *marcach* 'horseman' is attested in OIr. Galatian *marka* is reported by Pausanias (10.19.11) as Galatian word for 'horse' (Freeman 2001: 17). Celtib. PN *Markos* (Botorrita III) probably represents the adaptation of the Roman name *Marcus*. PCelt. *markos is probably a 'Wanderwort' of eastern origin. It established itself in Celtic and Germanic alongside the inherited PIE word for 'horse', *$h_1$ék$^{\text{w}}$os (OIr. *ech*). Attempts to connect it to Skt. *márya-* 'youth, foal' are not convincing. Celtic points to non-IE a-vocalism of *marko-.
REF: LEIA M-19f., GPC III: 2353, DGVB 251, EIEC 274, Lambert 1994: 63, 125, 167, Delamarre 217, Deshayes 2003: 493f., MLH V.1: 243f.

***mar-na-** 'betray' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *marnaid, -mairn* (DIL *mairnid*) 'betray, deceive, confound'; *meraid, -mera* [Subj.]; *méraid, -méra* [Fut.], *mirt, -mert* [Pret.]; *mrathae, -mrath* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *merh$_2$- 'crumble, destroy' (IEW: 735f.)
COGN: Skt. *mṛṇā́ti* 'crumble', Gr. *márnamai* 'fight', ON *merja* 'hit'
ETYM: The connection with the PIE root *merh$_2$- is problematic on semantic grounds. The passive *-mrath* is unusual, since **mráth would be expected from *mrh$_2$to-; the short vowel could be the result of Dybo's law.
REF: KPV 477ff., LIV 440, LEIA M-21, Wagner 1967, McCone 1991: 15, 30.

***mar-o-** 'remain' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *maraid, -mair* (DIL *maraid* and *mairid*) 'lasts, remains, persists'; *marathair, -marathar* [Subj.]; *méraid, méra* [Fut.]
PIE: *merh$_2$- 'delay' (IEW: 969f. (*(s)mer-))

COGN: Lat. *mora* 'delay', Gr. *mōrós* 'stupid', perhaps Skt. *mūrtá-* 'congealed, solid'
ETYM: The a-vocalism in Celtic is expected if we start from the PIE zero-grade *mrH-o-, since *CrHV- > *CarV- is regular in Celtic.
REF: KPV 476, LEIA M-19, Schrijver 1991: 110, Pedersen I: 44.

***māro-** 'great' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *már, mór* [o]
W: OW *maur,* MW *mawr*
BRET: OBret. *mor,* MoBret. *meur*
CO: OCo. *maur* gl. magnus, MCo. *mur*
GAUL: *-maros* (in PN, e.g. *Iantumarus*)
LEP: *Latu-marui* [PN] (Ornavasso)
PIE: *meh$_1$-, *moh$_1$-ro- 'great' (IEW: 704)
COGN: OHG *māri* 'news; known, famous, great', Gr. *-mōros* (in compounds)
ETYM: All Celtic forms (and Gr. *-mōros*) can be derived from *moh$_1$-ro-, while the e-grade is attested in other languages. The PCelt. comparative and superlative of this adjective were suppletive. The comparative was *mā-yos- (OIr. *mó, móo*MW *mwy*, Co. *moy*), and the superlative was *mā-samo- (OIr. *máam, moam*). The Brittonic superlatives (OBret. *meham*, OW *muihiam*, Co. *moygha*) were built with the productive suffix *-samo- added to the comparative stem *māy-).
REF: LEIA M-18, GPC III: 2379, EIEC 344, DGVB 259, Falileyev 110, Campanile 1974: 81, Lambert 1994: 28, 32, Delamarre 218, Solinas 1995: 375, Meid 2005: 92f.

***marsto/i-** 'fate, untimely death' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *mart* [o ?], *mairt* [i ?f] 'violent, sudden death (?), massacre'
W: MW *marth* [m] 'sorrow, disgrace, (painful) wonder'
BRET: MoBret. *marzh* [m] 'miracle, wonder, prodigy'
CO: Co. *marth*
PIE: *smer- 'gain' (IEW: 969f.)
COGN: Lat. *mereo* 'to earn, gain', Gr. *meíromai* 'receive one's share'
ETYM: The exact meaning of MIr. *mart, mairt,* as well as the stem formation of this word, are unclear. It seems to be often applied to animals, so one of the meanings could have been '(sacrificial) victim'. Deshayes' (2003: 496) derivation of the Brittonic words from Lat. *uirtus* 'virtue' is impossible formally and implausible semantically. Because of the semantic connection these Celtic words have with the concept of 'death' it is possible that the PIE root is *mer- 'die', since *mr-sto- would also yield PCelt. *marsto- regularly, and the PIE root of Lat. *mereo*, Gr. *meíromai* is *smer- (note that *sm- should be preserved in OIr.). The connection with Gaul. *smerios* 'supplier (?)' (an epithet of some Gaulish gods) and the Gaul. theonym *Ro-smerta* is a mere possibility.

REF: LEIA M-21, GPC III: 2364, Deshayes 2003: 496, Delamarre 277, Schrijver 2004.

***marw-ā-** 'die' [Vb]
SEE: *marwo- 'dead'

***marwo-** 'dead' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *marb* [o]
W: MW *marw*
BRET: MBret. *marf, maru*, MoBret. *marw*
CO: Co. *marow*
PIE: *mer- 'die', *mrto- 'dead' (IEW: 735)
COGN: Skt. *mṛtá-*, Lat. *mortuus*, Gr. (poetic) *brotós* 'mortal'
SEE: *merwi- 'lifeless'
ETYM: In Celtic, the original PIE adjective *mrto- was remodelled on the analogy with *g^{w}iHwos 'alive' (Lat. *uīuus*, etc.). There are also parallel denominative verbal formations in OIr. (*marbaid* 'kills') and Brit. (MW *merwi* 'die', MBret. *meruel*, MCo. *merwel*), pointing to PCelt. *marw-ā- 'die'.
REF: LEIA M-19, GPC III: 2364, LP 7, Deshayes 2003: 496, EIEC 98.

***marwo-natu-** 'funerary poem, eulogy' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *marbnad* [ā f]
W: MW *marwnad* [f and m] (GPC *marwnad, marnad*)
BRET: MoBret. *marvnad*
SEE: *marwo- 'dead', *natu- 'poem'
ETYM: A compound, pertaining to poetic language, that can probably be projected back to Proto-Celtic.
REF: LEIA N-4, GPC III: 2368.

***mati-** 'good' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *maith* [i]
W: MW *mad*
BRET: MBret. *mat*, MoBret. *mad*
CO: Co. *mas*
GAUL: *mat.* (Coligny)
PIE: *meh_2-t- (IEW: 693)
COGN: Lat. *mānis, mānus*, *Mātūta* 'goddess Dawn'
ETYM: OIr. *math* [u m] 'bear' is often understood as a tabooistic replacement for the original word for 'bear' (PCelt. *arto-) and related to this root. The u-stem (*matu-) may be attested in the Gaul. PN *Matu-genos*. Celtib. *matus* is sometimes also compared, but the meaning of this word (presumably a noun) is unknown (MLH V.1: 247f.), so it is not entitled to an etymology. Beyond Celtic, Gr. *matís* 'great' (Hesych.) is uncertain (it is not even ascertained that the word is Greek, it might be Galatian). The

connection of these words to PIE *meh$_2$- 'give a sign, wink' (Gr. *mēnýō*, Lith. *móti*, LIV 382) is very speculative. The development would have been from 'wink' to 'give a sign of approval' to 'approve', hence 'good, approved' as the meaning of the adjective from the same root.
REF: LEIA M-12f., GPC III: 2300, Deshayes 2003: 484, EIEC 235f., Lambert 1994: 109, MLH V.1: 247f.

***mātīr** 'mother' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *máthir* [r, f] 'mother'
W: OW *modreped* gl. materterae, W *modryb* [f] 'aunt'
BRET: OBret. *motrep* 'aunt', MBret. *mozreb* 'aunt', MoBret. *moereb* [f] 'aunt'
CO: OCo. *modereb* gl. matertera 'aunt'
GAUL: *matrebo* [r, f] [Dat. p] (Glanum, RIG G-64)
CELTIB: *MATRUBOS* (?) [Dat. p] (CIL II 28-48, Muro de Agreda)
PIE: *meh$_2$tḗr 'mother' (IEW: 700)
COGN: Skt. *mātár-*, Lat. *māter*, Gr. *mḗtēr*, OCS *mati*
ETYM: The Brittonic forms mean 'aunt' and can be derived from *mātrik$^{\text{w}}$ā (cf. Skt. *mātṛka-* 'mother's brother'), or, perhaps, from *mātrok$^{\text{w}}$ī (< *meh$_2$tr-h$_3$ok$^{\text{w}}$-ih$_2$ 'looking like mother, mother-like').
REF: LEIA M-25, GPC III: 2473, DGVB 260, EIEC 98, 385, Delamarre 220, Lambert 1994: 87, Falileyev 114, Deshayes 2003: 517, Jordán Cólera 1998: 70, 75, McCone 1994a, Schrijver 1995: 197, 213.

***maylo-** 'bald' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *mael* [o], Ogam *MAILA-GNI*
W: OW *mail,* MW *moel*
BRET: MBret. *moel,* MoBret. *moal*
CO: Co. *môl*
ETYM: A connection with Go. *maitan* 'cut', OHG *meizan* 'cut off' (IEW 697) is possible (from *may-d-?), but these Germanic words have unclear etymology (Kluge, s. v. *Meißel*). We would have to assume a-vocalism of the root, so one may suspect that these words are borrowed from some pre-IE language of NW Europe.
REF: LEIA M-6f., GPC III: 2474f., Falileyev 108, Deshayes 2003: 515, McCone 1996: 138, Ziegler 1994: 112.

***mazdyo-** 'stick' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *maide* [io m] 'post, stick, bundle, wood'
PIE: *masdo- (IEW: 702)
COGN: Lat. *mālus,* OIc. *mastr* 'mast'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *mátán* [o m] 'club', which could be from *māzd-ān-o-. However, this word is poorly documented. Fr. *massue* 'club' could preserve the Gaul. reflex of this word (it is usually derived from VLat. *mattiūca, but *mastiūca < *mazd-tiū-kā would do as well), cf. Gamillscheg 606. In

principle it would be possible to explain all of the Celtic-Italic-Germanic correspondences by assuming ablaut *meh$_2$sd-/*mh$_2$sd-, but I think it is more probable that these words were borrowed from some pre-IE source.
REF: LEIA M-10, EIEC 441.

***meblā** 'shame' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mebul* [ā f]
W: MW *mefyl*, (GPC *mefl*) [m]
BRET: OBret. *meplaom* 'be ashamed' (gl. confutari)
CO: Co. *meul* 'evil'
PIE: *meb^h- (IEW: 725)
COGN: Gr. *mémphomai* 'to blame', Go. *bi-mampjan* 'to mock'
ETYM: Possibly an expressive formation, but parallels in Gr. and Germ. point to a probable PIE origin. IEW reconstructs the root as *memb^h- and assumes the change *mbl > *bl in Celtic. However, *-m-* in Gr. *mémphomai* and Go. *-mampjan* can also be present stem infixes, but note that *-p-* (rather than *b) in Gothic is unexpected.
REF: LEIA M-26, GPC III: 2404, DGVB 254, LP 39, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 225.

***med-o-** 'measure, judge' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *midithir, -midethar*; *mestair, -mestar* [Subj.]; *miastair, -miastar* [Fut.]; *midair* [Pret.]; *messae, -mess* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *meddu* 'possess, rule'
CO: Co. *medhes* 'say'
PIE: *med- 'measure' (IEW: 705f.)
COGN: Lat. *medeor* 'heal', *modus* 'measure', Gr. *médomai* 'care for, think of', Go. *mitan* 'measure'
ETYM: OIr. *mess* [u m] 'judgement' is derived from the same root (PCelt. *messu- < PIE *med-tu-). For the possibility that this verb originally had athematic i-inflexion (Kortlandt 2007: 137) see *ar-yo- 'plough'
REF: KPV 478ff., LIV 423, GPC III: 2394, LEIA M-48f., LP 381f.

***medu** 'mead, alcoholic drink' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mid* [u n > m], Ogam *MEDDO-GENI*
W: MW *medd* [m]
BRET: OBret. *medot* gl. ebrietas, MBret. and MoBret. *mez* [m]
CO: Co. *med, meth*
GAUL: *Medu-genos* [PN]
CELTIB: *Mezu-kenos* [PN] (Botorrita III)
PIE: *med^{h}u 'mead' (IEW: 707)
COGN: Skt. *mádhu-*, Gr. *méthy* 'wine', Lith. *medùs* 'mead'
ETYM: OBret. *medot* corresponds to MW *meddawt* 'drunkenness'; both represent a derivative *medātu-. The Celtiberian name *Mezukenos* is a rare

instance of a compound name in that language. It is completely parallel to Ogam *MEDDOGENI*, OIr. *Midgen,* OW *Medgen* < PCelt. *Medu-genos.
REF: LEIA M-48, GPC III: 2394, LP 36, EIEC 271, 313, Delamarre 222f., Deshayes 2003: 509, Jordán Cólera 1998: 26, 190ff., Uhlich 1993a: 24, 278, Ziegler 1994: 113, MLH V.1: 251.

***medyo-** 'middle' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mide* [io m]
BRET: OBret. *med,* (lit. 'middle (period) of the summer')
GAUL: *Medio-lanum* [Toponym] > *Milano*
PIE: *med^{h}yo- 'middle'(IEW: 706)
COGN: Skt. *mádhya-,* Lat. *medius,* Gr. *méssos*, OHG *mitti* 'in the middle'
ETYM: W *Mehefin,* MBret. *mez-even* 'June' is a compound of *medyo- and *samono- 'summer'. MW *meiau* 'middle yoke' (length) is a compound of *medyo- and *yugo- 'yoke'.
REF: LEIA M-50, GPC III: 2406, DGVB 252, EIEC 380, Delamarre 222, Zimmer 2000: 517.

***mēko-** 'sack, bushel (of grain)' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *miach* [o n and f]
PIE: *meyǵ$^{(h)}$- 'barley, grain'
COGN: OPr. *moasis* 'barley', Latv. *mìeži* [p] 'barley'
ETYM: The semantic connection with the Baltic words for 'barley' might lie in the fact that OIr. *míach* is used chiefly to denote a measure of capacity for corn (according to DIL). However, the etymology is very uncertain, since the devoicing of *g > *k in Celtic is irregular; one would have to assume a root-noun *mēyǵ$^{(h)}$s [mēyks] from which the root form with *k could have been extended analogically (cf. *druko- 'bad').
REF: LEIA M-47, EIEC 51.

***meldo-** 'mild, pleasant'; ***mlido-** 'soft' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *mell* [o m] 'pleasant, delightful'
W: MW *blydd* 'soft'
GAUL: *Maldi* [Ethnonym] (?)
PIE: *meld- 'tender, mild, soft' (IEW: 718)
COGN: Skt. *mṛdú-,* Lat. *mollis*, Gr. *bladýs* 'weak', OCS *mladъ* 'young'
ETYM: The name of Gaulish *Maldi* is preserved in the toponym *Meaux* in France. However, the vocalism of this name is unexpected (either **Moldi, or **Meldi, or **Mlidi would have been regular); some compare also the Gaul. theonym *Meldios*. W *blydd* is from *mldo-, while OIr. *mell* represents *meldo-, so either two different adjectives from the same root must be posited for PCelt., or we have to assume an ablauting paradigm (perhaps an original u-stem *meldu- / *mldew-). Note also that W *blydd* may have been abstracted from *esblydd* 'tender', which is in turn related to *plydd* 'gentle, soft, tender' (GPC III: 2831), with unknown etymology. I think it is more

probable that *plydd* is secondary, although it is attested already in the 15th century, while *blydd* is attested much later (in the works of Owen Pughe). A different etymology relates PCelt. *meldo- to PGerm. *meldja- 'mild' (Go. *-mildeis*, ON *mildr*) < PIE *meld^{h}- (IEW 719).
REF: LEIA M-34, GPC I: 291, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 482ff.

***melgos-** 'milk' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *melg* [s n]
PIE: *h$_2$melǵ- 'milk' (IEW: 722f.)
SEE: *mlig-o- 'milk'
ETYM: OIr. *melg* is a glossary word. It is attested in Corm. ^{2}861. However, there is little reason to doubt the usual derivation from PIE *h$_2$melǵ- 'milk' (Gr. *amélgō*, Eng. *milk*, etc.).
REF: LEIA M-33, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 142, 144.

***meli** 'honey' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mil* [i f], ? Ogam *DU-MELI*
W: OW *mel* [m], MW *mel* (GPC *mêl*)
BRET: OBret. *mel* gl. nectare, MBret. and MoBret. *mel* [m]
CO: OCo. *mel* gl. mel
GAUL: *Meli-ssos* [PN]
PIE: *meli 'honey' (IEW: 724)
COGN: Lat. *mel*, Gr. *méli*, Hitt. *militt-*, Arm. *melr*, Alb. *mjal*
SEE: *melino- 'honey'
ETYM: Brittonic *melino- 'yellow' (OW *melin, melen*, MW *melyn*, OBret. *milin* gl. flauus, OCo. *milin* gl. fuluus) probably represent a derivative from this word. The development of 'honey-coloured' to 'yellow' would be unremarkable.
REF: LEIA M-51, GPC III: 2418, DGVB 253, LP 54, EIEC 271, Falileyev 111, Campanile 1974: 78, Deshayes 2003: 500, Ziegler 1994: 113.

***melino-** 'yellow' [Adj]
W: MW *melin* (GPC *melyn*)
BRET: OBret. *milin* gl. flauus, MBret. and MoBret. *melen*
CO: OCo. *milin* gl. fuluus uel flauus, Co. *melyn*
GAUL: *Melinus* [PN]
SEE: *meli- 'honey'
ETYM: Romance adjectives such as Sardic *mélinu,* Rhaeto-Romance *mélen* 'yellow', are presumably from the unattested Gaulish form of this word, cf. also Fr. *molène* 'mullein' < *molēnā (Gamillscheg 628).
REF: GPC III: 2422, DGVB 257, Delamarre 224, Deshayes 2003: 500.

***mello-** 'destruction, confusion' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mell* 'error, confusion'
COGN: ToB *mäl-* 'to wound, damage', ?Lat. *malus* 'bad'

SEE: *malno- 'slow, lazy'
ETYM: The OIr. word is known mostly from glossaries, but there is a denominative verb *millid* 'to destroy', and a possible cognate in OBret. *milin* 'prostitute' (DGVB 257). The geminate *-ll- in PCelt. is presumably from *-ls-, so we should posit a proto-form *melso- in PIE. The connection to *malno- 'slow, lazy' is just a possibility, since the meanings are very different (but cf. Lat. *malus* 'bad', which could be related).
REF: LEIA M-33, EIEC 258, DGVB 257, Hamp 1973: 153.

***menā** 'flour' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *men* [ā f]
PIE: *menH- 'crumble' (IEW: 726)
COGN: Lith. *mìnti* 'trample, break (flax)', OCS *мьнетъ* 'compresses', Russ. *mjat'* 'to knead', Slovene *mánem* [1s Pres.] 'I mince'
ETYM: W *mathru* 'to trample upon, stamp, suppress' is usually derived from the same root; it may represent a denominative verb from the underlying noun *mantro-, cf. W *mathr* [m] 'trampling, mire'. Possibly also related is Gaul. toponym *Petro-mantalon* (< *man-tlo- < *mn-tlo-), cf. also *Mantua* (today *Mantova* in N Italy). Gaul. *manto-, *mantalo- has been interpreted as '(trampled) road', cf. Lat. *trīta uia*. The IE etymology is problematic, since the accentuation of the Balto-Slavic presumed cognates shows that this root ended in a laryngeal, of which there is no trace in Celtic (we would expect *mnHtro- > PCelt. **mnātro-).
REF: LEIA M-36, GPC III: 2377, Delamarre 216, Sims-Williams 2006: 90f.

***menādo-** 'awl' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *menad* [o m]
W: MW *mynawyd* [m] (GPC *mynawyd, myniawyd*)
BRET: MBret. *menauet*
CO: Co. *benewas, benewez*
ETYM: MIr. *menad* is sometimes confused with *menoc* 'peg, piece of wood used for securing a withe'. No plausible IE etymology exists, so PCelt. *menādo- could be a loanword from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA M-36, GPC III: 2534.

***mendrā** 'blemish' [Noun]
SEE: *mendu- 'mark, sign'

***mendu-** 'mark, sign' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mind* [u n later m]
W: MW *mann* [m] 'place, spot, location' (GPC *man, men, myn*)
BRET: MBret. *men(n)* 'place', MoBret. *man* 'case, point', *menn* 'where'
PIE: *men-$d^{h}h_{1}$u- (IEW: 729f.)
COGN: Lat. *mendum* 'fault, blemish', Hitt. *mant-* 'something harming'

ETYM: OIr. *mennar* [ā f] 'blemish' might represent PCelt. *mendrā. A connection to the root *men- 'think' is possible.
REF: LEIA M-53f., GPC III: 2336, Deshayes 2003: 502, de Vaan 2008: 372.

***menekki-** 'frequent, abundant' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *meinicc* [i]
W: MW *mynych*
CO: Co. *menough*
PIE: *men- (IEW: 730)
COGN: OE *manig* 'sufficient, large, many', Go. *manags*, OCS *mъnogъ* 'many'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *meince, mince* [iā f] < *menekkyā. The double *-kk- in Celtic is probably the result of expressive gemination, but assimilation in a proto-form *meneg-ki- is also imaginable; the comparison of PCelt. *menek- and *m(o)nog^{h}-, implied by Slavic and Germanic forms points to a very un-Indo-European shape of the root. These words might be loanwords from some unknown NW European source (Boutkan 2005: 257).
REF: LEIA M-37, GPC III: 2540, Schrijver 1995: 33f., Boutkan 2005: 257.

***menekkyā** 'frequency' [Noun]
SEE: *menekki- 'frequent'

***mēni-** 'mineral, metal' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *méin, mían* 'ore, metal, mineral' [i f]
W: MW *mwyn* [m]
BRET: MBret. *men-gleuz* 'mine'
PIE: *(s)mey(H)- 'hew, cut' (IEW: 968)
COGN: Go. *aiza-smiþa* 'smith', OHG *smid* 'smith', 'axe', *smī́lē* 'a kind of knife'
ETYM: Fr. *mine* (and, ultimately, Eng. *mine*) are derived from Gallo-Lat. *mina*, which is the Gaulish counterpart to MIr. *méin*, etc. The PIE etymology is purely conjectural. The Celtic form would presuppose PIE *mey(H)ni- (without the s-mobile).
REF: LEIA M-29, GPC III: 2519, Gamillscheg 622.

***menman-** 'thought, mind' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *menme* [n m]
W: MW *mynw* [?m] 'nature, disposition'
BRET: MBret. *meno* [m] (MoBret.) 'opinion, judgement'
GAUL: *Menman-dutis* [Dat. p, Theonym]
PIE: *men-mn- (IEW: 726)
COGN: Skt. *mánman-* 'mind, thought'
SEE: *man-yo- 'think'

REF: LEIA M-37f., GPC III: 2539, LP 55, Delamarre 224, Deshayes 2003: 503, Schrijver 1995: 33, Stüber 1998: 13, 172f.

***menno-** 'young of an animal, kid' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *menn* [o m] 'kid, young of an animal'
W: MW *myn* [m] 'young goat, kid'
BRET: MBret. *menn* [m] 'young goat'
CO: OCo. *min* gl. hedus
PIE: *men- 'small' (IEW: 728)
COGN: Osc. *menvum* 'diminish', Arm. *manr* 'small', Lith. *meñkas* 'small, unsignificant'
SEE: *menwo- 'small'
ETYM: The origin of the geminate *nn is uncertain. A simple derivative *men-no- is possible, as well as *mendo- (but note that there is no trace of the cluster *nd in OIr.); a proto-form *mendo- could be related to VLat. *mannus*, Rum. *mînz* 'foal' (cf. also MHG *menz* 'infertile cow') which is from some unknown substrate (the term 'Illyrian' does not mean much). Cf. also Gaul. toponym *Epo-manduo-durum* and ethnonym *Mandu-bii* (Sims-Williams 2006: 90) and Basque *mando* 'mule' (a Celtic loanword?).
REF: LEIA M-38, GPC III: 2533, Delamarre 215, Deshayes 2003: 502, Sims-Williams 2006: 89f.

***mēno-** 'wish' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mían* [o n > m] 'wish'
W: MW *mwyn* [m] 'enjoyment, delight, profit, treasure'
BRET: MoBret. *menn* [m] 'wish'
PIE: *meyno- 'opinion' (IEW: 714)
COGN: OE *mān* 'meaning', OHG *meinen* 'to mean', OCS *měniti* 'to mean', perhaps ToB *onmiṃ* 'remorse'
ETYM: The PIE root may be the *mey- 'exchange', the same as in PCelt. *moyno- 'treasure', but semantic connections are weak. If ToB *onmiṃ* is related, it must be from *$h_3$epi-meyno-.
REF: LEIA M-47, GPC III: 2519, Deshayes 2003: 503, EIEC 410.

***mentyon-** 'thought, mention' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *toimtiu* [n f]
PIE: *men-ti-Hon- (IEW: 726)
COGN: Lat. *mentiō* 'mention'
SEE: *man-yo- 'think'
ETYM: OIr. *toimtiu* presupposes *to-mentyon-. The simplex *mentyon- is unattested. It is a derivative of the root *men- 'think' with the Italo-Celtic compound suffix *-ti-on- (or *-ti-Hon-), cf. Lat. *mentiō* 'a calling in mind, mention'.
REF: Stüber 1998: 127.

***menwo-** 'small, minute' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *menb* [o]
W: MW *difanw, difenwi* 'to weaken, decrease, diminish, abuse'
PIE: *men- 'small' (IEW: 728)
COGN: Osc. *menvum* 'diminish', Gr. *mānós* 'rare'
SEE: *menno- 'young of an animal'
ETYM: MW *difanw* is from *dī-menwo-. Gr. *mānós* is from *manwos < *mnwos, while Gr. *mónos* 'alone' is from *monwos. We seem to be dealing with the PIE pattern *menu- / *monw-m / *mnw-os.
REF: LEIA M-37, GPC I: 980, EIEC 528.

***mergī** 'rust, corrosion' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *meirc* [ī f] gl. aerugo
W: MW *merydd* 'wet, stagnant (of water), slow, lazy'
BRET: OBret. *mergidhaam* gl. hebesco
PIE: *merǵ- 'be wet, withered' (IEW: 740)
COGN: MHG *murc* 'withered', Russ. *moróz* 'frost', Alb. *mardhë* 'frost'
ETYM: MoBret. *mergl* 'rust' could be an early Irish loanword. MW *merydd* represents a derivative *mergiyo-. The acute intonation in Slavic may be due to Winter's law.
REF: LEIA M-30, GPC III: 2438, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 66.

***merkā** 'maiden' [Noun]
W: MW *merch* [f] 'girl, daughter, maiden'
BRET: MBret. *merch,* MoBret. *merc'h* [f]
CO: Co. *myrgh, mergh*
PIE: *mer- 'boy, girl' (IEW: 738f.)
COGN: Skt. *márya-* 'young man', Gr. *meĩraks* 'girl, boy', Lith. *mergà* 'girl', OPr. *mergo* 'girl', perhaps Lat. *marītus* 'married; husband'
SEE: *morēnā 'girl'
ETYM: A derivative from the o-grade of the root may be preserved in PCelt. *morēnā 'girl' (MW *morwyn*, OCo. *moroin*).
REF: GPC III: 2432f., Schrijver 1995: 248.

***mero-** 'crazy, silly' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *mer* [o] 'crazy, wild'
W: MW *meredig, mereddig* 'foolish, strange'
ETYM: LEIA adduces as the Brittonic cognates MW *mererid, meryerid* 'foolish, crazy' which are not found in GPC (*merierid* 'pearl' is of course another word, borrowed from Lat. *margarita*). This could be due to simple confusion. It is assumed here that the formation found in MIr. is original, while Welsh shows a derivative from the same root. None of the deeper etymologies suggested by LEIA (s. v. *mer*) are more than guesses, but a connection with Gr. *mōrós* 'stupid' appears possible (see PCelt. *mar-o-).
REF: LEIA M-39, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 42.

***merwi-** 'lifeless' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *meirb* [i]
W: MW *merw* 'limp, lifeless' (GPC *merf*)
PIE: *mer- 'die', *mer-wo- 'lifeless' (IEW: 736)
COGN: OHG *maro, marawi* 'tender, soft', Gr. *maraínō* 'destroy, quench', Croat. *mrva* 'crumble'
ETYM: Fr. (dial.) *marv* 'rigid, insensible' is from the Gaulish cognate of these words, cf. Delamarre 219.
REF: LEIA M-30, GPC III: 2434, Delamarre 219.

***mesal-kā** 'blackbird' [Noun]
W: MW *mwyalch* [f]
BRET: MBret. *moualch,* MoBret. *moualc'h* [f]
CO: OCo. *moelh,* MoCo. *mola*
PIE: *mes-al- 'blackbird' (IEW: 35f.)
COGN: Lat. *merula*, OHG *amusla, amsala*
ETYM: This word has all the appearances of a loanword from some unknown NW European source, cf. Beekes 1996: 230.
REF: GPC III: 2516, Morris Jones 1913: 101, Deshayes 2003: 523, Schrijver 1995: 281, Hamp 1982a.

***messo-** 'bad, worst' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *messa* 'worse', *messam* 'worst' (comparative and superlative of *olc* 'bad')
GAUL: *messamobi* [Dat. or Inst. p] (Lezoux)
ETYM: OIr. *messa, messam* are probably related to MIr. *meis* .i. olc, but this is a scarcely attested glossary word. The connection with *midithir* 'judges' found in LEIA (M-43f.) is not convincing from the semantic point of view, though it is formally possible (PIE *med-to- > PCelt. *messo-). Gaul. *messamobi molatus* can mean both 'praise to the worst ones' and 'praise by the worst ones'.
REF: LEIA M-43f., Delamarre 226, Lambert 1994: 146, Schumacher 2000: 78, McCone 2006: 37.

***messu-** 'acorn' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mess* [u m] 'acorns, tree-fruit'
W: MW *mes* [p] *mesen* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *mes*, MoBret. *mes* [Collective]
CO: Co. *mesen*
ETYM: I find it difficult to accept the usual connection to PIE *med- 'measure' (IEW 705f.). Go. *mats,* OE *mete* 'food' would fit semantically, but these words are plausibly derived from *mh_2d- 'be wet' (Gr. *madáō*, etc., cf. Orel 2003: 262); the primary meaning of PGerm. *matiz would have been 'soft, wet food' as opposed to 'hard food'. However, PCelt. *messu-

cannot be related to this root. It may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA M-43, GPC III: 2438, Deshayes 2003: 506, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 463.

***messu-** 'judgement' [Noun]
SEE: *med-o- 'measure, judge'

***metelo-** 'reaper' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *methel* [ā f] 'a troop (of reapers)' (DIL *meithel*)
W: MW *medel* [f] 'a troop (of reapers)'
CO: Co. *midil* gl. *messor*
GAUL: ? *Metlosedum* [Toponym] > Fr. *Melun*
PIE: *met- 'throw, reap' (IEW: 704)
COGN: Lat. *meto* 'reap', OCS *metati, mesti*
SEE: *met-o- 'reap, cut'
ETYM: PCelt. *metelā would be a collective denoting a group of reapers (*metelo-). These words are derived from *met-o- 'reap, harvest'.
REF: LEIA M-45, GPC III: 2391, LP 54, Delamarre 226, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 382, 452.

***met(t)o-** 'decay, blight, shame' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *meth* [o and i, n and m] 'decay'
W: W *meth* [m and f] 'failure, error, misfortune'; MW *methu* 'be unsuccessful, grow weak, err, fail'
BRET: MBret. *mez*, MoBret. *mezh* [f] (Vannetais *meh*) 'shame'
CO: Co. *meth* 'shame, confusion'
ETYM: The geminate *tt is implied by the Brittonic forms and, perhaps, by OIr. *metta* 'timid, cowardly', but OIr. *meth* shows the reflex of a single *t. Since there is no convincing IE etymology, these words could have been borrowed from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA M-44, GPC III: 2445, Deshayes 2003: 509.

***met-o-** 'reap, cut' [Vb]
W: MW *medi*
BRET: MBret. *midiff*
CO: Co. *midzhi* (MoCo.)
PIE: *met- 'throw, reap' (IEW: 703)
COGN: Lat. *meto* 'reap', OCS *mesti, metati* 'throw', Lith. *mèsti* 'throw'
SEE: *metelo- 'reaper'
ETYM: LIV does not relate this PIE verbal root to OCS *metati*, Lith. *mèsti* 'throw', but I believe they belong here, rather than with a putative root *met- 'reckon' (Gr. *métron*, etc.), or with PIE *h_2meh_1- 'mow' (Gr. *amáō*, Eng. *mow*). The use of this particular verb as an agricultural term is one of the few exclusive Italic and Celtic lexical innovations.

REF: KPV 483, GPC III: 2391, LIV 442, LP 54, Mallory & Adams 2006: 168.

***mēto-, *mēti-** 'fat, soft' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *méth* [o and i] 'plump, fat'
W: W *mwyd* [m] 'a soaking, moistening'
PIE: *mey(H)-t- (IEW: 711f.)
COGN: Lat. *mītis* 'mild, mellow, juicy'
ETYM: IEW (711f.) assumes that these words are related to words like OCS *milъ* 'dear', Lith. *mielas* 'dear', etc., in which case the Balto-Slavic intonation would imply that the root contained a laryngeal. Cf. also Skt. *máyas* 'enjoyment' which may go to *moyHos. The same root could account for OIr. *mín* 'tender, soft' < PCelt. *mīno- < *miHno-, and W *mwyn* 'mild, tender, gentle', MoBret. *moan* 'tender, thin', OCo. *muin* 'thin' < *mēnV- < *meyHnV-. See, however, PCelt. *moyni- 'treasure, precious object', where a different etymology is proposed.
REF: LEIA M-44, GPC III: 2517, Deshayes 2003: 515.

***mezgo-** 'whey' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *medg, medc* [o m]
W: MW *meidd* [m] (GPC *maidd*)
BRET: OBret. *meid,* MoBret. *mez* [m]
CO: MoCo. *meith*
PIE: *mesgo- 'marrow' (IEW: 714)
COGN: Skt. *majján-*, OHG *marg* 'marrow', OCS *mozgъ* 'brain'
ETYM: Fr. *mègue* 'whey' is supposed to be from Gallo-Latin *mesga, ultimately from the Gaulish cognate of MIr. *medg*, etc.
REF: LEIA M-28, GPC III: 2322, DGVB 253, Deshayes 2003: 509, Schrijver 1995: 376, Gamillscheg 612.

***mī, *me** 'I' [Pron, Acc. s]
GOID: OIr. *mé, me-s(s)e*
W: MW *mi*
BRET: MBret. *me*
CO: Co. *my, me*
GAUL: *-mi* (as verbal suffix only)
PIE: *mē (IEW: 702)
COGN: Lat. *mē(d)*
ETYM: In PCelt. two forms must be posited, *mī and *me. The form with the short *e was later lengthened to yield OIr. (emphatic pronoun) *mé*. Already in PIE, this was the suppletive Acc. sg. to the 1st person singular personal pronoun *(h_1)e$ǵh_2$om (Lat. *ego* etc.) which left no traces in Celtic. For the source of the alternation *me / *mē see PCelt. *nu.
REF: LEIA 25f., GPC III: 2542, EIEC 454, Falileyev 112f., Lambert 1994: 66, Deshayes 2003: 498.

***mi-nV-** 'change position' [Vb]
W: MW *tramwy* 'movement'
BRET: MBret. *tremen* 'pass by'
CO: Co. *tremena*
PIE: *mey- 'change' (IEW: 710)
COGN: Skt. *mayati*, Latv. *miju* [1s Pres.] 'change', ToB *mäsk-* 'exchange', OCS *minetъ* 'passes (of time)'
ETYM: The simplex verb is unattested, but cf. also MW *tramynu* < *tras-mi-n- 'ride through'. MW (suppletive) verbal noun *mynet* 'to go, going' is sometimes related to these words, but in this dictionary a different etymology is accepted (see *mon-ī- 'go').
REF: KPV 485f., GPC III: 3555, LIV 426, LP 336, Deshayes 2003: 740f.

***mi-nu-** 'bind' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-dímen*; *to-demi* [Pret.]
PIE: *mey- 'bind, fix' (IEW: 709)
COGN: Skt. *minóti* 'to fix, establish', Latv. *mìets* 'stake, pole'
ETYM: OIr. *do-dímen* < *to-dī-mi-nu- (the simplex is unattested).
REF: KPV 484, LIV 426, LEIA D-131f., McCone 1991: 14.

***mik-n-** 'shine, look' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *dimicnigid* 'despises, condemns'; *do-meiccethar* 'despises, dishonours'
W: MW *ed-mygu* 'admire', *myged* 'admiration'
BRET: MBret. *dismegans* 'disdain', MoBret. *dismeg* 'lax'
PIE: *meyk- 'twinkle, blink' (IEW: 712f.)
COGN: Lat. *mico, micāre* 'twinkle, vibrate', ULus. *mikać* 'blink', Russ. *mečtá* 'day-dream'
ETYM: MIr. *dimicnigid* < *dī-mik-n-. IEW (713) says that the Goidelic forms are loanwords from Brittonic, but this is not certain. We would expect the cluster *kn to yield *n* in Goidelic, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. *tuknā, *makni-), but it is possible that *dimicnigid* is a new formation, and that *do-meiccethar* points to a variant of the root with the geminate (*mikk-).
REF: LEIA M-26f., Deshayes 2003: 189f.

***mīlo-** 'animal' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *míl* [o n]
W: MW *mil* [m]
BRET: MBret. *mil* [m]
CO: Co. *mil*
PIE: *meh$_1$lo- 'small animal' (IEW: 724)
COGN: Gr. *mêlon*, OCS *malъ* 'small'

ETYM: Celtic agrees with Greek in the ablaut grade (*meh$_1$lo-), while OCS *malъ* must be from *moh$_1$lo-. OHG *smal* 'small', Go. *smals*, etc., are probably unrelated, unless *smh$_1$lo- > PGerm. *smala-, with s-mobile. This ablaut pattern may point to a PIE root noun Nom. sg. *smōh$_1$l / Acc. sg. *smeh$_1$l-m / Gen. sg. *smh$_1$los 'small animal'.
REF: LEIA M-51, GPC III: 2455, DGVB 256, Deshayes 2003: 511, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44.

***mindu-** 'crown, diadem' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mind* [u n]
W: OW *minn* gl. sertum [?m]
ETYM: Falileyev (s. v. *minn, minnou*) thinks that the Brittonic words could be loanwords from OIr. It is possible that this is actually the same word as PCelt. *mendu- 'mark', as suggested by LEIA (the semantic development would have been from 'mark, distinction' to 'precious object').
REF: LEIA M-53f., GPC III: 2533, Falileyev 113f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 94, 232.

***mīno-** 'tender, soft' [Adj]
SEE: *mēto-, *mēti- 'fat, soft'

***mīns-** 'month' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mí* [s m > f]
W: MW *mis* [m]
BRET: OBret. *mis*, MBret. *miz, mis*, MoBret. *mis* [m]
CO: OCo. *mis* gl. mensis, MCo. *mys*
PIE: *meh$_1$ns- 'month, moon' (IEW: 703)
COGN: Skt. *mā́s-*, Lat. *mēnsis* 'month', Lith. *mė́nuo* 'moon'
ETYM: In the PIE paradigm the Nom. sg. was *meh$_1$nōs, the Gen. sg. was *meh$_1$nes-s (cf. Latv. *mēness*). This paradigm was remodelled in Celtic. The stem *meh$_1$ns- was first introduced to the oblique stem, and thence spread to the Nom. sg. Celtic may share this development with Italic, cf. Lat. *mēns-is*. The Nom. sg. *mīns was then formed by the regular developments of *ns > *s(s)* and *ē > ī.
REF: LEIA M-46, GPC III: 2465, DGVB 257, Deshayes 2003: 514, EIEC 385, Beekes 1982.

***mīros-** 'piece of meat, food' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mír* [s n] 'morsel, piece of meat'
PIE: *mēms-ro- 'meat' (IEW: 725)
COGN: Skt. *māṃsá-*, Lat. *membrum* 'part of the body, limb', Go. *mimz*, Russ. *mjáso*
ETYM: It is unclear whether the development *-ēnsro- > PCelt. *-īro- is regular, since this is the only example where it may have occurred. However,

this is probable, since *V:ns > V:s is regular, as well as the assimilation *sr > *rr.
REF: LEIA M-55, LP 22, 180, EIEC 375, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 102, 232.

***misko-** 'mixed, confused' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *mesc* [o] 'confused, drunk'
W: MW *mysgi* [m] 'trouble, confusion'; *mysgu* 'destroy, unravel, undo'
BRET: MBret. *e mesk* 'among', MoBret. *mesk* [m] 'mixture'
CO: Co. *yn mysk* 'among'
PIE: *meyk- 'mix' (IEW: 714)
COGN: Lat. *misceo*, OHG *miscan*
ETYM: The OIr. verb *mescaid* 'mix', and its W cognate *mysgu* are deadjectival, built to the stem *mesko-. This has been dissimilated from *mik-sko- (cf. the same dissimilation in *farsk-o- 'ask' from *fark-sk-o-). The development of meaning from 'mixed' to 'confused' and 'drunk' is unremarkable (cf. Eng. *to be mixed up*).
REF: LEIA M-41f., GPC III: 2543, Deshayes 2003: 506, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 277.

***mlasto-** 'taste' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mlas* [o ?] gl. sapore, MIr. *blas*
W: MW *blas* [m]
BRET: MBret. *blaz, blas,* MoBret. *bals* [m]
CO: Co. *blas*
PIE: *mel-s- (IEW: 725)
COGN: Russ. *molsát'* 'suck', Cz. *mlsati* 'lick'
ETYM: As Hamp (1973: 154) notes, from PIE *mlsto- we would expect PCelt. *malsto- rather than *mlasto-. The aberrant form might be due to metathesis, which may be regular between a labial and a dental cluster, cf. *wlanno- 'blood red', *wrasto- 'shower'.
REF: LEIA M-56, GPC I: 284, Deshayes 2003: 113, Hamp 1973: 154, Oettinger 2003.

***mlāto/i-** 'tender, soft' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *mláith* [i]
W: MW *blawd* [m] 'flour'
BRET: OBret. *blot*, MoBret. *bleud* [m] 'flour',
CO: Co. *blot* 'flour', MCo. *bles*
PIE: *melh$_2$- 'grind' (IEW: 716)
COGN: Lat. *molo*, Lith. *málti*
SEE: *mal-o- 'grind'
ETYM: The development in Celtic was from 'ground' to 'tender, soft', and the PIE proto-form was presumably the past participle of the verb 'to grind', *mlh$_2$to-, or the derived adjective *mlh$_2$ti- (which may be more probable in

the light of the fact that Dybo's law did not operate; we would expect *mlato- from *mlh$_2$tó-).
REF: LEIA M-56, GPC I: 284, LP 54, DGVB 86, Deshayes 2003: 115, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 293, Hamp 1973: 151f., McCone 1996: 52.

***mlig-o-** 'milk' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *mligid, -mlig*; *meill, -mell* [Subj.]; *mailg* [Pret.]; *mlechtae, -mlecht* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *h$_2$melǵ- 'milk' (IEW: 722f.)
COGN: Gr. *amélgō*, Lat. *mulgeo*, OCS *mlьzetь* 'milks'
SEE: *melgos- 'milk'
ETYM: Celtic and Slavic reflect the zero-grade of the PIE root (*h$_2$mlǵ-e-), while Greek points to the full grade (*h$_2$melǵ-e-). Presumably the PIE verb had athematic present, with the full grade in the singular and the zero grade in the plural.
REF: KPV 486ff., LIV 279.

***mlixto-** 'milk' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mlicht* [o m]
W: MW *blith* 'full of milk, milch'
PIE: *h$_2$melǵ- (IEW: 719)
SEE: *mlig-o- 'milk'
ETYM: This word is originally a passive past participle of the verb 'to milk', PCelt. *mlig-o-. Milk is, obviously, 'that which is milked'.
REF: LEIA M-57, GPC I: 287, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 162.

***mogu-** 'servant' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mug* [u m]
W: MW *meu-dwy* [m] 'servant of God, hermit'
BRET: OBret. *mauu* 'youth, servant', MBret. *mau,* MoBret. *maw* [m] 'boy'
CO: Co. *maw*
GAUL: *Moguntia* [Toponym] (> *Mainz*), *Magurix* [PN]
PIE: *mog^h*-u- 'young person' (IEW: 696)
COGN: Go. *magus* 'boy', *mawi* 'young girl', Av. *mayava-* 'unmarried'
ETYM: The vocalism of Gaul. *Magu-* is unexpected (if it is indeed from the same root).
REF: LEIA M-70f., GPC III: 2448, EIEC 656, Delamarre 214, Deshayes 2003: 498, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 97f., 174.

***mokku-** 'pig' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mucc* [ā f]
W: MW *moch* [f]
BRET: OBret. *moch*, MoBret. *moc'h* [Collective]
CO: Co. *mow, mogh*
GAUL: *Moccos* [Theonym] (?), *Cato-mocus* [PN}

ETYM: OIr. *mucc* was originally an u-stem, as confirmed by the u-affection of the root vowel (GOI 195). In the absence of any known IE cognates, this is a likely candidate for a loanword from some non-IE source. Germ. dial. *Mucke* (Franconian) '*Mutterschwein*' is an old Gaul. loanword (S. Zimmer, p. c.).
REF: LEIA M-68f., GPC III: 2468, GOI 195, DGVB 258, Deshayes 2003: 516, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 96f., Delamarre 228, Meid 2005: 149f.

***mol-ā-** 'praise' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *molaithir*, *-molathar* (DIL *molaid*)
W: OW *molim* [Verbal Noun], MW *moli*
BRET: MBret. *meuliff*, MoBret. *meuliñ*
GAUL: *molatus* (Lezoux)
ETYM: Cf. also the parallel formation of verbal nouns to this verb in OIr. (*molad*), MW *molawd* and Gaul. (*molatus*), as noted by Schumacher 2000: 78. MoBret. *meuliñ* and *meul* [m] 'praise', together with W *mawl* [m and f] 'praise, exaltation', come from PCelt. *mālo-, which can be from the lengthened grade *mōlo-. There seem to be no correspondences in other IE languages, but cf. PIE *meld^{h}- 'speak solemnly, pray' (Hitt. *māldi* 'praises', Lith. *maldýti* 'pray', Croat. *mòliti* 'pray' < *modliti, LIV 388, IEW 722). Celtic may have preserved an archaic form of the root without *-d^{h}- (whatever its origin), or it may have falsely analyzed *d^{h} as a present-stem suffix, and then generalized the stem *mol- throughout the verbal paradigm. Alternatively, if W *mawl* and MoBret. *meul* point to a root-noun *mōld^{h}s, this could have developed regularly to *mōl-s, and then the root without *d^{h} could have been extended analogically. Needless to say, all of this is mere speculation.
REF: LEIA M-62, GPC III: 2479, 2378, Falileyev 114, Deshayes 2003: 508, Schumacher 2000: 78.

***molto-** 'ram, wether' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *molt* [o m] gl. vervex
W: MW *mollt* [m]
BRET: MBret. *mout, maout*
CO: OCo. *mols* gl. uerues , MCo. *mols*
GAUL: *Moltus* [PN]; Gallo-Lat. *multo > Fr. *mouton*
ETYM: A convincing IE etymology is lacking, so this word was probably borrowed from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA M-62, GPC III: 2482, LP 47, Delamarre 228, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 442, Gamillscheg 637.

***monetu-** 'going' [Verbal Noun]
SEE: *mon-ī- 'go'

***mongā** 'mane, hair' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *mong* [ā f] gl. cirrus, 'a lock or tuft of hair'
W: MW *mwng* [m]
BRET: OBret. *mogou* [p] gl. comas, MBret. *moe*, MoBret. *moue* [m]
PIE: *mon-g- 'mane'
COGN: OE *manu,* Dan. *manke*
SEE: *moni- 'neck'
ETYM: If this word is related to *mon-i- 'neck', the derivation with the velar suffix is restricted to Celtic and Germanic.
REF: LEIA M-63, GPC III: 2508, DGVB 258, Deshayes 2003: 523, LP 34, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 60.

***mon-ī-** 'go' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *muinithir* 'goes around'
W: MW *mynet, myned, mynd* [Verbal Noun]
BRET: MBret. *monet,*MoBret. *moned* [Verbal Noun]
CO: Co. *mones* [Verbal Noun]
GAUL: *moni* [Ipv] (St. *Révérien*) 'go!', or 'come!'
PIE: *menH- 'tread, stamp on' (IEW 726)
COGN: Umbr. *menes* [Fut. 2s] 'will come', Lith. *mìnti* 'tread on', CS *męti* 'tread, knead'
ETYM: The verbal nouns in Brittonic presuppose PCelt. *monetu-. The meaning of MIr. *muinithir* is not completely clear, and the verb is poorly attested. The laryngeal in this root is reconstructed on the basis of the acute in Lithuanian. These words are sometimes related to MBret. *tre-men* 'pass by', W *tramwy* 'traverse', etc., but in this dictionary these words are rather derived from PCelt. *mi-nV- 'change position'.
REF: GPC I: 40, IV: 3585, KPV 192, LIV 394, Meid 1980: 15f.

***moni-** 'neck' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *muin* [i f] 'the upper part of the back below the neck'
W: MW *mwn* [m and f]
BRET: OBret. *mun*
PIE: *moni- 'neck' (IEW: 747f.)
COGN: Skt. *mányā-* 'neck', Lat. *monīle* 'necklace', OHG *mana* 'mane', Av. *manaoθrī-* 'neck'
SEE: *mongā 'mane'
ETYM: Cf. also the derivative *moniklo- 'collar, necklace' (MW *mwnwgl, mwnwg, mynwgl*, OIr. *muinél*).
REF: LEIA M-72, GPC III: 2509f., DGVB 261, EIEC 391f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 65, 310.

***moni-** 'protection, patronage' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *muin*
W: MW *mynawc* (GPC *mynog*) 'noble, eminent', 'prince'

ETYM: DIL treats MIr. *muin* 'protection' as the same word as *muin* 'upper part of the back, top, surface'. It would have been abstracted from phrases such as *ar muin* 'on top of', *do muin* 'under the protection of', etc. OIr. *muinter* [ā f] 'community or group of persons connected by a bond, family, household' could be from *moni-terā and preserve the same root, but it has also been derived from Lat. *monasterium* (< Gr. *monastḗrion*) 'monastery, community of monks' (GOI: 570). MW *mynawc* is a derived adjective (with the suffix *-āko-) from the underlying noun *moni- 'protection' (it is also attested as a substantive with the meaning 'nobleman'). These words have been related to Lat. *manus* 'hand' (de Vaan 2008: 363), which is convincing from the semantic point of view. However, since I prefer to derive Lat. *manus* and Gr. *márē* 'hand' from PIE *meh$_2$r / *mh$_2$nos, this etymology is unlikely to be correct (we would expect *māni or *mani- in Celtic).
REF: LEIA M-72f., GPC III: 2538.

***moniklo-** 'collar' [Noun]
SEE: *moni- 'neck'

***moniyo-** 'mountain' [Noun]
W: MW *mynydd* [m]
BRET: OBret. *monid,* MBret. *menez*, MoBret. *menez* [m]
CO: OCo. *menit*
PIE: *mon- 'mountain, hill' (IEW: 726)
COGN: Av. *maiti-*, Lat. *mōns*, OIc. *mønir* 'ridge of a roof'
ETYM: MIr. *moned, monad* 'mountain' occurs only in Scottish toponyms and is considered to be a Pictish loanword, cf. also Scot. *monadh* 'mountain'. In terms of word formation, the closest parallel to PCelt. *moniyo- is found in Germanic. Lat. *mōns* and Av. *maiti-* seem to point to PIE *mon-ti- / *mn-tey- (with unexpected o-grade deduced from Latin).
REF: GPC III: 2541, Deshayes 2003: 502.

***mori-** 'sea' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *muir* [i n (later m and f)]
W: MW *mor* (GPC *môr*) [m]
BRET: OBret. *mor,* MBret. and MoBret. *mor* [m]
CO: OCo. *mor* gl. mare, MCo. *mor*
GAUL: *Mori-ni* [Ethnonym], *Are-morica* (ancient name of Bretagne)
PIE: *mori 'sea, standing water' (IEW: 748)
COGN: Lat. *mare*, OHG *mari, meri* 'sea, lake', OCS *morje* 'sea', Oss. *mal* 'standing water'
ETYM: W *môr* cannot be directly from *mori, since this would have given **myr. Probably the original i-stem became o-stem in Brittonic. Fr. *morue* 'cod' (dial. also *molue*) could be from Gaul. *morūkā, ultimately from the same root as *mori 'sea' (Gamillscheg 634).

REF: LEIA M-73, GPC III: 2485, EIEC 503, DGVB 259, Delamarre 229, Gamillscheg 634, Deshayes 2003: 518f., Sims-Williams 2006: 92f.

***morwi-** 'ant' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *moirb* [i f]
W: MW *myr* [f] (GPC *mŷr, myrr*)
BRET: MBret. *meryenenn* [Singulative], MoBret. *merion* [Collective] 'ants'
CO: MoCo. *mwrrian*
PIE: *morwi- 'ant' (IEW: 749)
COGN: Skt. *vamrá-, vamrī́-*, Av. *maoiri-*, OE *myre*, ORuss. *morovej*, Gr. *mýrmos*
ETYM: The PIE form is notoriously difficult to reconstruct. The PIE i-stem implied by the agreement between MIr. and Avestan is probably older than the thematic forms found in Skt. (which also involves metathesis) and Greek (with assimilation *morwo- > *mormo-, and subsequent change of *o > *y* between a labial and a resonant).
REF: LEIA M-60, GPC III: 2542, EIEC 24, Deshayes 2003: 505, Matasović 2004: 92.

***morā** 'female demon' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *mor-rígain* [ī f] 'female demon'
PIE: *moreh$_2$ 'female demon' (IEW: 736)
COGN: OHG *mara*, Russ. *morá*, Croat. *Mòrana* 'a mythological figure, female demon'
SEE: *marwo- 'dead'
ETYM: Presumably an abstract noun derived from the root *mer- 'to die' (cf. PCelt. *marwo- 'dead').
REF: LEIA M-64, EIEC 181, 612, 634, Kalygin 2006: 117.

***morēnā** 'girl' [Noun]
SEE: *merkā 'maiden'

***moxs** 'early' [Adverb]
GOID: OIr. *mos-, mó* 'soon'
W: MW *moch*
PIE: *mokśu 'early, soon' (IEW: 747)
COGN: Skt. *makṣū́* 'quickly', Av. *mošu* 'soon', Lat. *mox* 'soon'
ETYM: OIr. *moch* 'early' is a loanword from Brittonic. The prefix *mos-*, however, is inherited, cf. OIr. *mos-riccub-sa* 'I will come immediately'. The length in OIr. *mó* is due to lengthening in monosyllables (as in *mé* 'I' from *me, cf. *me-sse* 'I').
REF: LEIA M-65, GPC III: 2469.

***moyni-** 'treasure, precious object' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *moín* [? f] (DIL *main*) 'gift, benefit, treasure, valuable article'

W: OW *muin* [m], MW *mwyn* 'worth, value'
BRET: OBret. *moin* gl. dulcis amica, MBret. *moen*, MoBret. *moan* 'thin'
CO: OCo. *muin* gl. gracilis
PIE: *mey-n- 'exchange' (IEW: 710)
COGN: Lat. *mūnus* 'duty, charge, task', Skt. *mení-* 'revenge', Go. *ga-mains* 'common', Lith. *maĩnas* 'exchange'
ETYM: The development of meaning in Breton and Cornish was from 'beautiful' to 'gracile' and (in Breton) 'thin'. The original meaning may have been '(precious) piece of property for exchange'.
REF: LEIA M-60, GPC III: 2519, DGVB 258, Deshayes 2003: 515, EIEC 184, GPC 2519, Falileyev 115.

***moyto-** 'tender' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *moíth* [o] (DIL *maeth (moeth)*)
W: W *mwydion* [p] 'tender parts of the body'; *mwydyn* [m] 'pulp, soft inner part'
SEE: *mēto-, *mēti- 'soft'
ETYM: MBret. *boedenn*, MoBret. *bouedenn* 'pulp, marrow' is sometimes derived from the same root (by assimilation *m...d > *b...d*), but this is improbable; it is rather derived from *boued* 'food' < PCelt. *bētu- 'food' (OIr. *bíad*, etc.).
REF: LEIA M-61, GPC III: 2517, Deshayes 124.

***mraki-** 'malt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mraich*, [i m], MIr. *braich*
W: MW *brag* [m]
BRET: MBret. *braguez*,MoBret. *bragez* 'wheat malt' [m]
CO: Co. *brag*
GAUL: *brakis (*genus farris quod Galli* bracem *uocant* (Pliny))
PIE: *merk- 'be soaked' (IEW: 739)
COGN: Lat. *marceo* 'to be withered, droop, shrink', Ukr. dial. *morokvá* 'quagmire, swamp', Lith. *merkti* 'to soak, become wet'
ETYM: Fr. *brais* 'barley malt' is from Gaul. *braki- < *mraki-. The vocalism in Celtic is puzzling, since PIE *mrki- should give PCelt. *mriki-. Maybe the similarity to Lat. *marceo* etc. is accidental, and the PCelt. word is borrowed from some unknown source (this would not be unusual for a term from food-processing technology).
REF: LEIA M-66, GPC I: 306, Deshayes 2003: 131, Gamillscheg 145, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 65f.

***mrato-** 'deceit' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mrath* [o n], MIr. *brath*
W: MW *brad* [m and f] 'treachery, trick'
BRET: OBret. *brat* gl. seditione, MoBret. *barat, barad*
CO: Co. *bras*

SEE: *mar-na- 'deceive'
ETYM: This is the old past passive participle from the same verbal root as *mar-na- (which ended in laryngeal); the development was presumably *mrHtó- > *mrātó- > *mrato- (by Dybo's law).
REF: LEIA M-67, GPC I: 304, DGVB 89, Deshayes 2003: 92.

***mrixto-** 'variegated, diversified, painted, speckled' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *mrecht* [o]
W: OW *brith* gl. *pictam*, W *brith*
BRET: MBret. *briz*, MoBret. *brizh*
CO: Co. *bruit*
PIE: *merg^{w}- 'dark, coloured' (IEW: 733f.)
COGN: Gr. *amorbós* 'dark', OIc. *myrkr* 'dark', Lith. *márgas* 'variegated'
ETYM: Cf. also W denominal verb *britho* 'speckle, colour'. OIr. *mrecht* is not well attested, so this etymology is rather uncertain. The Celtic forms point to the zero-grade *mrg^{w}to- (> *mrikto- > *mrixto-); the acute intonation in Lith. may be due to Winter's law.
REF: LEIA M-67, GPC I: 326, EIEC 147, Falileyev 19, Deshayes 2003: 139, Hamp 1986.

***mrogi-** 'territory, region' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mruig*, [i m], MIr. *bruig*
W: MW *bro* [f]; *brofydd, broedd* [p]
BRET: OBret. *bro*, MBret. and MoBret. *bro* [f]
CO: Co. *bro*
GAUL: *Brogi-maros* [PN]; *brogae Galli agrum dicunt* (schol. Juven. 8.234), cf. also Galatian *Brogitarus* [PN] and *Nitio-broges* [Ethnonym]
PIE: *morǵ- 'frontier' (IEW: 738)
COGN: Lat. *margō* 'frontier, margin', Go. *marka* 'frontier', MoPers. *marz* 'region'
ETYM: W *Cymru* 'Wales' < *kom-mrogi-. The Celtic forms must be explained by metathesis (*morgi- > *mrogi-). The causes of this metathesis are unclear.
REF: LEIA M-68, GPC I: 329f., DGVB 90, EIEC 77, Lambert 1994: 36, 190, Delamarre 91, Deshayes 2003: 139f., Freeman 2001: 20, Sims-Williams 2006: 56.

***mūg-** 'conceal' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *for-múigthe, for-múchtha* 'smothered, concealed'
PIE: *mewg- 'cheat, deceive' (IEW: 743f.)
COGN: Lat. *muger* 'dice-cheat', ME *micher* 'thief', OHG *mūhho* 'bandit'
ETYM: A very dubious etymology, not only because of the difference in meaning, but also in light of the unexpected long *ū in Celtic.
REF: EIEC 154.

***muk-V-** 'smoke' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *múch* [ā f]
W: MW *mwg* [m]
BRET: MBret. *mog, moug* 'hearth'
CO: Co. *mok*
ETYM: MIr. *múch* is poorly attested, chiefly in glossaries. It presupposes long *ū, but cf. the verbal noun *muchad* (to *múchaid* 'stifle, quench'); MIr. *muich, múich* 'gloom, dejection' may be from a different root. The Brittonic words must be from *muk-, with a short vowel. A connection with PIE *(s)mewǵʰ- 'smoke' (IEW 971) appears probable, but there are many irregularities in the reflexes of this root. Gr. *smýkhō* 'burn in moldering fire' presupposes PIE *smuHǵʰ-, while OE *smeocan* 'to smoke' appears to be from *smewǵ-.
REF: LEIA M-69f., GPC III: 2507f., LP 41, EIEC 529, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 58, 97.

***mūno-** 'urine' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mún* [m, perhaps earlier n]
PIE: *mewH- 'wash, make wet' (IEW: 741)
COGN: Skt. *mū́tram* 'urine', OCS *myti* 'wash'
ETYM: Cf. also the denominative verb MIr. *múnaid* 'piss'; both the verb and the noun are attested rather late. The PCelt. form is compatible with PIE *muH-no-. OIr. *múr* 'mire, shoal' may be from the same root and represent *muHro-, but it is more likely to have been borrowed from ON *mýrr* 'slime'.
REF: LEIA M-74.

***musso-** 'dirty' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *mosach* [o]
W: MW *mws* 'stinky, smelly'
BRET: OBret. *mos*, MBret. and MoBret. *mous* [Collective] 'litter, garbage'
CO: Co. *mousak, mosek* 'smelly'
PIE: *mewd- (IEW: 742)
COGN: Gr. *mýsos* 'filth'
ETYM: The forms attested actually presuppose both *musso- and *mussako-; cf. also OBret. *admosoi* gl. inrogauerit maculam and OIr. *mosar* 'dirt' (an old collective in *-aro-, as in *clochar* 'heap of stones, rocky area' from *cloch* 'stone'). If the IE etymology is correct, PCelt. *musso- is from *mud-so-, cf. also MoLG *mussig* 'dirty'.
REF: LEIA M-65, GPC III: 2512, DGVB 54, Deshayes 2003: 525.

***mustāko-** 'boy' [Noun]
GOID: Ogam *MOSAC* [?Gen. s]
COGN: Lat. *mustus* 'young'
ETYM: The connection with PCelt. *musso- > OIr. *mosach* 'dirty' (Ziegler 1994: 210) does not convince semantically. OIr. *MOSAC* is the translation of

Lat. *puer* in the Ogam inscription of Crickhowel in Wales, CIIC 327 (TVRPILLI IC IACIT PVVERI TRILVNI DVNOCATI = TURPILI MOSAC TRALLONI). It is presumably a derivative in *-āko- from the same root as Lat. *mustus* (cf. also Lat. *mustax* 'a kind of laurel'), but a PIE etymology cannot be found. It is possible that Sp. *mozo* 'boy, servant, waiter' should be derived from Celtic (?Celtiberian) *musso-, from the same root as *mussāko- (Marcus Obaya, p. c.).
REF: Ziegler 1994: 210, McManus 1997: 72.

***muto-** 'penis' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *moth* [o m] 'penis, male being, masculine gender (in grammar)'
PIE: *muH-to- 'penis' (IEW: 753)
COGN: Lat. *mūtō, mūttō*
ETYM: A possible cognate is MoIr. *mut* 'circumcised', Scot. *mutach*. These forms presuppose expressive gemination (*mutto-), cf. also Lat. *mutilus* 'mutilated'. For the semantic connection, cf. Skt. *kárṇa-* 'ear' and CS *krъnъ* 'maimed, with slit ears'. The short *u in PCelt. *muto- is due to shortening by Dybo's law. On the other hand, I do not see a particular reason to believe that Luv. *mūwa-* 'to overpower (vel sim.)', Hitt. *mūwa-* 'an awe inspiring quality' (presumably borrowed from Luv.) are related to these words.
REF: de Vaan 2008: 397f.

***muxto-** 'soft, tender' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *mocht* [o] 'soft, tender'
W: MW *mwyth* [m] 'luxury, ease, pleasure'
PIE: *mewk- 'soft' (IEW: 744)
COGN: Lat. *mūcor* 'mould', *mūcus* 'slime, mucus', Gr. *mýksa* 'slime', Latv. *mukls* 'marshy'
ETYM: This is a very problematic etymology. MIr. *mocht* is a glossary word, and it is not in DIL; moreover, its meaning does not agree with MW *mwyth*; it is possible that the meaning 'luxury, pleasure' developed from something like 'softness, the state of being relaxed', cf. also MIr. *múr* 'abundance' which might be from *mux-sro- < *muk-sro- (presuming vowels are lengthened before *-xsr- and *-xsl-, cf. PCelt. *tāxslo- 'axe' < *toxslo-). GPC adduces also W *mwyth* 'fever, first signs of a disease', but it is unclear if this word is etymologically related at all.
REF: LEIA M-58, GPC III: 2525, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 438.

N

***nad-sko-** 'bind' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *nascaid, -naisc*; *náiss, -ná*; *nenais, -nenai* [Fut.]; *nenaisc* [Pret.]; *assae, -nass* [Pret. Pass.]
BRET: MBret. *nasca* 'bind', MoBret. *naskañ*
PIE: *neHd- (IEW: 758)
COGN: Lat. *nassa* 'fish-trap made of wickerwork', OE *net* 'net'
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from PIE *nHd-. In Lat. *nōdus* 'knot' we might have the full grade of the root, in which case the laryngeal is h_3. If this etymology is correct, Skt. *náhyati* 'attaches, binds' cannot be from the same root, but implies PIE *Hned^h- (LIV 227; the initial laryngeal is reconstructed because of the lengthening of vowels in compounds, e.g. Skt. *upā-nah-*; cf. PCelt. *nesso- 'closer').
REF: KPV 489ff., LIV 227, LEIA N-4, Deshayes 2003: 532, LP 383.

nāmant- 'enemy' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *námae* [t m]
GAUL: *Namanto-, Namantius, Ad-namatus* [PN]
PIE: *n(e)-$h_2$em-nt-
ETYM: If this etymology, which stems from Cormac (^{2}981), is correct, this is a negated present participle of the verb related to Lat. *amo* 'love'. However, it looks dangerously like a folk etymology, and the root *$h_2$em- (> PCelt. *am-) is otherwise unattested in Celtic.
REF: LEIA N-2, Lambert 1994: 33, Delamarre 231, Meid 2005: 159f.

***nanti-** 'fight, battle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *néit* [i m]
PIE: *nent- 'combat, fight' (IEW: 755)
COGN: Go. *ana-nanþjan* 'dare', ON *nenna* 'to strive', OHG *nenden* 'to dare', ToA *nati* 'might, strength'
ETYM: According to DIL, *Néit* may have been the name of an old Irish war-god. The PIE etymology is uncertain. I doubt whether the Tocharian forms are related to this root (cf. also ToB *nete* 'might, strength'), since the *-n- should have been preserved.
REF: LEIA N-7, EIEC 201, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 284., Lindeman 1999.

***nantu-, *nanto-** 'stream, valley' [Noun]
W: MW *nant* [m and f] 'stream, river, brook, dale, valley'
BRET: MBret. *nant* [m]
CO: OCo. *nans* gl. vallis, MoCo. *nance, nans*
GAUL: *nanto* (Endlicher's Glossary) *nanto- > Fr. dial. *nant, Nanto-lium* [Toponym]
ETYM: Conceivably, PCelt. *nanto- can be from *nm-to- and related to *nemeto- 'grove'. The original meaning would have been 'wooded valley', vel sim.

REF: GPC III: 2551, Delamarre 231, Deshayes 2003: 532, Sims-Williams 2006: 93f.

***nāro-** 'noble, great-hearted' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *nár* [o] 'modest, magnanimous, noble, diffident'
PIE: *$h_2$enr 'manly strength' (IEW: 765 (*ner-t-))
COGN: Lith. *nóras* 'will', Hitt. *innarā* 'forcefully'
SEE: *nerto- 'strength, force'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *náire* 'modesty, magnanimity' < *nāryā. This is a speculative etymology. If correct, we must assume PIE Nom. sg. *h_2nōr from which PCelt. *nār- would be derived regularly. Hitt. *innarā* is from < *en-$h_2$nor-o-, and Lith. *nóras* must have a secondary Baltic lengthened grade, cf. also OCS *nravъ* 'custom, habit' (< *$h_2$nor-wo-). A different etymology is found in LIV, where PCelt. *nāro- is derived from *neh$_2$-sr-o-, and compared with Hitt. *nāhi* 'is afraid' (cf. also Hitt. *nahsaratt-* 'fear, respect'). If this is correct, the meaning of *nāro- changed from 'fearful' to 'respected' and 'modest, noble' (the simplification of *rr < *sr after a long vowel may be regular, cf. *mīros 'piece of meat, food').
REF: LEIA N-3, EIEC 548, LIV 405, Schrijver 1995: 445f., Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 303f.

***nāryā** 'modesty, magnanimity' [Noun]
SEE: *nāro- 'noble, great-hearted'

***natrik-** 'serpent' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *nathir* [k f]
W: MW *neidr* [f]; *nadredd* [p]
BRET: OBret. *natrolion* [p] gl. regulosis, MBret. *(n)azr, aezr*, MoBret. *nàer* [f]
CO: OCo. *nader* gl. vipera vel serpens vel anguis
PIE: *(s)nh$_2$-tr 'water snake' (IEW: 747)
COGN: Lat. *natrīx*, Go. *nadre* [Gen p], ON *naðr* 'viper, snake'
ETYM: The PIE root is *sneh$_2$- 'swim' (cf. PCelt. *snā-yo-). PCelt. *na- is the regular development of PIE *nh$_2$- before consonant, word-initially (cf. *natu- 'poem'). Note, however, that *sn- is regularly preserved in OIr., so s-mobile has to be assumed.
REF: LEIA N-4f, GPC III: 2565, LP 46, DGVB 264, Deshayes 2003: 531, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 180ff.

***natu-** 'poem' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *nath* [u n, m, and f] 'poem, eulogy'
W: MW *nad* [f and m] (GPC *nâd*) 'clamor, cry, poem'
SEE: *snātu- 'thread'
ETYM: Lambert (1994: 168) speculates that this PCelt. word might be contained in Gaul. *duscelinatia* (Larzac), if the correct morphological

analysis of this form is *dus-celi-nat-i-a*. Cf. also the Gaul. PN *Uo-nato-rix*. These Celt. words could be related to PIE *(s)neh$_1$- 'sew' (W *nyddu*). The semantic development could be explained in terms of the poetic metaphor, whereby a poem is identified with a thread (Matasović 1996: 150). PIE *nh$_1$tu-, without s-mobile, would have developed as PCelt. *natu- regularly. The same root may be reflected in W *nawdd* 'patronage, support' < *noh$_1$to-.
REF: LEIA N-4, GPC III: 2547, Delamarre 232, Lambert 1994: 168, Matasović 1996: 105.

***nāwā** 'boat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *nau* [ā f] (DIL *nó*)
W: MW *noe* [f and m] 'large vase, bowl'
BRET: MBret. *neau, nev,* MoBret. *new* [f] 'vase'
PIE: *neh$_2$u- 'boat' (IEW: 755f.)
COGN: Skt. *náu-*, Lat. *nāuis*, Gr. *naũs*, Arm. *naw*, OIc. *nōr*
ETYM: Cf. Gallo-Lat. *nausum* 'ship' (Ausonius). Originally an u-stem in PIE, this noun became a feminine ā-stem in PCelt. (cf. OIr. Gen. sg. *naue*).
REF: LEIA N-5, GPC III: 2592, EIEC 74, Deshayes 2003: 537, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 27, 32, McCone 1994: 73.

***nāw(i)nyā** 'hunger' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *naunae, noíne* [iā f] (DIL *núna*) 'hunger, famine'
W: MW *neuynn* (GPC *newyn*) [m] 'hunger, famine'
BRET: MBret. *naffn*, MoBret. *naoun, naon* [m]
CO: OCo. *naun* gl. faimis, Co. *nown*
SEE: *nāwito- 'need'
ETYM: The original OIr. form, *naunae*, was changed to *noíne* under the influence of *oíne* 'fast' (from Lat. *ieiunium*). W *newyn* could be from *nāwinV- (with *-i- under the influence of *nāwito- 'need'), but other reflexes point to *nāwnV-. The PIE root could be *neh$_2$w- (or *newh$_2$-, with laryngeal metathesis) 'need' (OCS *nužda* 'need', *nuditi* 'compel', OPr. *nautin* [Acc. sg.] 'need', Cz. *nutiti* 'compel, force', ORuss. *nyti* 'grieve', Go. *nauþs* 'need', IEW 756).
REF: LEIA N-21, GPC III: 2580, Deshayes 2003: 532.

***nāwito-** 'need' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *neóit* [i] 'narrow, stingy'
W: MW *neued* (GPC *neued, neuedd, neufedd*) [m]
SEE: *nāw(i)nyā 'hunger'
ETYM: The exact development of OIr. *neóit* is unclear to me. It may be unrelated to W *neued*, although the etymology is almost generally accepted. The PIE root could be *neh$_2$w- 'need' (Lith. *naudà* 'need', Go. *nauþs* 'need', IEW 756) as in *nāw(i)nyā 'hunger'.
REF: LEIA N-10, GPC III: 2576.

***ne, *ni, *nī** 'not' [Negation]
GOID: OIr. *ni, ní*
W: OW *ni,* MW *ny, nyt* (GPC *ni*)
BRET: OBret. *ne*, MBret. *ne*
CO: Co. *ny*
CELTIB: *ne-*
PIE: *ne (IEW: 756)
COGN: Skt. *na,* Lat. *ne*, Go. *ni*
ETYM: PCelt. *ne is preserved in Celtiberian, and perhaps also in the OIr. imperative negation *na* (later *ná*). As the main clause negation *ne was replaced by *ni, *nī in Insular Celtic; the particle added to the main clause negation in Insular Celtic cannot be identified with certainty. It has to be assumed, however, because there is gemination of the following word initial consonant in both Goidelic and Brittonic. One possibility is that the particle is the clitic 3sg. pres. of the copula, *esti > *est > *ess. For a discussion see, e.g., Schrijver 1997: 158, Kortlandt 2000: 144f.
REF: LEIA N-14, GPC III 2581, DGVB 264, Falileyev 119f., Deshayes 2003: 533, Jordán Cólera 1998: 103, Schrijver 1997: 158, MLH V.1: 269.

***nēbo-** 'vigour, vital spirit' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *níab* [o m] 'vigour' (?)
W: MW *nwyf* [m] 'passion, joy, strong feeling'
PIE: *neyb^{h}o- 'holy' (IEW: 760)
COGN: OPers. *naiba-* 'good, beautiful'
SEE: *nēmā 'brilliance'
ETYM: The meaning of MIr. *níab* is somewhat uncertain, but cf. the denominative verb *níabaid* 'provokes, incites'. Cf. also OIr. *noíb* 'holy' [o] < PCelt. *noybo-. Gaul. PN *Noibio* is probably from the same root.
REF: LEIA N-16, N-20, GPC III: 2600, Meid 2005: 202, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 280.

***neftī-** 'niece, sister's daughter' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *necht* [? f] gl. neptis
W: MW *nith* [f]
BRET: OBret. *nith* gl. nepta, MBret. *nyz*
CO: OCo. *noit* gl. neptis
PIE: *neptih$_2$ 'niece' (IEW: 764)
COGN: Skt. *naptī́-*, Lat. *neptis*, OHG *nift*, Alb. *mbesë*
SEE: *nefot- 'nephew'
REF: LEIA N-15, GPC III: 2584.

***nefot-** 'nephew, sister's son'
GOID: OIr. *nia* [d m], Ogam *NIOTTA* [Gen s]
W: MW *ney, nei* [m] (GPC *nai*)
BRET: MBret. *ny*, MoBret. *niz* [m]

CO: OCo. *noi* gl. nepos
PIE: *nepōt- 'nephew, descendant' (IEW: 764)
COGN: Skt. *nápāt-*, Lat. *nepōs*, OHG *nefo*, RCsl. *netijь*
SEE: *neftī 'niece'
ETYM: The Celtic reflexes seem to preserve the stem of the PIE Nom. sg. (PCelt. *nefūt- < PIE *nepōt-)
REF: LEIA N-15, GPC III: 2549f., EIEC 239, 392, Campanile 1974: 83, Deshayes 2003: 538, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 166.

***ne-k^{w}e** 'not' [Negation]
GOID: OIr. *nach*
W: MW *nag, nac*
CELTIB: *nekue* (Botorrita I)
PIE: *ne-k^{w}e (IEW: 756)
COGN: Lat. *ne-que*
SEE: *ne, *ni, *nī (negation)
ETYM: The a-vocalism in Insular Celtic is the result of the change *e > *a in proclisis, cf. e.g. 3 sg. of the (proclitic) OIr. copula *ba* vs. the stressed 3 sg. of the substantive verb *boí*; the final *-e was apocopated early in Brittonic and Goidelic (Schrijver 1997: 160).
REF: LEIA N-14, GPC III: 2549, Jordán Cólera 1998: 103, MLH V.1: 275.

***nek^{w}o-** 'someone' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *nech*
W: OW *nepp,* MW *neb*
BRET: OBret. *nep*, MBret. *nep,* MoBret. *neb*
CO: Co. *nep*
GAUL: *nepon* [Acc. s] (Larzac)
PIE: *ne-k^{w}o- (IEW: 645)
ETYM: Indefinite pronoun formed with the negative prefix. There is a similar formation of indefinite pronouns from negated interrogatives, e.g., in Slavic, cf. Croat. *nětko* 'someone'. The meaning of Gaul. *nepon* is not completely ascertained.
REF: LEIA N-6, GPC III: 2560, DGVB 265, Falileyev 118, GOI 311, Delamarre 235.

***nek(k)i** 'not' [Particle]
GOID: OIr. *nacc, naicc*
W: OW *na, nac*, MW *na(d)*
BRET: MBret. *na, nac*
CO: Co. *na(g)*
SEE: *ne, *ni, *nī (negation), *ne-k^{w}e 'not'
ETYM: The exact relationship of this word to the PIE negation *ne, *ne- is unclear. The a-vocalism may be due to the development *e > *a in proclisis.

The geminate *-kk- may be expressive; the proto-form *ne-k^{w}e assumed by Schrijver (1997: 160) yielded OIr. *nach,* MW *nag.*
REF: LEIA N-1, GPC III: 2545, Falileyev 116, Schrijver 1997: 160.

nēmā 'brilliance, beauty' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *níam* [ā f]
PIE: *ney- 'shine' (IEW: 760)
COGN: Lat. *niteo* 'shine'
SEE: *nēbo- 'vigour, vital spirit'
ETYM: The connection with Lat. *niteo* is uncertain. Ultimately, PCelt. *nēmā (if from *ney-meh$_2$) could be from the same root as *nēbo- 'holy', PIE *ney-, but there is an inflation of PIE roots meaning 'to shine, be radiant', so this etymology is quite uncertain.
REF: LEIA N-16, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 246.

nemeto- 'sacred place, sanctuary' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *nemed* [o n > m]
W: OW *Eid-nivet* [PN]
BRET: OBret. *Iud-nimet* [PN]
GAUL: *nemēton* (Vaison, RIG G-153)
SEE: *nemos, *nanto-
ETYM: It is unclear whether MW *nyfed* 'strength' belongs here. The development would have been from 'sacred, endowed with power' to 'strong' and 'force, strength'.
REF: LEIA N-9, EIEC 248, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 455, Delamarre 233f., Sims-Williams 2006: 94.

nemo- 'poison' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *neim* [s n]
PIE: *nem- 'divide, take', *nemos 'that, which is taken' (IEW: 763)
COGN: Go. *niman* 'take', Gr. *némō* 'divide, take'
ETYM: Vendryès rejects this etymology on semantic grounds, but it is not hopeless (cf. Germ. *Gift* 'poison' from the verbal root which is in *geben* 'give').
REF: LEIA N-7, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 142.

nemos- 'heaven, sky' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *nem* [s n]
W: OW *nem* [f and m], MW *nef*
BRET: OBret. *nem,* MBret. *neff,* MoBret. *neñv* [m]
CO: OCo. *nef* gl. celum, MCo. *nef*
PIE: *neb^{h}os 'cloud, cloudy sky' (IEW: 315)
COGN: Hitt. *nēpis* 'sky', Skt. *nábhas-* 'cloud', Gr. *néphos*, OCS *nebo* 'sky'
ETYM: The irregular *-m- of the Celtic forms is best explained as the result of assimilation (n...b^{h} > n...m).

REF: LEIA N-8, GPC III: 2561, DGVB 265, EIEC 110, Falileyev 118, Campanile 1974: 82, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 140, 142, 148, Deshayes 2003: 534, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 499.

***nero-** 'hero'
GOID: MIr. *ner* [?o m] 'boar'
W: MW *ner* [m] 'chief, hero' (GPC *nêr*)
PIE: *h_2nēr 'man' (IEW: 765)
COGN: Skt. *nár-*, Gr. *anḗr,* Alb. *njeri* 'person', Osc. *ner-*
SEE: *nerto- 'strength, force'
ETYM: MIr. *ner* is a rare, poetic word. Cf. also W *Nerys* [PN] < *ner-issī. The PIE ablaut pattern was Nom. sg. *h_2nēr / Acc. sg. *$h_2$ner-m / Gen. sg. *$h_2$nr-os. The Celtic forms have generalized the full grade from the Accusative sg.
REF: LEIA N-10, GPC III: 2571, Matasović 2004: 83.

***nerto-** 'strength, force' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *nert* [o n]
W: OW *nerth* [m and f] (OW and MW)
BRET: OBret. *nerth* gl. robur, MBret. *nerz*, MoBret. *nerzh* [m] 'strength', Vannetais *nerh*
CO: Co. *nerth*
GAUL: *Nerto-maros* [PN]
CELTIB: *Nerto-bi(s)* [Toponym]
PIE: *$h_2$ner-to- 'virile, strong' (IEW: 765)
COGN: Skt. *nár-* 'man, male', Osc. *nerum* [Gen. p] 'man', perhaps the Germanic theonym *Nerthus* (Tacitus)
SEE: *nero- 'hero'
ETYM: Cf. also the denominal verbs OIr. *nertaid* 'make stronger', W *nerthu*, MoBret. *nerza, nerzhañ*. Celtib. *Nertobi(s)* should be interpreted as /nertobrixs/ and connected with the toponym *Nertobriga* in Spain.
REF: LEIA N-10f., GPC III: 2571f., DGVB 266, LP 47, EIEC 366, Jordán Cólera 1999: 121f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 240ff., Delamarre 235, Falileyev 119, Deshayes 2003: 535, Ellis Evans 1967: 237, Sims-Williams 2006: 95.

***nesso-** 'closer' (comparative) [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *nessa*
W: OW *nes*, MW *nes*
BRET: MBret. *nes* 'close'
CO: Co. *nes, nessa*
GAUL: *neđđamon* [Gen p] 'proximorum' (Banassac, CIL XIII 10016,13)
PIE: *Hned^{h}- 'bind' (IEW: 758)
COGN: Osc. *nessimas* 'proximae'

COGN: Skt. *niktá-* 'washed', Gr. *nízō* 'wash'
ETYM: MIr. *necht* is poorly attested (mostly in glossaries), so this etymology is quite uncertain. If it is correct, PCelt. *nixto- is originally a past participle of the PIE root *neyg^{w}-, and the original meaning of *nig^{w}to- > *nixto- was 'washed'. VLat. *nectos* .i. merus (CGL V 374, emendation of *netcos murus*) has been interpreted as a Gaul. loanword, and also derived from PIE *nig^{w}to- > PCelt. *nixto- (LEIA N-6). However, this is quite dubious, since the word is a hapax.
REF: LEIA N-6, Irslinger 2002: 271f.

***nizdo-** 'nest' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *net* [o m, sometimes f]
W: MW *nyth* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *nez*, MoBret. *neizh* [m]
CO: OCo. *neid* gl. nidus, MCo. *nyth*
PIE: *ni-sd-o- 'nest' (IEW: 887)
COGN: Skt. *nīḍá-*, Lat. *nīdus*, OHG *nest*, Lith. *lìzdas*
ETYM: It is usually assumed that *ni- is a prefix in the word for 'nest' in PIE, and that the root is *sed- 'sit'. PIE *ni- would thus be the only prefix in the proto-language. However, the proper reconstruction may also be *h$_2$ni-sd-o-, in which case *h$_2$ni- is the petrified locative of an old root-noun from which we also have Gr. *ánō* 'up, upwards', Av. *ana*, Go. *ana* and other spatial prepositions (as argued in Matasović 2008a: 246f.).
REF: LEIA N-12, GPC III: 2604, EIEC 393, Campanile 1974: 82, Deshayes 2003: 534, Uhlich 2002: 416.

***now-slo-** 'cry, shout' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *nuall* [o n]
PIE: *newH- 'cry, roar' (IEW: 767)
COGN: Skt. *návate*, ToB *nu-* 'roar'
ETYM: Another possible cognate is Lat. *nūntium* 'message', but that word has also been plausibly related to PIE *newo- 'new'. Mayrhofer (s. v. *NAV-*) thinks this root may be onomatopoetic.
REF: LEIA N-24, LIV 411.

***nowameto-** 'ninth' [Ordinal Number]
GOID: MIr. *nómad*
W: MW *nawfet* (GPC *nawfed*)
BRET: MBret. *nauvet, naovet*, MoBret. *nawved*
CO: MoCo. *nawhwas*
GAUL: *nametos*
SEE: *nowan 'nine'
REF: LEIA N-20, GPC III: 2557, Deshayes 2003: 533, Lambert 1994: 132.

***nowan** 'nine' [Number]

GOID: OIr. *noí* [Nasalizing]
W: OW *nauou,* MW *naw*
BRET: OBret. *nau,* MBret. *nau,* MoBret. *nao, naw*
CO: Co. *naw*
PIE: *(h_1)newn 'nine' (IEW: 318f.)
COGN: Skt. *náva*, Lat. *nouem*, Gr. *ennéa*, Go. *niun*, Lith. *devynì*, Russ. *dévjat'*, Alb. *nëndë*, ToB *ñu*
ETYM: The Brittonic forms can be derived from *nawan < *nowan by vowel assimilation. Celtib. *nouantubos* [Dat. pl.] is sometimes derived from this PCelt. root, but this is quite uncertain (it is more probably connected with PCelt. *nowyo- 'new').
REF: LEIA N-20, GPC III: 2555, EIEC 403, DGVB 264, Falileyev 118, Deshayes 2003: 533, MLH V.1: 281f.

***Nowdont-** [Theonym]
SEE: *snowdo- 'mist, haze'

***nowyo-** 'new' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *núae* [io]
W: MW *newydd*
BRET: OBret. *en neuidteruo* gl. mensis nouorum, MoBret. *nevez, newez*
CO: Co. *newyth*
GAUL: *Nouio-(dunum)* [Toponym]
CELTIB: ? *nou-iza*
PIE: *newos 'new' (IEW: 769)
COGN: Hitt. *newa-*, Skt. *náva-,* Lat. *nouus*, Gr. *néos,*Go. *niujis*, Lith. *naũjas*, OCS *novъ*, ToB *ñuwe*, Arm. *nor*
SEE: *nu 'now'
ETYM: The meaning of the Celtiberian form *nouiza* (Botorrita III, 1) is far from ascertained, but it may be derivable from *nowiyā if McCone (2003) is right in positing the change *-iyV- > *-iđV- > *-izV-* in Celtiberian (cf. also PCelt. *gab-yo-, which may be attested as Celtib. *kabizeti* /gabizeti/). Celtib. *nouantubos* has also been related to this PCelt. etymon (see under *nowan- 'nine'). OBret. *neguid*, which is sometimes adduced here, appears to be actually a verbal form (*ne guid* 'does not know'). OBret. *neuidterou* is probably a plural form of *neuid-ter 'newness'.
REF: LEIA N-23f., GPC III: 2577, DGVB 161, 266, EIEC 393, Deshayes 2003: 536, Schrijver 1995: 283ff., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 202, Delamarre 236, Jordán Cólera 1999: 190, McCone 2003, Sims-Williams 2006: 95f., MLH V.1: 283.

***noxtV-** 'night' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *innocht* 'tonight'
W: OW *he-noid* 'tonight', MW *peu-noeth* 'every night'
BRET: MBret. *hanoez* 'tonight'

CO: Co. *haneth* 'tonight'
GAUL: *tri-nox(tion)* 'three nights' (Coligny), *decam-noctiacis* (Limoges)
PIE: *nok^{w}t- 'night' (IEW: 762)
COGN: Hitt. *nekuz (mēhur)* 'at night', Skt. *nákt-*, Gr. *nýks*, Lat. *nox*, Lith. *naktìs*, OCS *nošt*ъ, Alb. *natë*, ToB *nekcīye* 'at night'
ETYM: MW *nos* is a loanword from Latin (*nox*); the Celtic form is preserved only in the adverbial form, just as in OIr. (but see Falileyev 121 for a different opinion: OW *nos* < PCelt. *noxt-stu-; for the suffix, cf. *flenstu-, *adestu-, etc.).
REF: LEIA N-19, GPC III: 2790, EIEC 394, Falileyev 82f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 36, Delamarre 237, Meid 2005: 58.

***noxto-** 'naked' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *nocht* [o]
W: MW *noeth*
BRET: OBret. *noit*, MBret. *noaz*, MoBret. *noazh*
CO: Co. *noeth, noyth*
PIE: *nōg^{w}- 'naked body', *nog^{w}o- 'naked' (IEW: 769)
COGN: Hitt. *nekumanza*, Skt. *nagnás,* Lat. *nūdus,* OE *nacod*, Lith. *núogas*, OCS *nagъ*
ETYM: OBret. *noit* might be the same word, but the meaning of this gloss is uncertain (it might mean 'naked'). The Celtic forms can be derived from PIE *nog^{w}-to-. The root is attested with different suffixes, except in BSl., where the simple thematic stem was built to the lengthened grade of the root (Winter's law would not operate in open syllables, cf. Matasović 1995). Cf. also Gr. *gymnós* 'naked' < *nog^{w}mos (metathesis). A root adjective, or, more likely, a root noun meaning 'naked body' should be posited in PIE.
REF: LEIA N-19, GPC III: 2592, DGVB 271, EIEC 45, Deshayes 2003: 539, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 440, Beekes 1994.

***noybo-** 'holy' [Adj]
SEE: *nēbo- 'vigour'

***nu** 'now' [Adverb]
GOID: OIr. *nu*
W: MW *nu*
GAUL: *nu* (Lezoux)
PIE: *nu(H) 'discourse particle' (IEW: 770)
COGN: Hitt. *nu* 'and, but', Skt. *nú,* Gr. *nȳn* 'now', Lat. *nunc* 'now', Go. *nu*, Russ. *nýne* 'now, today'
ETYM: W *nu* presupposes *now, with the full-grade of the root (PIE *newH or *nowH). The alternation between *nu and *nū observed in several languages can be explained if we assume that the original form of the particle was *nuH, but that the laryngeal was lost in pause (sentence-sandhi).

This is probably also the explanation for the alternation between *me and *mē in Acc. sg. of the 1 sg. personal pronoun.
REF: LEIA N-23, GPC III: 2599, Delamarre 237, Schrijver 1997: 160.

***nūsso-, *nowsso-** 'first milk, colostrum' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *nús* [o and u m]
W: W *nus* [?m]
BRET: MBret. *(leaz) lusen*
ETYM: W *nus* is very poorly attested, and it is unclear whether it is a masculine noun (as stated in GPC). The vocalisms of Goidelic and Brittonic do not agree, since OIr. *nús* points to *nūss- and W *nus* to *nowss-. The Brittonic words might actually be loan-words from Goidelic, or all of these words were borrowed from some unknown source. Breton could have the word initial *l-* by assimilation with the preceding word in the syntagm, or by analogy with the stem of *lūss-, which is attested in OIr. *lús(aid)*, which is originally the s-subjunctive of *ibid* 'drinks' (GOI 471).
REF: LEIA N-25, GPC III: 2599.

***nuw-o-** 'nod, assent to' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *as-noí* 'swear'
W: MW *dineu* (GPC *dinau*) 'flow, pour, spill'
BRET: MBret. *dinou* 'pour out'
CO: Co. *dynwa* [3s Subj.]
PIE: *new- 'nod' (IEW: 767)
COGN: Lat. *ad-nuo,* Gr. *neúō*
ETYM: MIr. *as-noí* < *exs-nuwo-, while the Brittonic forms presuppose *dī-new-o- (the simplex verb is unattested). MW *nugio* 'shake, quiver' could be from PCelt. *now-k- < *new-k-. Another possible cognate is Lith. *niaũsti* 'to bend'; it may preserve the original meaning of the PIE root.
REF: KPV 491ff., LIV 455f., GPC I: 1021.

O

***obnu-** 'fear' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *omun* [u m]
W: MW *ofuyn* (GPC *ofn*) [m]
BRET: MBret. *oun*, MoBret. *ovn* [m]
CO: Co. *own*
GAUL: *Ex-obnus* [PN]
SEE: *exs-obno- 'fearless'

ETYM: OIr. *omun* is also attested with the long first vowel, *ómun* > MIr. *úamun*. The source of the vacillation is unclear to me (short vowel by analogy with *essamin* 'fearless'?). Cf. also the denominative verb W *ofnaf* 'to fear'. The PIE etymology is unknown, but a connection with Croat. *jéza* 'fear, terror' appears possible. Cf. also Lith. *éngti* 'to strangle', ON *ekki* 'convulsive sobbing', OE *inca* 'doubt, complaint' (Orel 2003: 84). The Slavic forms presuppose Early PSl. *endzā or *indzā, and can be derived from PIE *h_1eng^w-, with the nasal infix from the verbal base (present stem), cf. also Lith. *éngti* (the acute is regular because of Winter's law). The PIE root would be *h_1eg^w-. PCelt. *obno- or *obnu- can be from PIE *h_1og^wno- or *h_1og^wnu-.
REF: LEIA O-22, GPC III: 2631, Delamarre 170, Deshayes 2003: 470, Schrijver 1995: 353, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 94.

***odbo-** 'knot, bulge' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *odb* [o m]
W: W *oddf* [m]
ETYM: Cf. also the Gaul. PNs with the first element *Osbi-* (e.g. *Osbimaca, Osbimanus*). EIEC and Mallory and Adams 2006 relate these words to Skt. *ádga-* 'knot, joint', Gr. *óskhos* 'sucker, shoot', *óskhē* 'vine with grapes' (PIE *Hosgo-), but do not explain the sound developments, which would be highly irregular. One could, in principle, derive the Celtic and Indo-Iranian forms from PIE *h_3edg^wos, but then Greek *óskhos* is unrelated. Schrijver (1995: 376) follows LEIA in deriving the Celtic forms from *ost-b^hV- and relates them to Gr. *osphýs* 'hip', which I find less convincing. Lith. *uodegà* 'tail' is probably also unrelated to these words.
REF: LEIA 0-9, GPC III: 2618, EIEC 336, Schrijver 1995: 376, Mallory & Adams 2006: 157, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 207f.

***ofi-bā** 'beauty, appearance'
GOID: OIr. *oíph, oíb* [ā f and m] 'semblance, appearance, beauty'
PIE: *h_1opi-b^heh_2 (IEW: 104)
COGN: Skt. *abhi-bhā-* 'inauspicious omen'
ETYM: This old compound appears to contain the PIE root *b^heh_2- 'shine' (Skt. *bhā́ti* 'shines', Gr. *phõs* 'light', etc.). However, Vendryès may be right in claiming that this reconstruction 'ne repose sur.rien' (LEIA O-14).
REF: LEIA O-14, Joseph 1982a 176, Uhlich 2002 412.

***ofi-belā** 'spark, flame' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *oíbell* [ā f]
W: MW *ufel* [m]
PIE: *h_1opi-b^hel- (IEW: 119)
ETYM: MoBret. *fulenn* [f] 'spark' may be related, if it is metathesized from *uflenn. The reconstruction *ofi-belā proposed here is quite doubious.

Vendryès (LEIA O-15) doubts this etymology and relates the MIr. word to *oíb* 'beauty, prosperity', which does not seem convincing.
REF: LEIA O-15, GPC III: 3699, Deshayes 2003: 259.

***Ogmiyo-** 'a mythological name'
GOID: MIr. *Ogma* [?io m]
GAUL: *Ogmios* [Theonym]
ETYM: Gaul. *Ogmius* occurs on an inscription from Salins as an epithet of *Hercules*, and MIr. *Ogma mac Ethlenn* is depicted as the inventor of the Ogam writing. This theonym is usually derived from the name of Ogam, OIr. *ogum*, *ogom* [o m] < PCelt. *ogmo-, but other etymological connections are unknown. A problem for this etymology is that the development of PCelt. *-gm- in Irish is uncertain: since *g is lost before *n with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. *wegno- 'wagon' > OIr. *fén*), it has been argued that *ogmo- should have given MIr. **úam. However, there are no other examples to substantiate this development, so it is possible that *-gm- was preserved.
REF: LEIA O-13f., Kalygin 2005: 125f.

***oketā** 'harrow' [Noun]
W: MW *ocet*, (GPC *oged*) [f]
BRET: MBret. *oguet*, MoBret. *oged* [f]
CO: OCo. *ocet*, Co. *oges*
PIE: *Hoḱeteh$_2$ 'harrow, rake' (IEW: 22)
COGN: Lat. *occa*, OPr. *aketes*, Russ. *osét'* 'granary, rack for drying grain', OHG *egida*
ETYM: Although the shape of the reconstructed word for 'harrow' appears non-Indo-European, the connection with the root *h$_2$eḱ- 'sharp' (Lat. *acus* 'needle', etc.) seems likely (see PCelt. *akro-); in that case, the correct PIE reconstruction is *h$_2$oḱeteh$_2$. Note, however, that reflexes are limited to the European branches of IE, which is typical of many words belonging to agricultural terminology.
REF: Deshayes 2003: 545, Schrijver 1991: 52, Mallory & Adams 2006: 242, Oettinger 2003.

***okri-** 'edge' [Noun]
SEE: *akro- 'high'

***olīnā** 'elbow, angle' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *uilen* [ā f]
W: OW *elinou* [p], MW *elin* [f and m]
BRET: MBret. *elin*, MoBret. *elin* [m]
CO: Co. *elyn*, *elin*
PIE: *h$_3$elēn 'elbow' (IEW: 307)
COGN: Lat. *ulna*, Gr. *olénē*, Go. *aleina*, perhaps ToB *alyiye* 'palm'

ETYM: Cf. also Gaul. hydronym *Olina* (Sims-Williams 2006: 97). W *elin* is from *olin by i-Umlaut.
REF: LEIA U-18, GPC I: 1206, EIEC 98, 176, Falileyev 53, Deshayes 2003: 233, Matasović 2004: 107, Sims-Williams 2006: 97.

***olo-** 'behind, beyond' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *ol* 1. 'beyond' 2. 'than' (Preposition with the comparative)
W: MW *ol* [m] (GPC *ôl*) 'track', *yn ôl* 'according to'
PIE: *$h_2$el- (IEW: 24f.)
COGN: OLat. *ollus* 'that', OCS *lani* 'in the past year'
ETYM: The OIr. adverb and preposition *ol* is used in comparative constructions, e.g. Wb. 12a21 *is sochrudiu láam oldó-sa* 'hand is more beautiful than I am'. Word initial *o instead of the expected *a-* may be due to early assimilation (*alo- > *olo-), or we should start from *$h_2$olo- which would give PCelt. *olo- regularly (cf. also OLat. *ollus* < *$h_2$olno-). PCelt. *olo- is from the PIE demonstrative stem *$h_2$el-, which is also in PCelt. *alyo- 'other'. OIr. defective verb *ol* '(s)he said, inquit' has also been related to this root.
REF: LEIA O-18f., Quin 1960, Kortlandt 2007: 113ff.

***olyo-** 'all, whole, every' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *uile* [io]
W: MW *oll, holl*
BRET: OBret. *holl*, MBret. *holl, oll*, MoBret. *oll*
CO: Co. *hol, oll*
GAUL: *ollon* [n] (Chamalières); *Ollo-dagos* [PN]
PIE: *$h_3$ol-yo- 'all'
COGN: Go. *alls* 'all, whole'
ETYM: Another etymology, somewhat less viable, relates these words to PIE *sol-yo- 'whole' (Skt. *sárva-*, Gr. *hólos* < *sol-wo-). This would help explain the traces of word initial *h- (< *s-) in Brittonic (but in most instances that word-initial *h-* can be purely graphic, and positing PCelt. *s- does not explain the Gaulish forms). In any case, these forms must be distinguished from PCelt. *folno- 'great'.
REF: LEIA U-17f., GPC III: 2646, DGVB 213, Delamarre 241, Falileyev 87, Deshayes 2003: 546, Fleuriot 1976-7: 185, Schrijver 1995: 323, McCone 1996: 49.

***omiyo-** 'copper, bronze' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *umae* [io n]
W: OW *(o) emid* gl. ex aere, W *efydd* [m]
PIE *HoHmo- 'raw' (IEW: 777)
SEE: *omo- 'raw'
ETYM: Both OIr. *umae* and W *efydd* mean 'copper' as well as 'bronze, brass', and we may assume that the meaning 'copper' is earlier. For the

Welsh vocalism cf. PCelt. *olīnā 'elbow' > MW *elin*. A derivation of *omiyo- from *omo- 'raw' appears formally possible, but the semantic connection is weak. Was 'copper' conceived of as 'raw metal' in contrast to iron, which is melted at much higher temperatures?
REF: LEIA U-24, GPC I: 1172, Pedersen I: 166, Schrijver 1995: 287, Falileyev 53, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 355, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 202.

***omo-** 'raw' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *om* [o]
W: W *of*
PIE: *HoHmo- 'raw' (IEW: 777f.)
COGN: Gr. *ōmós*, Skt. *āmá-*, Khot. *hāma-*, Arm. *hum*
ETYM: As the Gr. and Skt. words are oxytona, this could be an instance of pretonic shortening in Celtic (Dybo's law). Note, however, that there are but a few instances of this law operating on syllables with proper PIE vowels (*e, *o), so in this particular case one is tempted to think that the second laryngeal was lost by dissimilation (*HoHmo- > *Homo- > PCelt. *omo-). The PIE reconstruction is uncertain, since the nature of the second laryngeal cannot be ascertained (initial *h_2 is usually reconstructed on the basis of Arm. *hum*). A connection with Lat. *amārus* 'bitter' is doubtful (it may, in principle, represent *h_2H-emo-).
REF: LEIA O-21, GPC III: 2629, EIEC 478, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 202.

***onko-** 'at' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *oc* [+Dat.]
W: MW *wnc, wng* 'near'
SEE: *ank-o- 'reach'
ETYM: If PCelt. *onko- is indeed related to the verbal root *ank-o- 'reach', it probably presupposes a verbal noun *$h_2$onḱo- petrified as the preposition in Celtic. The development of meaning would be from 'having reached' to 'at'.
REF: LEIA 0-5, GPC III: 3732, GOI 524f.

***orbo-** 'heir, inheritor' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *orb* [o m]
PIE: *$h_1$orb^{h}o- 'inheritance' (IEW: 781)
COGN: Lat. *orbus* 'orphan', OCS *rabъ* 'slave', Arm. *orb*
ETYM: OIr. *orbe* [io n] 'inheritance' is the exact parallel of PGerm. *arbiya- (Go. *arbi* 'inheritance'). I prefer to reconstruct the PIE root with *h_1 rather than with *h_3 because this facilitates McCone's connection of these words with OIr. *erbaid* 'entrusts'. Hitt. *harp-* 'separate' is therefore not related, *pace* Weiss 2006.
REF: LEIA O-27f., EIEC 411, de Bernardo Stempel 391, McCone 1999, Weiss 2006.

***ordo/ā-** 'hammer' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ord* [o m] gl. malleus
W: OW *ord* [f], MW *orth*
BRET: OBret. *ord* gl. maleus, MBret. *orz* [f]
ETYM: Gaulish ethnonym *Ordo-vices* has also been related to this PCelt. etymon. Falileyev 126 and Pedersen (I: 114) relate these words to Arm. *urn* 'hammer' (? < *ōrdn-) but this is highly speculative. One could also speculate that this word is an old compound, PIE *$h_3$erg-$d^h h_1$o-, from *$h_3$erg- 'perish' (see PCelt. *orgo- 'destroy') and *$d^h eh_1$- 'do, make' (Lat. *facio*, OCS *děti*, etc.), although it is unknown what the development of the cluster *-rgd- should be in Celtic (but cf. *h_2ŕkto- 'bear' > OIr. *art*, so maybe *$h_3$erg-$d^h h_1$o- > *orxdo- > *ordo- is regular).
REF: LEIA O-29, DGVB 277, GPC 1468, Delamarre 243f., Pedersen I: 114, Falileyev 126.

***org-o-** 'destroy' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *orgaid, -oirg*; *oirr, -orr* [Subj.]; *ieirr, -iarr* [Fut.]; *oirt, -ort* [Pret.]; *ortae, ort* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *yny-orth* [Impersonal Pass.]
GAUL: *orge* [Impv.] 'kill' (CGL V 316, 70)
PIE: *$h_3$erg- 'perish' (IEW: 819 (*perg-))
COGN: Hitt. *harkzi*, Arm. *harkanem* 'strike'
ETYM: The Welsh simplex occurs only in Canu Aneirin (CA 13.315). Cf. also the Gaul. PN *Orgeto-rix* (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* I, 2, 1).
REF: KPV 499ff., LIV 301, LEIA 0-30, LP 386f.

***orgyā** 'testicle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *uirge* [iā f]
PIE: *$h_1$org^{h}i- 'testicle'
COGN: Hitt. *arki-*, Av. *ərəzī-* [Dual], Gr. *órkhis*, Alb. *herdhe* [p], Arm. *orjik^c* [p]
ETYM: The Celtic yā-stem presupposed by OIr. *uirge* probably derives from the original PIE collective, built to the neuter i-stem. A possible cognate in Breton is MBret. *orguet*, MoBret. *orged* 'lascivous' (if it is from PCelt. *orgeto-). Some linguists reconstruct PIE *$h_3$erǵ^{h}i- because of Alb. *herdhe*, but Alb. *h-* can be secondary (Demiraj 1997: 199).
REF: Mallory & Adams 2006: 184, Hamp 1996a, Deshayes 2003: 547.

***osno-** 'ash-tree' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *onn* [? ?] 'pine tree, furze-bush (or ash ?)'; OIr. *uinnius* [ā f] 'ash-tree'
W: MW *onn* [Collective]; *ynn* [p]
BRET: MBret. *ounn, onn* [Collective]
CO: OCo. *onnen* gl. fraxus [Singulative]
PIE: *$h_3$es-n- 'ash-tree' (IEW: 782)

COGN: Lat. *ornus*, OHG *asc*, Lith. *úosis*, Russ. *jásen'*, Alb. *ah* 'beech', Gr. *oksýa* 'beech', Arm. *hac^{c}i*.
ETYM: Celtic shares with Italic and Slavic the suffix *-(e)no- (other languages have *-ko-, or *-sko-). I do not believe the evidence warrants the reconstruction of the PIE root as *h_3eHs-; the acute in Lith. is the result of the secondary BSl. vr̥ddhi (Matasović 2008a: 130ff.).
REF: LEIA U-20, GPC III: 2649, Deshayes 546, LP 24, EIEC 32, Campanile 1974: 84.

***owgro-** 'cold' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *úar* [o] 'cold, cool, ineffective'
W: MW *oer*
CO: OCo. *oir* gl. frigidam
GAUL: *Ogron-* 'a winter month in the Calender of Coligny' (fifth month of the year)
PIE: *$h_3$ewg- 'cold' (IEW: 783)
COGN: Arm. *oyc* 'cold', Latv. *aũksts* 'cold'
SEE: *owxtu- 'cold'
ETYM: The Gaulish form attests to the (late) change of *ow > *ō*. BSl. acute implied by Latv. *aũksts* may be the result of Winter's law.
REF: LEIA U-8f., GPC III: 2624, Delamarre 239f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 228.

***owi-** 'sheep' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *oí* [m]
PIE: *$h_3$ewi- 'sheep' (IEW: 784)
COGN: Luv. *hawi-*, Skt. *ávi-*, Gr. *óis*, Lat. *ouis*, OE *ewe*, Lith. *avìs*, OCS *ovьca*, ToB *awi* [Nom p], Arm. *hoviw* 'shepherd'
SEE: *owīkā 'hind, doe'
ETYM: MIr. *oí* is a rare, poetic word, known chiefly from glossaries and Laws, but cf. OIr. *oegaire* 'shepherd' < *owi-garyo- lit. 'sheep-caller' (see *gar-yo- 'call, cry'. The PIE reconstruction of the word for 'sheep' is disputed (some linguists reconstruct *$h_2$owi-, which is also possible (see the discussion in Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 335ff.).
REF: LEIA O-14, EIEC 510.

***owigno-** 'lamb' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *úan* [o m]
W: MW *oen* [m and f]; *ŵyn* [p]
BRET: MBret. *oen*, MoBret. *oan* [m]
CO: OCo. *oin* gl. agnus, Co. *oan, on*
PIE: *$h_2$eg^{w}no- 'lamb' (IEW: 9)
COGN: Lat. *agnus*, Gr. *amnós*, OE *ēanian*, OCS *agnę*
ETYM: It is impossible to derive the attested forms directly from PIE *$h_2$eg^{w}no-, since this would be reflected as PCelt. **abno-, and the cluster

*bn would be preserved as OIr. *mn*, W *bn* (cf. *obnu- 'fear' > OIr. *omun*, W *ofn*, *dubno- 'world' > W *dufn*). The word initial *o- in Brittonic must be analogical in any case, presumably under the influence of *owi- 'sheep'. OIr. *úan* would derivable from *owino- quite regularly (cf. *fowino- 'foam' > MIr. *úan*), but this would presumably have yielded W **ofyn. However, OIr. *úan* may also reflect *owigno-, which was either dissimilated from *owi-g^{w}no-, or it represents a compound with the suffix *-gno-. This form could then have been changed analogically to *ogno- (under the influence of *abno- < *h$_2$eg^{w}no-?), from which we can derive the Brittonic forms quite regularly. Although some linguists reconstruct the PIE word for 'sheep' as *h$_2$eg^{wh}no- (from which it would be much easier to derive both OIr. *úan* and the Brittonic forms via PCelt. *ag^{w}no- >> *og^{w}no-), this is incompatible not only with Gr. *amnós*, but also with OCS *a-* in *agnę*, which must be due to Winter's law.
REF: LEIA U-7f., GPC III: 2623, Deshayes 2003: 543, EIEC 510, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 258, McCone 1996: 122.

***owīkā** 'hind, doe' [Noun]
W: OW *eguic*, W *ewig* [f]
CO: OCo. *euhig* gl. cerva
PIE: *h$_3$ewi-keh$_2$ 'little sheep' (IEW: 784)
COGN: Skt. *avikā́-*
SEE: *owi- 'sheep'
ETYM: The development of meaning from 'sheep' to 'hind, doe' in Brit. may appear unusual at first glance, but cf. OIr. *oss* 'stag' < PCelt. *uxso-, *uxson- < PIE *uksōn 'ox'.
REF: GPC I: 1262, Zimmer 2000: 509.

***owmā** 'cave'
GOID: OIr. *úam* [ā f] 'cave, den, boar's lair'; *úaim* [i f], *úama* [d f]
PIE: *h$_1$ew-n- 'empty' (IEW: 345)
COGN: Gr. *eũnis* 'deprived', Arm. *unayn*, perhaps OE *wan*
ETYM: The connection with OCS *jama* 'large hole, cave' (LEIA) appears improbable, because we would expect PIE *(y)eh$_{2/3}$m- > OIr. **ám. Therefore, the etymology proposed by Hamp 1985 is to be preferred. The Irish word can be derived from *h$_1$ewn-meh$_2$ regularly. I doubt whether Lat. *uānus*, Skt. *ūná-* 'lacking' belong here, because they point rather to a root ending in a laryngeal (PIE *weh$_2$no-, *uh$_2$no-).
REF: LEIA U-7, Hamp 1985.

***owxs-anatā** 'sigh' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *osnad* [ā f]
W: MW *uchenaid* [f]; *ucheneid(i)au, uchenediau, ucheneidion* [p]
BRET: MBret. *huanat*, MoBret. *huanad* [m] 'sigh'
SEE: *owxso- 'above', *ana- 'breathe'

ETYM: OBret. *huan* 'breath', MoBret. *huan* [m] appear to preserve the underived *owxsano-, which is an old compound of *owxso- 'high' and *an-o- 'breathe'. OIr. *osnad* points to a variant *uxs-anatā, cf. also MIr. *osnam* 'sigh, groan' < *uxs-anamā.
REF: GPC IV: 3697, GOI 526, DGVB 214, Deshayes 2003: 337f.

***owxsV-** 'high' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *úais* 'high, noble'
W: MW *uchaf* 'highest'
CO: Co. *a-ūgh*
GAUL: *Uxisama, Uxama* [Toponyms]
CELTIB: *usama* [PN and Toponym] (Botorrita III)
SEE: *owxselo- 'high, elevated', *owxso- 'above'
ETYM: MW *uchaf*, Gaul. *Uxama* and Celtib. *usama* are feminine forms of superlatives derived with the suffix *-(s)amo- < *-(s)mmo- from this adjective. Gaulish and Celtiberian may preserve the zero-grade of the root (*uxs- rather than *owxs-).
REF: LEIA U-4f., GPC IV: 3692, Villar 1997, MLH V.1: 463f.

***owxselo-** 'high, elevated' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *úasal* [o]
W: MW *uchel*
BRET: OBret. *uchel, uhel*, MBret. *huel, uhel*, MoBret. *uhel*
CO: Co. *huhel*
GAUL: *Uxello-dunum, Uxama* [Toponyms]
PIE: *$h_3$ewp-s- 'high' (IEW: 1107)
COGN: Av. *upara-* 'higher', Gr. *hýpsos* 'height, summit', *hypsēlós* 'high, lofty', Lat. *sup-er* 'above'
SEE: *owxsV- 'high'
ETYM: This adjective is derived from *owxsV- 'high'. Celtic seems to preserve the full grade of the PIE root, while other languages preserve the zero-grade (*$h_3$up-). Lat. *s-* in *super* is secondary (de Vaan 2008: 595).
REF: LEIA U-10, GPC IV: 3693, DGVB 326, Delamarre 330, Deshayes 2003: 755, Sims-Williams 2006: 116f.

***owxsos** 'above' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *ós* [+Dat.] 'above'
W: MW *uch*
BRET: OBret. *uh,* MBret. and MoBret. *uc'h*
CO: Co. *(a) ugh*
GAUL: *(a) uz*
PIE: *$h_3$ewpso- 'above'
COGN: Gr. *hýpsi*
SEE: *owxselo- 'high, elevated'

ETYM: The zero-grade of this PIE root may be preserved in the OIr. preverb *uss-, oss-* 'up, off' < *uxso- (GOI 525). The reflexes of this preverb/preposition may have been mixed up with the reflexes of *usso- < *ud-so- (PIE *ud 'up, off', cf. Skt. *úd*, Russ. *vy-*, OE *ūt*, etc.), but there is otherwise no evidence for PIE *ud in Celtic.
REF: LEIA O-32, GOI 527, Deshayes 2003: 755.

***owxtu-** 'cold' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ócht, úacht* [u m]
PIE: *$h_3$ewǵ- 'be cold' (IEW: 783)
COGN: Lith. *áušti* 'become cold, Arm. *oyc* 'cold'
SEE: *owgro- 'cold'
REF: LEIA 0-7, EIEC 113.

***oxtū** 'eight' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *ocht* [Nasalizing]
W: OW *oith,* MW *wyth*
BRET: OBret. *eith,* MBret. *eiz*, MoBret. *eizh*
CO: Co. *eath*
GAUL: *oxtumetos* 'eighth'
PIE: *$h_3$éktoh$_1$ 'eight' (IEW: 775)
COGN: Skt. *aṣṭáu*, Lat. *octō*, Gr. *oktṓ,* Go. *ahtau*, Lith. *aštuonì*, Alb. *tetë*, ToB *okt*
ETYM: Gaul. *oxtumetos* and OIr. *ochtmad* point to PCelt. ordinal *oxtumeto- 'eighth' (cf. Skt. *aṣṭamá-*).
REF: LEIA O-7, GPC III: 3746, EIEC 100, 402., Falileyev 124f., 153, LHEB 405, Delamarre 246, Deshayes 2003: 212, Schrijver 1995: 350.

***oyget-** 'guest' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *óegi* [t m] 'guest'
PIE: *$h_3$eyg^h- 'go, tread' (IEW 296)
COGN: Gr. *ikhnos* 'footprint, sole', Lith. *eigà* 'path'
ETYM: The meaning 'guest' in Celtic could have developed from 'wanderer, traveller'. The word formation with the suffix *-et- is commonly used in Celtic to derive agent nouns, cf. PCelt. *kenget- 'warrior' (from *keng-o- 'tread, step').
REF: Irslinger 2002: 57, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 370.

***oynāno-** 'alone, personally'
SEE: *oyno- 'one'

***oyno-** 'one' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *óen*
W: OW *un*, MW *un*
BRET: OBret. *un*, MBret. and MoBret. *un*

CO: Co. *un*
PIE: *$h_3$ey-no- 'one' (IEW: 281ff.)
COGN: OLat. *oinos*, Lat. *ūnus,* Gr. *oinḗ* 'one (at dice)', Go. *ains*, OCS *ed-inъ*, Lith. *vienas*
ETYM: Other IE languages form the numeral 'one' from the same root (*$h_3$ey-), but with different suffixes, e.g. *-ko- in Skt. *éka-*, *-wo- in Av. *aiuua-*, etc. In Celtic, there is a derivative *oynāno- 'alone, personally' that can be inferred from OIr. *oénán* and MBret. *unan, onan*, and W *hunan* (with secondary *h-*). Cf. also OIr. *oentu* [d m and f] < *oyno-tūt- (Lat. *ūnitas*). The acute in Lith. *vienas* is unclear, but it hardly justifies positing PIE *$h_3$eyHno- rather than *$h_3$eyno-.
REF: LEIA O-10f., GPC III: 3702ff., DGVB 327, EIEC 12, Falileyev 154, Deshayes 2003: 755.

***oyto-** 'oath' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *oeth* [o m]
W: OW *an-utonau* gl. periuria [p]
PIE: *$h_1$oy-to- 'a going' (IEW: 295)
COGN: OHG *eid* 'oath', ToB *aittanka* 'directed toward'.
ETYM: Presumably, this is a derivative of the root *$h_1$ey- 'to go'; the original meaning of 'oath' in Celtic and Germanic would be 'a going, path'. This could be motivated by the custom of walking between pieces of sacrificed animals to give force to the oath, cf. also Gr. *oĩtos* 'course, fate'.
REF: LEIA O-12, EIEC 408f., Falileyev 8, Benveniste 1969, II, ch. 3.

R

***rād-ī-** 'talk' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *rádid, radid, -radi* 'talks'
W: OW *amraud* 'thought, meditation', W *amrawdd* [m] 'mind'
PIE: *(H)reHd^h- 'perform successfully' (IEW: 59f.)
COGN: Skt. *rādh-* 'perform successfully', OCS *raditi* 'take care of, work', Go. *rodjan* 'talk', Lith. *rodýti* 'show'
SEE: *ambi-rād-ī- 'think'
ETYM: The Celtic reconstruction *rād-ī- presupposes PIE *(H)roHd^h-, *(H)rHd^h- or *(H)reh$_2$d^h-; the primary meaning of the root may be preserved in Skt. *rādh-*, but the semantic development in separate IE branches is not quite clear. If Lith. *rodýti* is from the same root, the laryngeal might be *h_2, but LIV (s. v. *reh$_1$d^h-) and Mayrhofer (s. v. *rādh-*) reconstruct *h_1 because of Go. *ga-redan* 'to intend, have a plan for', OHG *rātan* 'advise' and the related Germanic words (from *(H)reh$_1$d^h-).

REF: LEIA R-3, Falileyev 6, GPC I: 199.

***rāno-** 'mane' [Noun]
GOID: MoIr. *rón* [o m]; MIr. *róinne, rúainne* [io m] 'a single hair'
W: MW *raun* [m] (GPC *rhawn*)
BRET: MBret. *reun* [m]
CO: Co. *rün*
ETYM: According to Pedersen (I: 49) OIr. *rón* was borrowed from Brittonic, but it is not obvious that it should be. In any case, the IE etymology of the Brittonic words is uncertain. They could, in principle, be connected to PSl. *pormy 'lock (of hair)', Croat. *pràmen*, Cz. *pramen*, Pol. *promień* < PIE *porH-men. PCelt. *frāno- would be regularly derivable from *prHno- or *prHmno- (the development of PIE *-mn- in Celtic is uncertain; all instances of *-mn- in PCelt. are from earlier *-bn-, cf. *obno- 'fear').
REF: LEIA R-42f., GPC III: 3041, Deshayes 2003: 624.

***rāsmiyo-** 'oar'
SEE: *rā-yo- 'row'

***rā-yo-** 'row' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ráïd, -rá*; *reraid, -rera* [Fut.], *rerais, -rerae* [Pret.]
PIE: *h_1reh_1- 'row' (IEW: 338)
COGN: Gr. (Myc.) *e-re-e* 'row', OE *rōwan,* Lith. *irti*
ETYM: OIr. *rámae* [io m, later also ā f and o m] 'oar' probably reflects a similar extension of this root as Lat. *rēmus* 'oar'. Both might be derived from *h_1reh_1-smo- (Lat. *rēmus*) viz. *h_1rh_1-smo- (PCelt. *rāsmo-). PCelt. *rā-yo- presumably preserved the zero-grade of the root (PIE *h_1rh_1-), but note that *h_1roh_1-yo- would have also given the same result (cf. Lat. *fodio* 'dig', also with the o-grade in the present stem typical of verbs denoting physical activities). OE *rōwan* and the related Germanic verbs also presuppose the o-grade.
REF: KPV 529f., LIV 251f., LEIA R-1f., LP 387.

***razd-o-** 'scrape, scratch' [Vb]
W: MW *rathu* (GPC *rhathu*)
BRET: MoBret. *rahein* (Vannetais) 'scrape, shave'
PIE: *(H)reh_2s-$d^h(h_1)$o- 'shear, scratch, shave' (IEW: 854 (*rēd-))
COGN: Lat. *rādo* 'shave'
ETYM: A connection of these words with Germ. *Ratte* 'rat', Eng. *rat*, and the related Germanic words is possible, if their original meaning was 'rodent' vel sim.
REF: KPV 528f., LIV 496, GPC III: 3040.

***rēdi-** 'simple, easy' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *réid* [i] 'simple, easy, flat'

W: OW *ruid* gl. uacuum, W *rhwydd* 'easy, quick'
BRET: OBret. *ruet,* MBret. and MoBret. *rouez*
PIE: *(H)reyd^{h}- 'ride, drive' (IEW: 861)
COGN: OHG *bi-reiti* 'ready'
SEE: *rēd-o- 'ride'
ETYM: If the derivation from PIE *(H)reyd^{h}- 'ride, drive' is correct, the semantic development was from 'riding, driving' to 'ready' (cf. OHG *bi-reiti*, Eng. *ready*) and 'easy, simple'.
REF: LEIA R-17, GPC III: 3112, Deshayes 2003: 634, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 70.

***rēdo-** 'the act of riding, chariot' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ríad* [o n] 'riding, driving, voyage'
W: MW *gorwydd* [m] 'horse'
GAUL: Gallo-Lat. *rēda* (Isidore of Seville) > MLat. *rēda* 'chariot'
SEE: *rēd-o- 'ride'
ETYM: MW *gorwydd* is from *ufo-rēdo- 'a ride'. Cf. also Gallo-Lat. *paraveredus* 'work-horse' (attested in *Codex Iustinianus* X, 48, 12, 2), which is the source of Germ. *Pferd* 'horse', Dutch *paard.*
REF: GPC II: 1506f., LEIA R-26, Delamarre 256.

***rēd-o-** 'ride' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *réidid, -réid*; *reraid* [Pret.]
PIE: *(H)reyd^{h}- 'ride' (IEW: 861)
COGN: OE *rīdan*, Lith. *riedėti* 'roll'
SEE: *ufo-rēdo- 'horse', *rēdi-'simple, easy'
ETYM: Cf. W *rhwyd-hau* 'hurry'. The same root is preserved in PCelt. *ufo-rēdo- 'horse' and, probably, *rēdi- 'simple, easy'.
REF: KPV 535, LEIA R-26.

***rēd-sman-, *rēssman-** 'movement, course' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *réimm* [n n] 'course, movement'
SEE: *rēd-o- 'ride'
ETYM: OIr. *réimm* is the verbal noun of *réidid* (cf. *rēd-o- 'ride').
REF: LEIA R-18, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 551

***regini-** 'hard, stiff'
GOID: OIr. *rigin* [i] 'tough, hard, slow'
W: MW *rein* 'stiff, rigid' (GPC *rhain*)
SEE: *reg-o- 'stretch'
ETYM: The meaning 'hard, stiff' could have developed from 'stretched', which would have been the primary meaning of this adjective (cf. PCelt. *rig-o- 'stretch').
REF: LEIA R-30, GPC III: 3033.

***reg-o-** 'extend, stretch, straighten' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *a-t-raig* 'stands up, rises' (DIL *at-reig*); *-ré* [Subj.], *-ré* [Fut.]; *-recht* [Pret.]; *-recht* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *re* (GPC *rhe*) 'get up, rise'
BRET: OBret. *gurre* 'rise, get up', MBret. *re* 'leads, drives'
GAUL: *regu-c* [1s Pres.] (Chamalières)
PIE: *$h_3$reǵ-o- 'extend, stretch, rule' (IEW: 854ff.)
COGN: Skt. *ṛñjánti* [3p] 'rule', Gr. *orégō* 'extend, stretch', Lat. *rego* 'rule', Go. *rikan* 'to heap up', ME *reken* 'to stoke a fire', ToB *räk-* 'extend, cover'
SEE: *rīg-s 'king', *rig-o- 'extend, stretch'
ETYM: OIr. *at-raig* < *exs-reg-o- (the simplex is unattested in Goidelic). OBret. *gurre* < *ufor-reg-o-. Gaul. *reguc* may end in the particle *-c* < *ke, but Lambert 1994: 157 gives another possible interpretation. He derives it from a noun *regut- corresponding to MIr. *rig* [f], Gen. sg. *riged* 'fore-arm'.
REF: KPV 530ff., GPC III: 3042, DGVB 202, 293, LIV 304f., LEIA R-13f., LP 388f., RIG II.269f.

***rēg-sman- (*rēxsman-)** 'bond' [Noun]
W: OW *ruimmein* [p]
SEE: *rig-o- 'bind'
REF: Falileyev 140.

***rek-o-** 'arrange' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-eirrig* 'repeats, changes'
PIE: *(H)rek- 'set in order' (IEW: 863)
COGN: Go. *-rahnjan* 'calculate', OCS *rešti* 'say', ToB *reki* 'word'
ETYM: OIr. *ad-eirrig* < *ati-feri-rek-o-. This OIr. verb is usually related to PCelt. *reg-o- 'extend'; I follow KPV 536f. in attributing it to PIE *(H)rek- 'set in order'. The semantic development was presumably from 'set in order' to 'repair' and 'repeat', but details are unclear.
REF: KPV 536f., LIV 506, LEIA R-13

***rēk-o-** 'tear apart' [Vb]
W: MW *rwygaw* (GPC *rhwygo*)
BRET: MBret. *roegaff*, MoBret. *roegañ*
PIE: *$h_1$reyḱ- 'crush' (IEW: 858)
COGN: Gr. *ereikō*, Lith. *riẽkti* 'cut (bread)'
ETYM: The palatalized *ḱ is implied by Skt. *riśáti* 'tear off', but I am not sure whether this is from the same root (note also *k* instead of *š* in Lithuanian *riẽkti*).
REF: KPV 535f., LIV504, GPC III: 3115, Deshayes 2003: 631, LP 41.

***remesso-** 'period of time' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *reimes, reimis* [o m]
BRET: MBret. *remsy*, MoBret. *rems* [m]

ETYM: MIr. *reimse* 'time' (DIL, s. v.) is derived from *reimes*. It may be from *remessyā, but the stem formation is uncertain. The etymology of PCelt. *remesso- is problematic; we could start from *remes-to-, a derivative from an s-stem *remos-, and compare PCelt. *rom-ī- 'place, put'. Since *rom-ī- is a causative to *rem- 'be at rest', the semantic development could have been from 'rest, period of rest' to 'time, period of time', but this is not completely persuasive.
REF: LEIA R-17, Deshayes 2003: 621.

***rem(r)o-** 'great, fat, thick' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *remor* [o] 'great, fat'
W: MW *ref* (GPC *rhef*) 'thick, stout, large'
ETYM: OIr. *remor* presupposes *remro-, while MW *ref* can be from *remo-. The IE etymology is unknown.
REF: LEIA R-19, GPC III: 3047, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 233ff.

***rendi-** 'point, peak' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rind* [i m]
BRET: OBret. *gabl-rinn* '*fourche à pointe*, forked branch'
ETYM: The OBret. compound *gablrinn* has the exact parallel in Ir. *gabhal-rind*. It is unclear whether OIr. *rind* [i n] 'star' is originally the same word, or an accidental homonym without etymology. The semantic connection would be clear if stars were mythologically represented as spear-points. A convincing IE etymology is lacking.
REF: LEIA R-232, DGVB 297.

***rēno-** 'large expanse of water' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *rían* [o m] 'sea, ocean, course, route'
GAUL: *Rēnos* > Lat. *Rhēnus* 'Rhine'
PIE: *(H)reyH- 'flow' (IEW: 330)
COGN: Skt. *rī́yate* 'flows', OE *rīð* 'stream', Lat. *rīvus* 'river'
SEE: *riya-tro- 'torrent'
ETYM: Gaul. *rēnos* 'river' is the source of OFr. *rhin* 'stream'. PCelt. *rēno- presupposes PIE *(H)reyH-no-. If Gr. *orī́nō* 'to whirl' is from the same root, the initial laryngeal can be identified as *h_3.
REF: LEIA R-27, Delamarre 257, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 254.

***rentu-** 'thing, matter' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rét* [u m]
PIE: *(H)ren-t- 'possession' (IEW: 865)
COGN: Skt. *rátna-* 'possession, precious object'
ETYM: Quite a speculative etymology, since the reflexes of the PIE root are limited to just two branches, and a metathesis of *nt > *tn* must be assumed in Sanskrit. Mayrhofer (s. v. *rátna-*) leaves the Sanskrit word without a PIE etymology.

REF: LEIA R-22, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 93.

***ret-o-** 'run' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *reithid, -reith*; *reiss, -ré* [Subj.]; *reiss, -ré* [Fut.]; *ráith* [Pret.]; *ressae, -ress* [Pret. Pass.]
W: OW *retit* [3s Pres.], MW *redec*; *red* [3s Pres.] (GPC *rhedeg*)
BRET: MBret. *redec*, MoBret. *redeg*
CO: Co. *resek*
PIE: *(H)reth$_2$- 'run' (IEW: 866)
COGN: Lat. *rota* 'wheel', Skt. *rathá-* 'chariot'
SEE: *roto- 'wheel', *retu- 'course'
ETYM: In Welsh, the element *-reto- > -red* was generalized as a suffix forming abstract nouns (e.g. W *brith-red* [m] 'confusion, strife', cf. Zimmer 2000: 446ff.). Words for 'wheel, chariot' (OIr. *roth*) are also derived from this PIE root.
REF: KPV 538, LEIA R-23, GPC III: 3043, LIV 507, Falileyev 137, Deshayes 2003: 617, Zimmer 2000: 446ff.

***retu-** 'course'
GOID: OIr. *riuth, rith* [u m]
W: MW *red* (GPC *rhed*) [f and m]
BRET: MBret. *red* [m]
CO: Co. *rēs*
SEE: *ret-o- 'run'
REF: LEIA R-34f., GPC III: 3043, Deshayes 2003: 617, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 95, 288.

***rextu-** 'fury, outburst of anger' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *recht* [u m] 'paroxysm, outburst of anger'
ETYM: W *rhaith* 'plunder, booty' adduced by LEIA R-12 seems not to exist. GPC (I: 153) has *anrhaith* [f] 'plunder, booty, foray' which is clearly from the negation *an-* and *rhaith* 'law'. The derivation from PIE *h$_1$rep-tu- (Skt. *rápas* 'wound, lesion', Gr. *eréptomai* 'devour, snatch away', perhaps Hitt. *arpa-* 'bad luck, misfortune', cf. IEW 865) may be possible.
REF: LEIA R-12, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 288.

***rextu-** 'rule, law' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *recht* [u m]
W: MW *reyth* (GPC *rhaith*) [f] 'law, sermon, jury, verdict'
BRET: MBret. *rez, reiz* 'law, rule, arrangement', MoBret. *reizh* [m]
CO: Co. *ryth* 'sex, kind'
GAUL: *Rextu-genos*
CELTIB: *retu-keno* [Gen s, PN] (Bottorita III)
SEE: *reg-o- 'extend, stretch'

ETYM: Gaul. *Rextugenos* and Celtib. *Retukeno* are completely parallel compounds that could be derived from PCelt. *rextu-genos.
REF: LEIA R-12, GPC III: 3033, EIEC 485, Deshayes 2003: 619, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 291, Meid 1994: 45f., Meid 2005: 125f., MLH V.1: 302f.

***rīg-** 'king' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rí* [g m], Ogam *VOTECO-RIGAS*
W: OW *ri,* MW *ri* [m] (GPC *rhi*)
GAUL: *Rigomagus* [Toponym], *Catu-rix* [PN]
CELTIB: *Teiuo-reikis* [PN] (K.6.1)
PIE: *(H)rēǵ- 'king' (IEW: 855)
COGN: Skt. *rā́j-*, Lat. *rēx*
SEE: *rīganī 'queen'
ETYM: Celtib. *Teiuoreikis* is interpreted as a compound name parallel to Gaul. *Devorix*. However, the spelling *-ei-* in *-reikis* is unclear, since Celtib. *-ei-* is usually from PCelt. *ē (< PIE *ey) rather than from PCelt. *ī (the exact reflex of which in Celtib. is not quite certain, although *i* is expected). Moreover, the ending *-is* looks like the Nom. sg. of an i-stem, rather than of a consonant stem. On the PIE side of this etymology, there have been some justified doubts about the existence of the PIE word for 'king' (see Matasović 2004: 85 and the literature quoted there). Perhaps PIE *(H)rēǵs meant 'power, force', or something similar.
REF: LEIA R-25, GPC III: 3065, EIEC, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 30ff., 177, Delamarre 261, McCone 1998, Schrijver 1995: 193, Jordán Cólera 1998: 21, Matasović 2004: 85, Ziegler 1994: 115, Sims-Williams 2006: 102f., MLH V.1: 371f.

***rīganī** 'queen' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rígain* [ī f]
W: MW *riein* [f] 'young girl, virgin' (GPC *rhiain*)
GAUL: *rigani* (Lezoux)
PIE: *(H)rēǵnih$_2$ 'queen' (IEW: 856)
COGN: Skt. *rā́jñī-*, Lat. *rēgīna*
SEE: *rīg- 'king'
ETYM: Cf. also Gaul. theonym *Rigina* (CIL XIII 6021, Ingwiller). PIE *(H)rēǵnih$_2$ should have given OIr. **rín, so we must assume that Celtic generalized the stem *rīgan- from the oblique cases (e.g. the PIE Gen. sg. *(H)rēǵnyeh$_2$-s > *rīganyās, where the development *-Cny- > *-Cany- would be regular).
REF: LEIA R-20, GPC III: 3065, EIEC 280, 329, Lambert 1994: 145f., Delamarre 258, McCone 1998.

***rig-o-** 'bind' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *con-rig* 'binds together'; *con-ré* [Subj.]; *con-rir* [Fut.]; *con-reraig* [Pret.]; *con-recht* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *gwarwy* 'play' (GPC *gwarwy, gwary*)
BRET: MBret. *hoari* 'play'
CO: Co. *guariow* [p] 'games'
GAUL: *regu* (Lezoux) [1 s Pres.]
PIE: *(H)reyǵ- 'bind, reach' (IEW: 861)
COGN: Lat. *rigeo* 'be stiff', MHG *ricken* 'bind', OHG *reihhen* 'reach', OE *raec(e)an* 'reach', Lith. *réižti* 'stretch, tighten', *ráižytis* 'keep stretching'
ETYM: OIr. *con-rig* < *kom-rig-o-, MW *gwarwy* and MBret. *hoari* < *ufo-rig-o-; cf. the parallel compounds OIr. *cuimrech* 'binding' and MoBret. *kevre* < *kom-rigā-(ko-). This verb should be distinguished from the homonym PCelt. *rig-o- 'stretch'. Lith. *réižti* has the acute by Winter's law.
REF: GPC II: 1589, KPV 546ff., LIV 503.

***rig-o-** 'go' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *rigaid, -riga, -rega* 'will go' [Fut. of *téit* 'goes']; *eirgg* 'go' [Impv.]
PIE: *h_1erg^h- 'go' (IEW: 326ff.)
COGN: Gr. *érkhomai* 'go', *orkhéomai* 'dance', Alb. *erdha* 'I came'
ETYM: The PCelt. form points to PIE *$h_1rǵ^h$-o-, with the zero-grade of the root. Gr. *érkhomai* and *orkhéomai* are usually compared to Skt. *ṛghāyáti* 'tremble', but Mayrhofer (s. v. *ṛghāy-*) doubts this etymology. Since the Greek words have also been derived from PIE *$h_1$er- 'rise' (Gr. *órnymi*, Lat. *orior* < *$h_1$or-, etc.) with the present-stem suffix *sḱ-, it is possible that the Celtic words are actually unrelated, and that they should be derived from the root *$h_3$reǵ- 'extend, stretch' > PCelt. *rig-o- and *reg-o-. The semantic evolution would be from 'extend (one's legs)' to 'step' and 'walk, go'.
REF: KPV 549ff, LIV 238f., LP 399ff., LEIA R-15f.

***rig-o-** 'stretch' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *rigid, -rig* 'stretches'; *réiss, -ré*; *riris, -rir* [Fut.]; *reraig* [Pret.]; *rechtae, -recht* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *$h_3$reǵ- 'extend, stretch' (IEW: 854ff.)
COGN: Skt. *ṛ́jyate* 'extends itself', Gr. *orégō* 'extend, stretch', Lat. *rego* 'rule', Go. *rikan* 'to heap up', ME *reken* 'to stoke a fire', ToB *räk-* 'to extend, to cover'
SEE: *reg-o- 'extend, stretch'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *do-rig* 'to lay bare' < *to-rig-o- and, perhaps, OIr. *ringid* 'to torture' < *ri-n-g-o- (an infixed present formation with the original meaning 'to stretch'). Some linguists, e.g. McCone (1991), prefer to derive OIr. *rigid* from a Narten-type present (from PIE *h_3rēǵ- 'extend', with the lengthened grade), but I believe the evidence for this present type is insufficient both in Celtic and elsewhere (see de Vaan 2004). PCelt. *rig- can be from the PIE zero-grade *h_3rǵ-. MBret. *renaff* 'lead, govern',

MoBret. *renañ* may also be from this root, but they have also been plausibly interpreted as denominative verbs built to OFr. *ren* 'reign' (Deshayes 2003: 621).
REF: KPV 543f., LIV 503, LEIA R-13f., Delamarre 256, Deshayes 2003: 621.

***rīmā** 'number, count' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rím* [ā f]
W: MW *rif* [m] (GPC *rhif*)
BRET: OBret. *ri(m)* gl. summa, MoBret. *riñv* [m]
CO: Co. *ryvow* [p] 'numbers', Co. *ryf*
PIE: *$h_2$reyH- 'count' (IEW: 60)
COGN: Gr. *arithmós* 'number', OE *rím* 'number, calculation', ToB *yärm* 'measure'
ETYM: PGerm. *rīman 'number', from which OE *rím* is derived, could be a loanword from Celtic (Orel 2003: 305). The lack of the reflex of the second laryngeal in Greek is puzzling. Maybe the second laryngeal was lost by dissimilation, especially if it was *h_2 (*$h_2$erih$_2$- > *$h_2$eri-).
REF: LEIA R-30f., GPC III: 3069, DGVB 296, Deshayes 2003: 628, EIEC 397, LP 6, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 246.

***ri-na-** 'count, sell, exchange' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *renaid* 'sells, exchanges'; *rieid, -ria* [Subj.]; *ririd, -rir* [Fut.]; *rir* [Pret.]; *ríthae, -ríth* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *$h_2$reyH- 'count' (IEW: 60f. (*ari-))
COGN: Gr. *árithmos* 'number', *nḗritos* 'countless', Lat. *rītus* 'religious observances'
SEE: *rīmā 'number'
ETYM: Another possibility is to relate these words to OIr. *ernaid* 'bestow', cf. PCelt. *far-na-.
REF: KPV 551f., LEIA R-19f.

***ri-n-g-o-** 'torture' [Vb]
SEE: *rig-o- 'stretch'

***rinno-** 'quick, fast' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *renn* [o] 'quick, swift', substantivized *rend, renn* 'foot, leg'
W: MW *rin* (GPC *rhyn*) 'unyielding, stiff, brave, fierce, cold'
CO: Co. *rynny* 'trembling'
PIE: *$h_3$reyH- 'flow'
COGN: Skt. *riṇā́ti* 'makes flow', Gr. *orī́nō* 'whirl', OHG *rinnan* 'run', OCS *rějati* 'flow'
ETYM: The range of meanings of the reflexes of the assumed PCelt. *rinno- is considerable, so it is possible that two different etyma became confused. The origin of the geminate *-nn- is unknown. The usual derivation

from *rinwo- is impossible, since *-nw- is preserved as OIr. *-nb-*, cf. OIr. *menb* < *menwo- 'small'. It seems probable, however, that the PIE root is *HreyH- 'flow'. A derivative from this root *HriH-n-do- would have given *rīndo- and then, by Osthoff-like shortening, *rindo- > *rinno-. The meanings 'to flow' and 'to run, flee' are often expressed by a single verb, cf. OCS *tešti* and Croat. *tèći* 'flow, run'.
REF: LEIA R-20, GPC III: 3140, LIV 271f.

***riya-tro-** 'torrent, waterfall' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ríathor* [o m] gl. torrens
W: OW *reatir* [p] gl. torrentum, MW *rhaeadr* [f and m] (GPC *rhaeadr, rheadr*); *reydr* [p]
SEE: *rēno- 'large expanse of water'
ETYM: The PCelt. form is derivable from the zero-grade of the PIE root *(H)riHetro- (for cognates in other IE languages see *rēno- 'large expanse of water'). Note that *(H)reyHtro- would give PCelt. *rētro- (> MW **rwydr), while *(H)riHtro- would be reflected as PCelt. *rītro- (OIr. **ríthor). This could mean that we have to posit the suffix *-etro- rather than the more usual *-tro-. Another possibility is that *-atro- was introduced analogically from other roots in which *-H- > *a is regular (cf. *aratro- < *h_2erh_3-tro- 'plow', *taratro- < *$terh_2$-tro- 'auger').
REF: LEIA R-28, GPC III: 2997, Falileyev 135, LHEB 337, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 309, Schrijver 1995: 258, 385, McCone 1996: 52.

***rom-ī-** 'place, put' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fo-ruimi, -fuirmi* (in MIr. as simplex *fuirid*)
PIE: *$h_1$rem- 'be still' (IEW: 864)
COGN: Skt. *rámate* 'places oneself, stops', Gr. *ēréma* 'quiet', Go. *rimis* 'rest', Lith. *rìmsta* 'becomes quiet'
SEE: *remesso- 'period of time'
ETYM: OIr. *fo-ruimi* < *ufo-rom-ī-, presumably a causative to unattested *rem- 'be at rest'. The semantic development would have been from 'put to rest' to 'place, put'. The acute in Lith. *rìmsta* is the result of regular metatony in sta-presents, and does not presuppose a laryngeal in the root.
REF: LEIA R-31.

***roto-** 'wheel, chariot' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *roth* [o m]
W: MW *rot, rod* [f] (GPC *rhod*)
BRET: MBret. *rot*, X
[f]
CO: MoCo. *rôs*
GAUL: *Roto-magus* [Toponym] > *Rouen*
PIE: *(H)roth$_2$o- 'wheel' (IEW: 866)
COGN: Skt. *rátha-* 'chariot', Lat. *rota,* OHG *rad*, Lith. *rataĩ* 'chariot'

SEE: *ret-o- 'run'
ETYM: Originally from the root *(H)reth$_2$- 'to run' (PCelt. *ret-o-); the wheel is conceived of as 'the runner'.
REF: LEIA R-45f., GPC III: 3083, Deshayes 2003: 631, EIEC 98, 491, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 45, 525, Matasović 2004: 114, Delamarre 262.

***rowd-smon-** 'red dye' [Noun]
SEE: *rowdo- 'red'

***rowdo-** 'red' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *rúad* [o], ? Ogam *ROD-AGNI*
W: OW *rud,* W *rhudd*
BRET: OBret. *rud* gl. rufus, MoBret. *ruz*
CO: OCo. *rud* gl. ruber, Co. *ruth, ruyth*
GAUL: *Roudius* [PN]
PIE: *h$_1$rewd^h- 'red' (IEW: 872)
COGN: Skt. *rudhirá-,* Lat. *ruber,* Gr. *erythrós*, OE *réad*
ETYM: Another derivative from this root in Celtic, but probably with PIE pedigree, is OIr. *rúam* 'red dye' < PCelt. *rowd-smon-, cf. Stifter 1998. Cf. also Gallo-Lat. *rodarum* 'a plant with red leaves' (Pliny) and OIr. *rú* (Dat. sg. *roid*) 'red dye'. OIr. *ruis* [f] 'holly; name of the letter *r* in Ogam' has could reflect PCelt. *russi- < *h$_1$rud^h-ti-, while OIr. *rus* [u m] 'face, cheeks' has been derived from *russu- < *h$_1$rud^h-tu- (Irslinger 2002: 124f.).
REF: LEIA R-47, GPC III: 3099, EIEC 481, Delamarre 263, Deshayes 2003: 637, Falileyev 139, Campanile 1974: 91, Stifter 1998: 208f., Ziegler 1994: 115, Irslinger 2002: 213, 124f.

***rowesyā** 'field, open ground' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *róe* [iā, f] 'level piece of ground, battlefield'
PIE: *(H)rewHos- 'open space' (IEW: 874)
COGN: Lat. *rūs* 'village, countryside', Av. *rauuah-*, OE *rūm* 'space, room'
ETYM: It seems probable that we have to start from a PIE s-stem *(H)rewos / *(H)rewes-os (cf. Lat. *rūs*). This could have first given *rowes- (with PCelt. *ew > ow) and hence PCelt. *rowesyā.
REF: LEIA R-38f., EIEC 534, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 205.

***rowk(k)-/*ruk-** 'tunic, mantle'
GOID: MIr. *rucht*
W: W *rhuch, rhuchen* [f] 'film, pellicle, layer, jerkin, coat'
PIE: *(H)rewk- 'garment' (?)(IEW: 874)
COGN: OHG *rocko* 'overcoat', OE *rocc* 'upper garment', ON *rokkr* 'jerkin'
ETYM: The words attested in Celtic are not perfect matches, but they must be related. MIr. *rucht* probably represents PCelt. *ruxtu- (it is not well attested), while W *rhuch* must be from *rowkkā. The Germanic correspondences point to PGerm. *rukkaz (Orel 2003: 308), cf. also OCS

ruxo 'garment', which may be from *rowk-so-. Vacillations in vocalism and consonantism, as well as the fact that correspondences are limited to Germanic, probably point to a borrowing from some unknown source.
REF: LEIA R-50.

***rowtro-** 'assault, onrush' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *rúathar* [o m, perhaps originally n]
W: MW *ruthyr* (GPC *rhuthr*) [m] 'rush, attack, invasion'
PIE: *$h_3$rew- 'hurry, rush'
COGN: Lat. *ruo*, Gr. *oroúō*
REF: LEIA R-49, GPC III: 3106.

***royno-** 'route, road' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *roen* [o m] (DIL *róen, ráen*)
BRET: OBret. *runt,* MoBret. *run* [f] 'mound'
PIE: *(H)royno- '? landmark' (IEW: 857)
COGN: OHG *rein* 'demarcation line on the ground', ON *rein* 'strip of land'
ETYM: Although formally impeccable, this etymology is weak on the semantic side. However, according to DIL, *róen (ráen)* "is used loosely of surfaces, spaces and in other derived senses", cf. MoIr. *ráon na slíabh* 'the range of the mountains'. The original sense may have been 'landmark', *vel sim.*
REF: LEIA R-39, Deshayes 2003: 636.

***rud-ī-** 'redden, become red' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *ruidid, -ruidi*
PIE: *$h_1$rewd^h- 'red' (IEW: 872f.)
COGN: Lat. *rubeo* 'be red', OHG *rotēn* 'be red', OCS *rъděti*
SEE: *rowdo- 'red'
ETYM: PCelt. *rud-ī- is from PIE stative *$h_1$rud^{h}eh_1-, completely parallel to Lat. *rubēre*, OCS *rъděti*, etc.
REF: KPV 553, LIV 508f., Stifter 1998: 210.

***rūnā** 'secret, magic' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rún* [ā f] 'mystery, secret'
W: MW *rin* [m and f] 'mystery, charm' (GPC *rhin*)
BRET: MBret. *rin* [m] 'secret, wisdom'
CO: Co. *Rin-duran* [PN]
GAUL: *Cob-runus* (?) [PN]
LEP: *Runatis* (?) [PN]
PIE: *(H)rewH- (IEW: 867)
COGN: Go. *rūna* 'secret'
ETYM: Gaul. *Cobrunus*, if related at all, reflects *kom-rūno-. The Germanic words for 'secret' and 'runes' could be early loanwords from Celtic, in which case PCelt. *rūno- is isolated in Indo-European. I find the

connection of these words to Skt. *ráuti* 'roars', OCS *ruti* 'roar', etc. (IEW 867) difficult to believe for semantic reasons. The connection with Gr. *eréō* 'ask' is also unlikely, since this is from *h_1rh_1-ye- (LIV 224, cf. Hitt. *ariye-* 'ask an oracle'). Both Germanic and Celtic words may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA R-53f., GPC III: 3075, Deshayes 2003: 628, Ellis Evans 1967: 183, Delamarre 123.

***ru-n-d-o-** 'paint red' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *rondaid, -roind*; *róiss, -ró* [Subj.]; *roraid* [Pret.]; *rossae, -ross* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *h_1rewd^h- 'red' (IEW: 872f.)
COGN: Gr. *ereúthō* 'paint red'
SEE: *rud-ī- 'redden'
REF: KPV 553f., LIV 508f.

***rūsk(l)o-, *rusko-** 'bark' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rúsc* [o m] gl. cortex
W: MW *risgl* [m] (GPC *rhisgl, rhisg*)
BRET: MBret. *rusquenn*, MoBret. *rusk* [Collective] 'bark', *ruskenn* 'beehive'
CO: OCo. *rusk* gl. cortex, MCo. *risc*
GAUL: *rusca* (MLat. > Fr. *ruche* 'beehive')
ETYM: Gaul. *rusca* is actually attested only indirectly, via the Medieval Latin (9th century) loanword *rusca* 'beehive'. It is possible that some of the Brittonic forms (with -u-) were borrowed from Goidelic, or Romance, in the prehistoric period. The vocalism of OIr. *rúsc* is probably original, though DIL states that it was borrowed from Brittonic. If it is inherited from PIE, then perhaps PCelt. *rūsko- should be analyzed as *rū-sko- and related to ON *rýja* 'shear (of sheep), OCS *ryti* 'dig', Lat. *ruo* 'dig out', ToB *ru-* 'pull out', etc. (PIE *HrewH-, LIV 461, IEW 868). The original meaning would have been 'that which is plucked, scratched, sheared'. OIr. *rúsc*, etc. would then be substantivized adjectives (similar formations are well attested in Celtic, cf. *trussko- 'dirty', *brisko- 'weak', perhaps also *dolisko- 'seaweed').
REF: LEIA R-54, GPC III: 3079, Delamarre 264, Deshayes 2003: 637, Gamillscheg 784.

***ruxtu-** 'noise' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *rucht* [? u]
PIE: *(H)rewk- 'cry, make noise' (IEW: 867)
COGN: Latv. *rùkt*, OCS *rykati*
ETYM: The gender and stem formation of MIr. *rucht* are uncertain, and the word is not very well attested, so this etymology is quite problematic. OCS *rykati* represents a Balto-Slavic vṛddhi formation; words with similar

meaning with the voiced stop adduced by IEW (p. 867, e.g. Lat. *rūgio*, Gr. *ṓrygma*, Russ. *rugát'*, etc.) probably belong to another root, also onomatopoetic.
REF: LEIA R-50.

S

***sādo-** 'easy' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *asse* [io]
W: MW *hawdd*; *haws* [Comparative]
ETYM: As shown by Hamp (1974: 281), OIr. *asse* goes back to *ad-sād-syo- 'very easy' (with the intensive prefix *ad-), cf. also the irregular W comparative *haws* < *sād-so-. OIr. *annse* 'difficult' contains the productive negative prefix *an-*.
REF: LEIA A-96, Hamp 1974.

***sag-yo-** 'seek' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *saigid, -saig*; *sáiss, -sá* [Subj.]; *sieis, -sia* [Fut.]; *siacht* [Pret.]; *sachtae, -sacht* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *seh$_2$g- 'search, follow tracks' (IEW: 876f.)
COGN: Hitt. *sāgāi-* 'omen', Gr. *hēgéomai* 'direct, lead', Lat. *sāgio* 'perceive', *sāgus* 'prophetic', Go. *sokjan* 'seek'
ETYM: The Brittonic parallels are denominatives, cf. W *haeddu* 'attempt', Co. *hethy, hedhy,* MBret. *dir-haes*. The Gaulish ethnonym *Tecto-sagi* is probably also related (the name would mean 'house-seekers'), as well as the PN *Curmi-sagius* ('beer-seeker'?) attested in Pannonia (Meid 2005: 152). Cf. also Gaul. *sagitiontias* (Larzac), where we may have the attestation of the 3p Pres. of the verb 'to seek' in Gaulish. Cf. also Galatian ethnonym *Rigósages*.
REF: GPC II: 1803, KPV 555ff., LIV 520, LEIA S-9ff., LP 391f., Delamarre 265, Meid 2005: 152, Freeman 2001: 22, Sims-Williams 2006: 104ff.

***sakro-** 'ugly' (?) [Adj]
W: MW *hagr* 'ugly'
BRET: MBret. *hagr* 'ugly'
CO: Co. *hager* 'ugly'
GAUL: *Sacro-bena* [PN]
PIE: *sh$_2$k-ro- 'consecrated' (IEW: 878)
COGN: Lat. *sacer* 'holy, consecrated', Hitt. *sāklāi* 'custom, rites', perhaps ToB *sākre* 'happy'

ETYM: If related, the Gaulish PN *Sacrobena* would have to mean 'ugly woman', hardly a very appealing name for a girl. Celtib. *sankilistara* (Botorrita I) may mean 'money-fine', but it is very dubious whether it belongs here. Wodtko (MLH V.1: 316f.) considers the meaning of this word as unknown. Since the meaning of the IE cognates is 'sacred, consecrated' rather than 'ugly', we have to suppose that the original meaning in Celtic was 'consecrated to infernal, malevolent deities', hence 'ugly', see Delamarre 264f. and Deshayes 2003: 319. The full grade of the PIE root (*seh_2k-) is attested in Lat. *sācer, sācris* 'worthy to be sacrificed' (de Vaan 2008: 532).
REF: GPC II: 1811, Delamarre 264f., Deshayes 2003: 319, Schrijver 1991: 97, 144, Schrijver 1995: 383, MLH V.1: 316.

***salā** 'dirt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sal* [ā f] 'filth, impurity'
W: OW *halou* gl. stercora; OW *halauc* 'dirty', W *halog*
BRET: OBret. *haloc* gl. (in ueste) lugubri
COGN: OE *salu* 'dirty'
ETYM: W *halog* and OBret. *haloc* have the exact parallel in OIr. *salach* 'dirty' < *salāko-. Some linguists derive this word from the PIE root *seh_2l- 'salt', but I find this dubious on semantic grounds. A connection with Lat. *salīua* 'saliva' is possible, but also not wholly convincing.
REF: LEIA S-16, GPC II: 1816, DGVB 206, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 51, 58, Matasović 2004: 130.

***salano-** 'salt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *salann* [o ?] gl. sal
W: MW *halen* [m] (GPC *halen, halaen*)
BRET: MBret. *holen, halen* [m]
CO: Co. *haloin*
PIE: *seh_2l 'salt' (*sh_2l-os [Gen s]) (IEW: 878)
COGN: Lat. *sāl*, Gr. *háls*, Go. *salt*, Lith. dial. *sólymas* 'saltpan', OCS *solь*
ETYM: It is difficult to reconcile the attested forms with a single proto-form. The Brit. words can be derived from PCelt. *saleno- < *sh_2l-eno-, while OIr. *salann* points to a PIE derived stem *sh_2l-Hno- > PCelt. *salano-*. The simplex may be reflected in W *hâl*, MoBret. *hal* 'salty water, saline' (Deshayes 2003: 320), but it might also be a back-formation (under the influence of Lat. *sāl*?). The full grade of the PIE root is preserved in MIr. *sál* [o m] 'sea, ocean, seawater' < *sālo- < *seh_2l-o-.
REF: LEIA S-18, GPC II: 1816, EIEC 498, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 130.

***salik-** 'willow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sail* [k f] gl. salix
W: MW *helyg* [p], *helygen* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *halek*, MoBret. *haleg* [m and Collective]

CO: Co. *helyk*
GAUL: *Salico-genne* [Dat. PN]
PIE: *sh_2elik- 'willow' (IEW: 879)
COGN: Lat. *salix*, OHG *salaha*
ETYM: Because of their vocalism, these words are difficult to reconcile with Gr. *helíkē* 'willow'. Maybe one should reconstruct *selHik-, and derive the Italic and Celtic words from the zero-grade *slH-ik- (*ClHV- > *CalV- in Celtic is regular). The Germanic word for 'willow' may be a prehistoric loanword from Celtic. In any case, the shape of this root looks non-Indo-European, so it is probably an early borrowing from some unknown source.
REF: LEIA S-13, GPC II: 1846, EIEC 643, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 179, Delamarre 265, Deshayes 2003: 321.

***saltro-** 'trampling' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *saltraid* 'tramples'
W: MW *sathr* [m] 'trampling'
BRET: MBret. *sautr, saotr* 'trampled, polluted'
PIE: *sh_2l- 'jump' (IEW: 899)
COGN: Lat. *salio*, Gr. *hállomai*, ToA *salat* 'flying'
ETYM: OIr. *saltraid* is a denominative verb from unattested *saltar, cf. also W *sathru* 'to trample'. For the development of *ltr in W cf. *altrawon- > W *athro* 'teacher'. The reconstruction of the PIE root is problematic. LIV reconstructs *sel-, but *slt- would yield PCelt. *slit- rather than *salt-, and *sly- would probably yield Lat. **sol- rather than *sal-*.
REF: LEIA S-19, GPC IV: 3183, Deshayes 2003: 644, LIV 477.

***samali-** 'similitude, description' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *samail* [i f]
W: MW *hafal*
BRET: MBret. *-hemel* [in PN], MBret. *heuel*, MoBret. *heñvel* 'similar'
PIE: *smh_2el- (IEW: 903)
COGN: Lat. *similis* 'similar', Gr. *homalós* 'equal', OHG *simble* 'always', Go. *simle* 'once'
ETYM: The Celtic forms could be derived from a proto-form *$semh_2$li- by Joseph's rule (*ema > *ama), but *smh_2eli- would yield the same result, and this is in better accordance with Lat. *similis*.
REF: LEIA S-21f., GPC II: 1808, EIEC 499, Deshayes 2003: 326, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 51, 499ff.

***samalo-** 'like, as' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *amal* [Aspirating, +Acc.]
W: OW *amal,* MW *val, mal*
BRET: MBret. *hanual*, MoBret. *hañval* 'similar'
CO: Co. *haval* 'similar'
SEE: *samali- 'similitude'

ETYM: Word-initial *s- is lost regularly in clitics in Insular Celtic, cf., e.g. McCone 2006: 64. The stem is the same as in *samali- 'similitude' (PIE *smh$_2$el-) with the thematic vowel.
REF: DGVB 208, GOI 500f., Deshayes 2003: 322, McCone 2006: 64.

***samo-** 'summer' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *sam* [o m]
W: OW *ham,* MW *haf* [m]
BRET: OBret. *ham*, MBret. *haff*, MoBret. *hañv*
CO: OCo. *haf* gl. estas
GAUL: *Samo-gnatius* [PN]
PIE: *sem- 'warm season, summer' (IEW: 905)
COGN: Skt. *sámā-* 'season, year', Khot. *hamāna-* 'summer', OE *sumor* 'summer', Arm. *am* 'year', ToA *ṣme* 'summer'
ETYM: Cf. also Gaul. toponym *Samaro-briva Ambianorum*, perhaps from an adjectival derivative *sam-aro- (Sims-Williams 2006: 106). For W *Mehefyn,* MoBret. *Mezeven* 'June' see *medyo- 'middle'. The vocalism in PCelt. *samo- probably presupposes PIE *smHo-.
REF: LEIA S-19, GPC II: 1808, DGVB 206, EIEC 504, LHEB 513, Falileyev 81, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 36, 47, 252, Delamarre 266, Deshayes 2003: 321, Campanile 1974: 61, Sims-Williams 2006: 107.

***sāmo-** 'calm, easy, pleasant' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *sám* [o]
PIE: *somo- 'same' (IEW: 902)
COGN: Skt. *sāmaná-* 'calm', OCS *samъ* 'alone'
SEE: *somo- 'same'
ETYM: Cf. also MIr. *sámae* [iā f] 'peace, tranquility' < *sāmyā. If this etymology is correct, PCelt. *sāmo- would be a vṛddhi formation based on *somo- 'same' (PIE *sōmo-, cf. OCS *samъ*; the existence of Skt. *sāmaná-* is somewhat doubtful, cf. Mayrhofer II: 724); the underlying root is *sem- 'one' (Gr. *hén*). However, the semantic side of the connection leaves much to be desired.
REF: LEIA S-20, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 39.

***samo-sisk^{w}ī** 'heifer, sterile cow' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *samaisc* [ī f]
W: W *Hafesp* [Hydronym]
BRET: MBret. *hanvesk, hanveskenn* 'sterile cow', MoBret. *hañvesk* 'sterile'
SEE: *samo- 'summer', *sisk^{w}o- 'dry, sterile'
ETYM: An old compound; the original meaning was preserved in W *Hafesp* ('dry in summer') and MoBret., where *hanvesk* denotes a cow that remained sterile during the summer. However, final *-k* in Breton is unexpected: maybe the word was borrowed from Goidelic, or an early delabialization of *k^{w} must be assumed (LEIA S-23).

REF: LEIA S-23, Deshayes 2003: 321.

***samoni-** 'assembly, (feast of the) first month of the year' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *samain* '(assembly on the) 1st of November' [i f]
GAUL: *samon-* (Coligny)
PIE: *smHon- 'reunion, assembly' (IEW: 905)
COGN: Skt. *samāná-* 'together', Go. *samana* 'together'
ETYM: The Gaulish form, occurring in the Coligny Calender, is abbreviated; it can be reconstructed either as Nom. s. *samonios, or as *samonos (or *samonis), if it is the Gen. sg. The original meaning of *samoni- would be 'assembly of the living and the dead' (Delamarre 267), cf. also OIr. *bech-samain* 'bee-swarm'. The development of *smH- > *sam- in Celtic is regular (laryngeals were lost after the development of syllabic resonants).
REF: LEIA S-22f., EIEC 646, Delamarre 267

***sanesto-** '(secret) advice' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *sanas, sanais* [m and f] 'whisper, secret advice, counsel'
W: MW *hanes* [m and f] 'history, secret'
CO: Co. *hanas, hanys* 'sigh'
ETYM: In the light of the comparison with W *hanes*, MIr. Nom. sg. *sanais* is presumably older than *sanas*, but the original stem-formation cannot be established (both Gen. sg. *sanaise* and *sanais* occur). The IE etymologies mentioned in LEIA S-24 and IEW 1047 are too speculative. The connection with PCelt. *swan-na- 'sound' is impossible because PCelt. *sw- > W *chw-*. However, if the primary meaning of PCelt. *sanesto- was 'advice' rather than 'whisper', then the connection with the PIE root *sen- 'old' is possible; the semantic development would be from 'wisdom of the elders, ancient lore' > 'advice'. Maybe we should start from PIE *sn-Hes-to- which would give PCelt. *sanesto- regularly. But since the word formation of this compound is unclear, this must remain a mere speculation.
REF: LEIA S-24, GPC II: 1819, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 51.

***sani** 'different' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *sain* [i] 'particular, different, distinct'
W: OW *han* gl. alium, W *hân* [m] 'separation'. Also used as a preposition, OW *hanaud* 'from him', MW *ohanaw*
BRET: OBret. *han* 'except, different from', MBret. *a-hanoff* 'from me'
CO: Co. *o-hanaw* 'from him'
PIE: *senH-/snH-i- 'without' (IEW: 907)
COGN: Lat. *sine* 'without', Skt. *sanutár* 'away, aside', Gr. *áneu* 'without', ToA *sne* 'without', Go. *sundro* 'apart', perhaps Hitt. *sanna-^{i}* 'hide, conceal'
ETYM: The Celtic forms, together with Lat. *sine*, presuppose PIE *snHi, which looks like a petrified locative of a root noun. For the sound development cf. PIE *smHeli- > PCelt. *samali- 'similitude'.

REF: LEIA S-14f., GPC II: 1818, DGVB 206, EIEC 24, Falileyev 81.

***san-na-** 'reach'[Vb]
GOID: OIr. *seinnid, -seinn* 'reaches, brings someone to something'; *séiss, -sé* [Subj.]; *sifais, -sif(e)* [Fut.]; *sephaind* [Pret.]; *séssae, -séss* [Pret. Pass.]
GAUL: *soniti* 'gets' (Lezoux)
PIE: *senh$_2$- 'reach, find, attain' (IEW: 906)
COGN: Hitt. *sanahzi* 'seeks', Skt. *sanóti* 'attains', Gr. *anýō* 'finish'
ETYM: The OIr. preterite *sephaind, sephainn* must be from another verbal stem, *se-swon-e (cf. PCelt. *swan-na- 'sound, play and instrument'), and the future stem *sif-* is also easily reconciled with *si-swen-s-; however, the semantic connection between *san-na- 'reach' and *swan-na- 'sound' should not be accepted too lightly (see KPV 559); there may have been a prehistoric development from 'to reach for' to 'to call' and to 'resound'. Celtib. *uerzoniti* [3sg. Pres.] (Botorrita I) is sometimes adduced under this etymon, but this would be possible only under the assumption that PCelt. *s > Celtib. *z* (perhaps after *r). In any clase, the meaning of this form is quite unclear.
REF: KPV 558ff., LIV 532f., Lambert 1994: 173f., LEIA S-86f., Delamarre 278, Jordán Cólera 1998: 89, 186, MLH V.1: 445f.

***santero-** 'half, middle' [Adj]
SEE: *somo- 'same'

***sāss-ā-** 'satisfy' [Vb]
SEE: *sāti- 'sufficiency, fill'

***sasyo-** 'barley' [Noun]
W: MW *heidd* (GPC *haidd*) [m]
BRET: MBret. *heiz*; *heizen(n)* [Singulative], MoBret. *heiz* [Collective]
CO: Co. *hêth*
GAUL: *(s)asia* (?) 'rye'
PIE: *sh$_1$-s- / *sh$_1$es- 'grain, corn' (IEW: 880)
COGN: Skt. *sasyá-* 'corn-field, corn, grain', Hitt. *sēsa-*
ETYM: Gaul. *asia* is known only from Pliny (*secale Taurini sub Alpibus* asiam *vocant*) and its form is not quite reliably established. Delamarre does not mention it. The PIE root is probably *seh$_1$- 'to sow', but derivations are difficult: the Celtic forms must be from the zero-grade *sh$_1$s-, Skt. *sasyá-* (and Ved. *sasá-* 'food, corn') are from *sh$_1$-es-, while Hitt. *sēsa-* might represent *seh$_1$-s- and *sh$_1$e-s-, but the meaning and formation of this word are somewhat uncertain (Kloekhorst 2008: 749). Perhaps one should reconstruct a PIE neuter *sh$_1$es / *sh$_1$s-os.
REF: GPC II: 1814, Deshayes 2003: 325, Hamp 1985.

***sati-, *satyo-** 'swarm, throng' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *saithe* [io m]

W: MW *heyd* (GPC *haid*) [f]; *heidiau* [p] 'a swarm (of bees), flock, pack (of hounds)'
BRET: MBret. *het,* MoBret. *hed* [m]
CO: Co. *hês*
PIE: *sh_1-ti- (IEW: 890)
SEE: *sīlo- 'seed'
ETYM: OIr. *saithe* is from PCelt. *satyo-, but the Brittonic forms point to an i-stem, *sati-, which may be primary. The PIE root is *seh_1- 'sow' (Lat. *sero*, etc.). A different etymology derives these words from PIE *seh_2- 'have one's fill', cf. Gr. *áatos* 'insatiable', Germ. *satt* 'full, satiated', Lat. *satis* 'enough' (IEW 876, see also Watkins 1979). If it is correct, the meaning 'swarm' must be derived through a metaphor 'satiety of bees' for which Watkins adduces some evidence.
REF: LEIA S-16, GPC II: 1813, Deshayes 2003: 324, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 445, 527, Watkins 1979: 191-194.

***sāti-** 'sufficiency, fill' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sáth, sáith* [ā f (earlier ? i-stem)]
PIE: *seh_2-t- 'sufficient' (IEW: 876)
COGN: Lat. *satis* 'enough', Lith. *sótis* 'sufficiency', Go. *ga-sobjan* 'satisfy'
ETYM: From the same root we also have OIr. *sásaid* 'satisfies, feeds' (< PCelt. *sāss-ā- < *seh_2t-t-) and, perhaps, *sás* [o m] 'snare, implement' < *seh_2t-to-. We should start from a PIE ablauting paradigm *seh_2ti- / *sh_2tey-. The Celtic forms preserve the full grade, while Lat. *satis* must be from *sh_2ti-. The ā-stem in OIr. must be secondary.
REF: LEIA S-15f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 294, 527.

***sāwol- / *sūli-** 'sun' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *súil* [i f] 'eye'
W: MW *haul* [m and f]
BRET: OBret. *houl,* MBret. *heuul, heul*
CO: OCo. *heuul* gl. sol, MCo. *houl*
PIE: *seh_2wōl 'sun'
COGN: Skt. *sū́rya-*, Gr. *hḗlios*, Lat. *sōl,* Go. *sauil*, Lith. *sáulė*
ETYM: The change of meaning in OIr. is understandable from the mythological context. 'Sun' is viewed as 'the eye of the Sky'. It appears that there was still an ablauting paradigm in PCelt., Nom. sg. *sāwol, Gen. *sūl-os, from which OIr. *súil* was abstracted. Another possibility would be to start with *sh_2wōl- > *saūl- (with the regular change of *ō > *ū in the final syllable), thence *sūl-.
REF: LEIA S-201, GPC II: 1826, DGVB 214, LP 12, EIEC 188, 438, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 72, Campanile 1974: 63, Matasović 2004: 98, 102

***saytlo-** 'age, lifetime' [Noun]
W: MW *hoedl, hoedyl* [f] (GPC *hoedl, hoeddl*)

BRET: OBret. *hoidl, hoedl,* MBret. *hoazl*, MoBret. *hoal* [m]
GAUL: *Setlo-cenia* [Theonym]
PIE: *seh$_2$i-tlo- (IEW: 889f.)
COGN: Lat. *saeculum, saeclum* 'life-span, generation'
ETYM: The Celtic forms are parallel to Lat. *saeculum*, and the meanings are close. The original meaning of the PIE root *seh$_2$i- was 'link, bind' (Watkins 1995: 351), cf. Hitt. *ishai^{i}* 'bind', Skt. *sināti* 'binds'.
REF: LEIA S-12f., GPC II: 1883, Delamarre 272f., Deshayes 2003: 333, Watkins 1995: 351.

***saytro-** 'work, labour' [Noun]
SEE: *saytu- 'labour, illness'

***saytu-** 'labour, illness' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *saeth* [u m] 'trouble, hardship, distress'
W: MW *hoed* [m] 'pain, regret'
PIE: *sh$_2$ey-tu- (IEW: 877)
COGN: Hitt. *sāi^{zi}* 'to become sullen, angry', Lat. *saeuus* 'wild, ferocious', OE *sár* 'sore'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *saethar* [o n] 'work, labour' < *saytro-. Lat. *saeuus* must be from PIE *sh$_2$ey-wo-, while OE *sár* and the related Germ. words reflect *sh$_2$ey-ro-. The underived root PIE *seh$_2$y- is attested in Hitt. *sāi-^{zi}*.
REF: LEIA S-6f., GPC II: 1883, EIEC 413.

***sēbro-** 'demon, spectre' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *síabar* [o m]
W: MW *-hwyfar* in *Gwen-hwyfar* [PN]
SEE: *soyto- 'magic'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *sóeb, sáeb* [o] 'crooked, misleading, false', which may be from PCelt. *soybo-, with the o-grade in the root. W *Gwen-hwyfar* is Guinevre, Arthur's wife in the Arthurian romances; this name is etymologically identical to OIr. *Findabair*, who is the daughter of Ailill and Medb in the Ulster Cycle. Quite probably the name was inherited from the pagan Celtic mythology. Its meaning was 'white spectre'. Pokorny's derivation of these words from PIE *seh$_2$i- 'bind' (IEW 891, cf. Hitt. *ishiya-*, Skt. *syáti*, *sināti*) with a labial suffix (*-b^{h}-) is possible, but uncertain. The semantic derivation would have been from 'binder' to 'one who binds by magic' and 'demon', cf. also PCelt. *soyto- 'magic' < *sh$_2$oy-to-.
REF: LEIA S-103, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 230, 235.

***sed-o-** 'sit' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *saidid, -said*; *seiss, -sé* [Subj.]; *seiss, sé* [Fut.]; *do-essaid* [Pret.]
BRET: MBret. *hezaff* 'stop', MoBret. *hezañv*
CO: Co. *hedhi* 'stop'
PIE: *sed- 'sit' (IEW: 884-887)

COGN: Skt. *sīdati,* Lat. *sedeo*, *sīdo,* Go. *satjan*, Lith. *sésti*, OCS *sěsti*
SEE: *sedo-, *sīdos 'tumulus', *sedlo- 'seat'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. compound *ar-neat* 'awaits' < *fare-ni-sed-. The a-vocalism in OIr. *saidid* is problematic. McCone (1996: 111) explains it by analogy with *laigid* 'lie'.
REF: KPV 560ff., LIV 513ff., LEIA S-7f., LP 391, Deshayes 2003: 330, McCone 1996.

***sedlo-** 'seat' [Noun]
GAUL: *caneco-sedlon* (Autun)
PIE: *sed-lo- 'seat' (IEW: 885f.)
COGN: Lat. *sella,* Go. *sitls* 'throne'
SEE: *sedo-, *sīdos 'tumulus'
ETYM: The exact meaning of *caneco-sedlon* is unclear, but it appears probable that the second element of this compound means 'seat'.
REF: Delamarre 269.

***sedo-, *sīdos-** 'tumulus (inhabited by supernatural beings), peace' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *síd* [s n] 'peace, tumulus'
W: MW *hedd* [m and f] 'peace'
BRET: OBret. *hed,* MBret. and MoBret. *hez* [m] 'peace'
GAUL: *Mello-sedum* [Toponym], *Viro-sidum* [Toponym]
PIE: *sēd-s / Gen. *sed-os 'seat' (IEW: 885)
COGN: Gr. *hédos* 'seat', Lat. *sēdēs*
SEE: *sed-o- 'sit', *sedlo- 'seat'
ETYM: It is possible, but far from certain, that Lep. *siteś* (Prestino) is from *sēdns (Acc. pl.) 'seats', with lengthened grade as in OIr. *síd* and Latin *sēdēs*, cf. Prosdocimi 1984: 73. In any case, it seems probable that an ablauting paradigm must be assumed for the PCelt. word for 'tumulus'. Gaul. toponyms show evidence for both stems, *sed- and *sīd- (Sims-Williams 2006: 107, 111). The strange combination of meanings 'tumulus' and 'peace' must have its roots in Celtic mythology. Cf. also W *sedd* [f] 'seat', which may be from *sedā, with *s-* instead of *h- as in *seith* 'seven' (cf. PCelt. *sextam).
REF: LEIA S-106, GPC II: 1834, Deshayes 2003: 330, EIEC 62, 152, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 52, 146ff., Zimmer 1994, Sims-Williams 2006: 107, 111f.

***seg-eto-** 'seed' [Noun]
W: OW *segeticion* [p] gl. prolis, MW *se, he* 'scattering'
PIE: *seg- 'attach, touch, sow' (IEW: 887)
COGN: Lat. *seges* 'cornfield, crop'
SEE: *segno-, *sogno- 'trap, snare', *seg-(y)o- 'sow, put'
ETYM: MIr. *séimed* 'seed, descendants' is presumably from the same root. LEIA S-73 and DIL claim that this word is based on Lat. *sēmen* 'seed'; there

may have been some influence of the Latin word, since the word-formation of *séimed* seems unusual (it is not certain whether *segmeto- would yield this, cf. OIr. *ogum* 'Ogam alphabet', *Ogmae*, and Gaul. theonym *Ogmios*). According to Walde & Hoffman (s. v. *seges*) Thurneysen thought that *séimed* was just a modification of Lat. *sēmen*.
REF: LEIA S-73, GPC II: 1830.

***segno-, *sogno-** 'trap, snare' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *sén* 'trap (esp. for catching birds)'
W: MW *hoenyn, hwynyn* [m] 'net, trap' (IEW: 887)
PIE: *seg- 'attach, touch, sow'
SEE: *segeto- 'seed', *seg-(y)o- 'sow, put'
ETYM: The gender and stem formation of OIr. *sén* are unknown. This word is attested mostly in glossaries, and it presupposes the proto-form *segno-; W *hoenyn*, which is more reliably attested, points to *sogno-. The attribution to the PIE root is uncertain. If correct, it presupposes the semantic development from 'attach' to 'catch', hence 'snare'.
REF: LEIA S-85, GPC II: 1885.

***sego-** 'force' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *seg* [o m] (DIL *sed, seg*) 'strength, heed, interest, an equal'
W: MW *hy* 'bold, brave' (GPC *hŷ, hyf*)
GAUL: *Sego-maros* [PN], perhaps *Segestica* [Toponym]
LEP: *seχeθu* (?) 'Lepontic coin'
CELTIB: *Segouia* (?) [Toponym], *Sekobirikez* [Abl. s, Toponym] (A8)
PIE: *seǵ^{h}- 'hold (by force)' (IEW: 888f.)
COGN: Skt. *sáhate* 'be able, support', Gr. *ékhō* 'hold, have', Go. *sigis* 'victory'
ETYM: MIr. and Early MoIr. *seg* is sometimes spelled *sed* (Gen. sg. *seda, seadha*). Celtib. *asekati* (Botorrita I) might reflect *ad-seg- (Eska 1989). W *hoel* [m] 'nail, peg, stake' has been derived from the o-grade of the root (? PCelt. *soglā), but this is not wholly convincing for semantic reasons. MW *hoen* [m and f] 'joy, 'gladness, vigour' could be from *sogno-, but again the difference in meaning is conspicuous. Finally, OIr. *sár* [o m] 'outrage', *sár-* 'exceeding, excellent' may be related, if we start from PIE *sāxsro- < PIE *soǵ^{h}-sro- and accept the lengthening of vowels before *xsL (cf. *tāxslo- 'axe' < *toḱ-slo-).
REF: LEIA S-68, GPC II: 1945, 1884f., LIV 467, EIEC 123, Delamarre 269f., Jordán Cólera 1998: 31, Sims-Williams 2006: 107f., MLH V.1: 329f.

***seg-(y)o-** 'sow, put' [Vb]
W: MW *heu* 'sow' (GPC *heu, hau*), *heaf* [1 s Pres.]
PIE: *seg- 'attach, touch, sow' (IEW: 887)
COGN: Lat. *seges, -etis* 'sowing field, arable land', perhaps Skt. *sájati* 'attaches', Lith. *sègti* 'fasten, pin'

SEE: *segeto- 'seed', *segno-, *sogno- 'trap, snare'
ETYM: The etymological connection to Lat. *seges* is obvious; however, the attribution to the PIE root *seg- 'attach, grasp' is open to doubt on semantic grounds. KPV 562f. explains the development of meaning as 'to imprint' > 'put in' > 'sow', but I am not quite convinced.
REF: GPC II: 1862, KPV 562f., Schrijver 1995: 336.

***sek^{w}-o-** 'follow' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *sechithir, -sechethar*
PIE: *sek^{w}- 'follow, be associated with' (IEW: 896f.)
COGN: Skt. *sácate*, Gr. *hépomai*, Lat. *sequor*, Go. *saihwan* 'to see', Lith. *sèkti* 'to follow'
SEE: *sek^{w}- 'say'
ETYM: The deponent inflection in OIr. agrees well with the fact that the reflex of this verb is a deponent in Lat. and that it belongs to *media tantum* in Gr. and Skt. There may have been a connection between this PIE root and *sek^{w}- 'say' (> PCelt. *sek^{w}-o- 'say') at a deeper level, but in Late PIE it is best to treat them as homonyms.
REF: KPV 564, LIV 525f., LP 394, LEIA S-62.

***sek^{w}-o-** 'say' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *sechid, sichid*; *sich* [Pret.] (DIL *sichid*) 'asserts, declares'
W: OW *hepp* [3 s Pres.], MW *hebu*
BRET: OBret. *hep*
PIE: *sek^{w}- 'say' (IEW: 895)
COGN: Gr. *enn-épō* 'tell', Lat. *in-seque* 'say!', *inquit* 'says', OHG *sagen*
SEE: *sek^{w}- 'follow', *sk^{w}etlo- 'story'
ETYM: The exact relationship of PIE *sek^{w}- 'say' and *sek^{w}- 'follow' is unclear, but there was probably a single verb with both meanings.
REF: LEIA S-64f., GPC II: 1830, DGVB 209, LIV 526f. KPV 565f., Falileyev 83, Hamp 1974.

***sek^{w}o-** 'besides, without' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *sech* [Aspirating, +Acc.]
W: OW *hep*, MW *heb* 'without'
BRET: OBret. *ep* gl. secus, MBret. *hep* 'without', MoBret. *heb*
CO: Co. *heb*
PIE: *sek^{w}- 'follow' (IEW: 897)
COGN: Lat. *secus* '1. along; 2. differently, otherwise', Skt. *sácā* 'with'
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the development of meaning was from 'following' to 'along' (Lat. *secus*), and then to 'besides'. Another possibility is to derive Lat. *secus* and PCelt. *sek^{w}o- (or *sek^{w}ā) from the root *sek- 'to cut' (Lat. *seco, secāre*, etc., cf. de Vaan 2008: 565). An abstract noun *sek-weh$_2$ 'separation' would yield PCelt. *sek^{w}ā regularly, and the meaning 'besides' can easily be derived from this.

REF: LEIA S-60f., GPC II: 1829, DGVB 161, GOI 530, EIEC 646, Falileyev 83, Deshayes 2003: 324.

***seket-** 'hide, skin' [Noun]
SEE: *sextā/i- 'rushes, sedge'

***selgā** 'hunt' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *selg* [ā f]
W: OW *helgha* [Impv] gl. uenando, MW *hela* 'to hunt' (GPC *hel, hela, hely*)
BRET: MBret. *hemolch,* MoBret. *emolc'h, emholc'h* [m] 'a hunt'
CO: Co. *helghya* 'to hunt'
PIE: *selǵ- 'send away, set loose' (IEW: 900f.)
COGN: Skt. *sṛjáti* 'sets loose, discharges', Gr. (dial.) *lagásai* 'to set free', MHG *selken* 'to trickle, to drip'
ETYM: MoBret. *emholc'h* is from *ambi-selg-o-. The evolution of meaning in Celtic was presumably from 'set (the hounds) loose' to 'hunt'.
REF: LEIA S-80f, GPC II: 1844, LP 33, Falileyev 82, Deshayes 2003: 214, EIEC 481.

***selwā** 'possession' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *selb* [ā f]
W: MW *helw, elw* [m] (*ar helw* 'in possession of')
GAUL: *Lugu-selua* [PN]
PIE: *selh$_1$- 'take, grasp' (IEW: 899)
COGN: Gr. *heîlon* 'I took', Go. *saljan* 'offer as sacrifice'
SEE: *to-sli-yo- 'earn'
ETYM: The Celtic forms are derivable from *selh$_1$-wo-, a thematic adjectival formation. Go. *saljan* is from the causative *solh$_1$-eye-, cf. also OCS *sъlati* 'send' from the zero-grade of the root (*slH-).
REF: GPC I: 1208, LEIA S-79f, EIEC 564, Delamarre 270.

***semiti-** 'also'
GOID: OIr. *emid* 'as it were, nearly'
W: MW *hefyd* 'also, too, either'
PIE: *sem- 'one' (IEW: 902)
COGN: Lat. *semel* 'once'
SEE: *samali- 'similitude', *samalo- 'like, as'
ETYM: Initial *s- was lost in proclisis in OIr. (the same phenomenon is found in OIr. *amal* 'as' < PCelt. *samalo-). The same root in the zero-grade is probably contained in OIr. *cumme* 'similar' < PCelt. *kom-smiyo-. The word formation of *semiti- is puzzling. One may start with the PIE root *sem- 'one', while the second element, *-iti-, may, perhaps, be compared with Skt. *iti* 'thus' (A. Lubotsky, p. c.).
REF: GPC II: 1837.

***sem-o-** 'pour' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-essim*; *to-esma* [Subj.]; *to-esset* [Pret. Pass]
W: MW *gwehynnu* 'pour'
BRET: OBret. *douohinnom* gl. haustum
PIE: *semH- 'pump, draw water, scoop' (IEW: 901f.)
COGN: Lith. *sémti* 'pump, scoop', Lat. *sentīna* 'bilgewater'
ETYM: OIr. *do-essim* < *to-exs-sem-o-; MW *gwehynnu* < *ufo-sem-o-; OBret. *douohinnom* < *to-ufo-sem-o- (the simplex verb is unattested). An alternative reading of OBret. *douohinnom* is *douohinuom*, but the former makes more sense. The Celtic forms point to a thematic present, PIE *semH-o-. The laryngeal is confirmed by the acute intonation in Lith.
REF: KPV 569f., GPC II: 1618, DGVB 151, LIV 531, LP 395, LEIA S-82f.

***seno-** 'old' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *sen* [o]
W: MW *hen*
BRET: OBret. *hen*, MBret. and MoBret. *hen*
CO: Co. *hen*
GAUL: *Seno-gnatos* [PN], *Senones* [Ethnonym]
PIE: *seno- 'old' (IEW: 908)
COGN: Skt. *sána-*, Gr. *hénos*, Lat. *senex*, Go. *sineigs*, Lith. *sẽnas*, Arm. *hin*
REF: LEIA S-83f., GPC II: 1848, DGVB 208, EIEC 98, 409, Delamarre 270f., Deshayes 2003: 325, Meid 2005: 205f., Sims-Williams 2006: 109.

***sentu-** 'path' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sét* [u m]
W: MW *hint, hynt* [f]
BRET: OBret. *hint,* MBret. and MoBret. *hent* [m]
CO: Co. *hins*
GAUL: *Sento-latis* [Toponym] (> *Satolas*)
PIE: *sent- 'head for, go' (IEW: 908)
COGN: Lat. *sentīre* 'feel', OHG *sind* 'path', Lith. *sintéti* 'think'
ETYM: Cf. also the Brittonic Toponym *Gabro-senti* (?'Goat-paths'). OIr. *sétig* [ī f] 'wife' is derived from the same root (PCelt. *sent-āk-ī); the earlier meaning was presumably 'companion'. MW *hennydd* [m] 'companion, friend, the other', MoBret. *hentez* 'neighbor', and Co. *hynsa* 'neighbor' are from *sentiyo-.
REF: LEIA S-98f., GPC II: 1978f., 1862, DGVB 211, EIEC 488, 637, Delamarre 271, Deshayes 2003: 326, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 45, 80, Sims-Williams 2006: 110f.

***serrā** 'sickle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *serr* [ā f]

W: OW *serr*
BRET: OBret. *ser* gl. fiscina (instead of *fuscina*)
PIE: *serp- 'sickle, cut' (IEW: 911f.)
COGN: Lat. *sarpere* 'cut (twigs in the vineyard)', Gr. *hárpē* 'sickle', Latv. *sirpis* 'sickle'
ETYM: For W *s-* instead of *h- cf. *sextam 'seven' > W *seith*. Some consider these Celtic forms to be loanwords from Lat. *serra* 'saw', but the meanings do not match, so it is at least equally possible that they are inherited; the PIE form from which PCelt. *serpā developed would be *serpeh$_2$, with the full grade of the root, while Greek, Latin, and Latvian generalized the zero-grade (*srp-).
REF: LEIA S-95, GOI 95, DGVB 305.

***serwā** 'theft' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *serb* [ā f]
W: MW *herw* [m] 'raid, outlawry'
PIE: *soru- / Gen. *srwo- 'booty' (IEW: 910)
COGN: Hitt. *sāru-* 'booty', Lat. *seruus* 'slave'
ETYM: Like Latin, Celtic built a thematicized paradigm from the original u-stem, which is preserved in Hittite. Then the abstract noun *serw-eh$_2$ (PCelt. *serwā) was built from *serw-o- (Lat. *seruus*).
REF: LEIA S-90f., GPC II:1859, EIEC 77, Watkins 1976, Hamp 1984b.

***sex-skā/i-** 'rushes, sedge' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *seisc* [i f] 'rushes, rushy place'
W: MW *hescenn* (GPC *hesg* [Collective])
BRET: MBret. *hesq,* MoBret. *hesk*
CO: Co. *heschen* gl. canna, arundo, Co. *hesc*
PIE: *sek- 'cut' (IEW: 895)
COGN: Lat. *seco, secāre*, OHG *sega, saga* 'saw', Lith. *-sèkti*, OCS *sěšti, sěčetъ* 'cut'
ETYM: The semantic motivation for this etymology lies in the sharp, cutting leaves of rushes and similar plants, cf. OE *sedg* 'sword, sedge'. The PIE root *sek- is probably also attested in MIr. *seiche* [t f] 'skin, hide' which may be from *sek-et- (cf. OIc. *sigg* 'hard skin'), and MIr. *eiscid, -eisci* 'cuts off' < *en-sek-.
REF: LEIA S-75f., GPC II: 1861, Deshayes 2003: 329.

***se(x)sman** 'nail, rivet' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *seim(m)* [n n]
W: MW *hemm* [f] (GPC *hem*)
SEE: *sego- 'force'
ETYM: OIr. *seimm* is masculine in Irish Grammatical Tracts, and is attested only in Middle and Modern Irish. It is presumably built to the root *seg- 'to hold' (it is probably the original verbal noun to that root).

REF: LEIA S-71f., GPC II: 1847, Stüber 1998: 66f.

***sextam** 'seven' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *secht* [+Nasalization]
W: MW *seith* (GPC *saith*)
BRET: OBret. *seith,* MBret. *seiz*, MoBret. *seizh*
CO: OCo. *syth,* MCo. *seyth*
GAUL: *sextan-*
PIE: *septm 'seven' (IEW: 909)
COGN: Hitt. *siptamiya-* 'a potion with seven ingredients', Skt. *saptá*, Lat. *septem*, Gr. *heptá*, Go. *sibun*, Lith. *septynì*, OCS *sedmь,* Alb. *shtatë*
ETYM: Brittonic *s- instead of *h- is explained as the unlenited sandhi-variant (*s was not changed to *h after consonants).
REF: LEIA S-66, GPC III: 3170, EIEC 100, 402, Delamarre 273, Deshayes 2003: 648.

***sextameto-** 'seventh' [Ordinal]
GOID: OIr. *sechtmad*
W: MW *seithfed*
BRET: MBret. *seizvet*, MoBret. *seizhved*
CO: Co. *seythves, seythes*
GAUL: *sextametos* 'seventh' [Ordinal]
REF: GPC III: 3216, Delamarre 273, Deshayes 2003: 649.

***sfelgā** 'spleen' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *selg* [ā f]
BRET: MBret. *felch*, MoBret. *felc'h* [f]
PIE: *spelHǵ^{h}- 'spleen' (IEW: 987)
COGN: Skt. *plīhán-,* Gr. *splḗn* 'intestines', *splágkhna* 'intestines', Lat. *liēn*, Lith. *blužnìs*, OCS *slězena*, Arm. *p^{c}aycaln*
ETYM: In the OW manuscript Angers 477, there is the hapax *felchou* [p] gl. placentarum, but it is possible that the gloss containing this word is Old Breton, rather than Old Welsh (see Falileyev 57). The PCelt. form seems to go back to *spelǵ^{h}-eh$_2$; if we start from a PIE paradigm with Nom. sg. *spēlHǵ^{h}- / Acc. sg. *spolHǵ^{h}-m / Gen. sg. *splHǵ^{h}-os, the laryngeal would have been lost regularly in the Acc. sg. by de Saussure's rule. Celtic may have rebuilt this noun from the stem of the Acc. sg. with the new full-grade *spelǵ^{h}-. Although sound developments in other IE languages are also highly problematic, there is little doubt that these words are related.
REF: LEIA S-81, EIEC 538, Falileyev 57, Delamarre 2003: 230, Hamp 2002, Matasović 2004: 106.

***sfēmi-** 'thin' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *séim* [i] 'slender, thin, mild'
PIE: *spey- 'thin' (IEW: 982)

COGN: Gr. *spinós* 'thin'
ETYM: Cf. OIr. *séime* [iā f] 'thinness, meagreness' < *sfēmyā. PCelt. *sfēmi- presupposes PIE *spey-mi-. This is essentially a root etymology, and there do not appear to be any other certain derivatives from the root *spey-, but cf. Lat. *spīca* 'ear of corn, spike', OE *spāka* 'spoke'(from PIE *spey-k-, *spey-g-, all denoting long objects; the meanings 'long' and 'thin' are close, and words with such meanings are often etymologically related).
REF: LEIA S-72.

***sfenyo-** 'teat, pap' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sine* [io and t m]
PIE: *psten- 'teat' (IEW: 990)
COGN: ON *speni,* OE *spanu*, Lith. *spenỹs*
ETYM: Cf. OIr. *bó thri-phne* = *trí sine* 'cow with three teats'. A probable Gaulish reflex of this word (? *sanyā < *sfanyā) is reflected as Fr. dial. *sẹnyọ* 'milking vessel' (FEW 11: 183). The comparison with Gr. *stēníon* 'breast' and Av. *fštāna-* justifies the reconstruction of a PIE root noun *pstēn, Gen. sg. *psten-s or *pstn-os. The difficult cluster *pstn- was simplified in different ways in different languages (perhaps already in PIE).
REF: LEIA S-113, FEW 11: 183, Mallory and Adams 2006: 180, Lubotsky 2006.

***sferā** 'heel' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *seir* [ā f]
W: MW *ffer* [f and m] 'ankle' (GPC *ffêr*)
BRET: MBret. *Fergant* [PN]
CO: OCo. *fer* gl. crus
PIE: *sperh$_1$-o- / *sprh$_1$-o- 'heel' (IEW: 993)
COGN: OE *spor* 'footprint', ToB *sprāne* [Dual] 'flanks'
ETYM: MoBret. *fer* 'heel' is a loanword from W. (Deshayes 2003: 232). Gr. *sphyrón* 'ankle(bone)' is probably related, but the aspirate is unexpected. The vowel *y* in Gr. *sphyrón* 'heel' might be the result of Cowgill's law (o > *y* between labials and resonants). The reflexes in other IE languages probably justify the reconstruction of a paradigm *sperh$_1$- / *sporh$_1$-m / *sprh$_1$-os. Celtic generalized the full grade (*sperh$_1$-), while Germanic generalized the zero-grade (PIE *sprh$_1$o- > PGerm. *spura- > OE *spor*). Lubotsky (2006) relates these forms to Skt. *sphuráti* 'kicks away', Lat. *sperno* 'push away, despise' and reconstructs the root *tsperH- 'kick with the heel'. The same root might, perhaps, be posited for Skt. *pā́rṣṇi-* 'heel', Gr. *ptérna* 'heel', Lat. *perna* 'leg, haunch' (< *tperH-sneh$_2$).
REF: LEIA S-73, GPC I: 1283, EIEC 265, Deshayes 2003: 232, Schrijver 1995: 348, 374, Campanile 1974: 46, Hamp 1982a, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 172, Lubotsky 2006.

***sfiyonV-** 'foxglove' [Noun]

GOID: MIr. *sían* (DIL *sían*)
W: OW *fionou* [p], MW *ffion* (GPC *ffion, ffuon*) 'rose, purple fox-glove'
BRET: OBret. *fionauc* gl. rosarium
ETYM: These words are related to (or borrowed from ?) Lat. *spionia* 'a kind of grape-vine' (this Latin word is scarcely attested; it is uncertain if the *-o-* was long (Oxford Latin Dictionary) or short (Lewis and Short)). Probably a *Wanderwort* of some kind.
REF: LEIA S-115, GPC I: 1288, Falileyev 57, Schrijver 1995: 281.

***sfondo-** 'stick, staff' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *sond* [o m] 'stake, beam, palisade'
W: OW *finn* [p], MW *ffonn* [f] (GPC *ffon*); *ffyn, ffonnau* [p]
PIE: *sph$_2$en- 'piece of wood' (IEW: 980f.)
COGN: Lat. *sponda* 'bedstead, bed', OE *spōn* 'sliver, shaving', Gr. *sphḗn* 'wedge'
ETYM: The Italic and Celtic reflexes can be derived from *sph$_2$ondo-. Another etymology derives PCelt. *sfondo- and Lat. *sponda* from PIE *(s)pend- 'to spin' (de Vaan 2008: 582). Although this shape of the root seems more in line with the PIE canon, the semantics of the connection are less appealing.
REF: LEIA S-172, GPC I: 1302, EIEC 431, Falileyev 57, Schrijver 1995: 444, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 298.

***sfrawo-** 'crow' [Noun]
BRET: MBret. *frao*, MoBret. *fraw* [m]
CO: Co. *frau*
PIE: *(s)per-w- 'a kind of bird' (IEW: 991)
COGN: Lat. *parra* 'a kind of bird', OE *spearwa* 'sparrow', OPr. *spurglis* 'sparrow'
ETYM: PCelt. *sfrawo- could be from PIE *sprh$_2$wo-, but short *a is unexpected (could it be the result of Dybo's law?). Lat. *parra* lacks the s-mobile and is probably derivable from *prHs-. The etymology is uncertain, since the meanings in other IE languages do not match exactly the meaning in Celtic. Like many bird names, this word can be a loanword from some unknown non-IE source.
REF: Deshayes 2003: 253, Schrijver 1991: 211f.

***sfraxto-** 'fluent, eloquent, lively' [Adj]
W: MW *ffraeth*
BRET: MBret. *fraez*, MoBret. *fraezh* 'intelligible'
CO: Co. *freth*
PIE: *sperh$_2$g- 'crackle, sputter' (IEW: 996f.)
COGN: Gr. *spharagéomai* 'crackle, hiss', Lith. *spragéti* 'crackle', ON *spraka* 'crackle, rattle'

ETYM: The Brittonic forms point to PIE *sprh$_2$gto-; since this form (to-participle) was probably oxytone, the shortening in Celtic may be due to Dybo's law (otherwise, *sfrāxto- would be expected). The IE etymology is uncertain because of semantic differences, but a development of 'crackling' to 'lively' and 'eloquent' is possible.
REF: GPC I: 1308, Deshayes 2003: 251.

***sfrusso-** 'quick, fast' [Adj]
W: MW *ffrwst* [m] 'rush, haste'
PIE: *sprew-d- 'quick' (IEW: 994f.)
COGN: Go. *sprautō* 'quick'
ETYM: PCelt. *frusso- > W *ffrwst* presupposes PIE *sprud-to-. W *ffrau* 'stream, flow', adduced by IEW (982) in this connection, is much more likely derived rom *srew- 'to flow', cf. PCelt. *srowman-, *srutu-. The equation of OIr. *sráb* 'torrent' and W *ffrawdd* 'passion, ardour' found in IEW 993, GPC I: 1311f., LEIA S-180 is implausible on both semantic and formal grounds (W *dd* cannot correspond to OIr. *b*, and positing two suffixes, *-do- and *-bo- is *ad hoc*).
REF: GPC I: 1311f.

***sī** 'she' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *sí*
W: MW *hi*
BRET: MBret. *hy, hi*
CO: Co. *hy*
PIE: *s- + -ih$_2$
COGN: Go. *si* 'she'
SEE: *sindo- 'that'
ETYM: The Celtic personal pronouns for the 3sg. f. were formed by adding the 'motion suffix' *-ih$_2$ to the pronominal stem *s- (from which we have, e.g., Skt. *sá*, Gr. *ho*, etc.); the same development yielded PGerm. *sī (Go. *si*, OHG *siu, sī*, etc.).
REF: LEIA S-101f., GPC II: 1864, Deshayes 2003: 331, Schrijver 1997: 56.

***sido-** 'elk, stag' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *sed, seg*
W: MW *hit, hyd* (GPC *hydd*) [m]
BRET: MBret. *heizes* [f] 'hind, doe'
ETYM: The Early MoIr. spelling *seg* reflects the phonetic merger of [ð] and [γ], cf. also *sego- 'strength' > MIr. *seg*, but sometimes spelled *sed*. The Irish word is attested scarcely, and rather late (in MIr.). It is sometimes written with long *é*, and is attested in the Gen. sg. *sétha*, which may point to an u-stem. The proto-form *sido- is confirmed by MIr. *sideng* 'elk', which is from *sid-* and *eng* 'wild'. IE cognates are lacking, so this word may be a borrowing from some unknown source.

REF: LEIA S-67f., S-107, GPC II: 1956, Deshayes 2003: 325.

***sil-n-** (?) 'look' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *sellaid, -sella* 'looks'
W: MW *syllu* 'stare, gaze' (GPC *syllu, syllio*)
BRET: MBret. *sellout*, MoBret. *selloud, sell* [m] 'view'
CO: Co. *sellos*
ETYM: All of these verbs are originally denominative, but the original form of the noun from which they are derived cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, cf. OIr. *sell* 'eye, iris' [?n], W *syll,* MoBret. *sell* 'look'. Schrijver's connection with the word for 'star' (PCelt. *ster-) is far-fetched from the semantic point of view, but possible (cf. the semantic development of *sūli- from 'sun' to 'eye', OIr. *súil*). The proto-form would have been *stillo- < *stīrlo-. For the initial *s- instead of *h- in Brittonic cf., e.g., *sextam 'seven' > MW *seith.*
REF: LEIA S-82, GPC III: 3384, Deshayes 2003: 649, Schrijver 1995: 421, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 348.

***sīlo-** 'seed, descendants' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *síl* [o n]
W: MW *hil* [f and m] 'race, lineage'
BRET: MBret. *hil-*
PIE: *seh_1- 'sow' (IEW: 890)
COGN: Lat. *sēmen* 'seed', OE *sāwan* 'sow'
ETYM: Celtib. *zizonti* (Botorrita I) might be the 3 pl. Pres. of the verb 'sow' (from PIE *seh_1-), parallel to Lat. *sero* < *si-sh_1-, but I think it is somewhat more plausibly interpreted as belonging to PCelt. *dā-'give', since PCelt. *d is the only certainly established source of Celtib. *z* (see MLH V.1: 99f).
REF: LEIA S-108f., GPC II: 1806, Deshayes 2003: 331, LP 7, EIEC 505, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 224, 364.

***sīnā** 'weather' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sín* [ā f] 'bad weather, storm, good weather, season'
W: MW *hin* [f] 'weather, bad weather, air'
BRET: MBret. *hynon, hinon* [f] 'nice weather', MoBret. *hinon*
ETYM: MoBret. *hin* [f] 'climate' is borrowed from W *hin* 'id.' IE etymology is unknown, but a connection with PCelt. *sī-ni- 'stretch, extend' appears possible, at least formally. The semantic development could have been from 'a stretch of time' to 'time' and 'weather'. Note that many languages do not distinguish between 'time' and 'weather' (e.g. Fr. *temps* and MoBret. *amzer*).
REF: LEIA S-112, GPC II: 1867, Deshayes 2003: 332.

***sindo-** 'this' [Demonstrative Pronoun]
GOID: OIr. *sin*

W: OW *hinn,* MW *hynn* [n s and p]
CO: Co. *hen-ma*
GAUL: *sinde, (s)indas* (Larzac)
PIE: *so- 'that'
ETYM: W demonstrative *hwn* together with OIr. *sund* 'here' points to PCelt. *sondo-; it may be that *sindo- is from *sīndo- (by an Osthoff-like shortening), and that it contains the Acc. sg. of the feminine demonstrative stem *sih$_2$-m plus a particle *do (? or *de, cf. Gr. *-de*). *sondo- could then be the masculine Acc. sg. (*so-m) plus the same particle.
REF: LEIA S-111f., Delamarre 274, Lambert 1994: 66, 166.

***sī-ni-** 'stretch, extend' [Vb]
SEE: *sīro- 'long'

***sīro-** 'long' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *sír* [o]
W: OW *hir*, MW *hir*
BRET: MBret. *hir*, MoBret. *hir*
CO: Co. *hir, hyr*
GAUL: *Sirus* [PN]
PIE: *seh$_1$-ro- 'long lasting' (IEW: 891)
COGN: Skt. *sāyá-* 'evening', Lat. *sērus* 'late', Go. *seiþu* 'evening'
ETYM: Cf. the irregular comparatives OIr. *sía*, W *hwy* < *sē-yo- (< PIE *seh$_1$-yo-). W *hwyr* 'late' is probably borrowed from Lat. *sērus* (Haarmann 1970: 112). The root *sī- < PIE *seh$_1$- is also attested in MIr. *sínid* 'stretches, extends, straightens' (PCelt. *sī-ni-). If the IE etymology is correct, the non-operation of Dybo's law is unexpected (adjectives in *-ro- are mostly oxytone in PIE, but there are exceptions, cf., e.g., Gr. *eleútheros* 'free' vs. *erythrós* 'red').
REF: LEIA S-116, GPC II: 1869, EIEC 357, Falileyev 85, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 229ff., 526ff., Delamarre 276, Deshayes 2003: 332.

***sisk^{w}o-** 'dry' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *sesc*, *seisc* [o and i] 'dry, barren'
W: MW *hysb, hysp*; *hesb* [f]
BRET: MBret. *hesp* 'dry, sterile'
PIE: *sisku- 'dry' (IEW: 894)
COGN: Av. *hišku-,* Lat. *siccus*, Gr. *iskhnós*
SEE: *samo-sisk^{w}ī- 'heifer, sterile cow'
ETYM: In PCelt., PIE *sisku- was thematized (*sisku-o- > *sisk^{w}o-). I doubt whether Gr. *iskhnós* also belongs here, since the aspirated *kh* is unexpected. The sound development of Lat. *siccus* is also highly irregular (de Vaan 2008: 568).
REF: LEIA S-96, GPC III: 1983, Deshayes 2003: 329, EIEC 170, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 290.

***si-sta-** 'put, stand' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *sissidir, -sissedar* 'stands'; *siasair* [Pret.]
CELTIB: *SISTAT* [3s Pres.] 'puts, constructs' (Peñalba, K.3.3)
PIE: *steh$_2$- 'stand' (IEW: 1004f.)
COGN: Lat. *sto, stare*, Gr. *hístēmi*, Lith. *stóti*, OCS *stojati*, OHG *stān*
SEE: *tā-yo- 'be, find oneself', *stā-tlā 'heel', *eni-stī 'island'
REF: KPV 571f., LIV 590ff., LEIA S-118ff., LP 395f., Hull 1960/61, Jordán Cólera 1998: 207ff., MLH V.1: 334f.

***siti-** 'length' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sith-*
W: OW *hit* 'length', MW *hyt* [m and f] (GPC *hyd*)
BRET: OBret. *hit*, MBret. *het,* MoBret. *hed* [m] 'length'
CO: Co. *hes*
SEE: *sīro- 'long'
ETYM: Gaul. toponym *Sitillia* might be related (as well as some other toponyms, cf. Sims-Williams 2006: 112f.). These words may be connected to OIr. *sír* 'long' < PCelt. *sīro-, but the short *i in PCelt. is unexpected. One way to account for it would be to start from a PIE participle *seh$_1$-tó- 'lengthened', and then apply Dybo's law (shortening in pretonic position). But Dybo's law is thought to have applied early, almost certainly before the change of PIE *eh$_1$ > *ē > PCelt. *ī (see Introduction). A possible solution would be to assume that PCelt. *siti- is from *sh$_1$i-ti- rather than from *seh$_1$tí-.
REF: LEIA S-120f., GPC II: 1948ff., Deshayes 2003: 324, Isaac 2002, Sims-Williams 2006:112f.

***sītlā** 'vase' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *síthal* [ā f] gl. situla
W: MW *hidl* [f] 'filter, strainer, sieve' (GPC *hidl, hiddl*)
BRET: MBret. *sizl*
ETYM: It is possible that these words were influenced by Lat. *situla* 'urn, vessel', but it is improbable that they are direct borrowings from Latin. Both the long *ī in Celtic and the meaning development in Welsh are unexpected. The IE etymology is unknown.
REF: LEIA S-120f., GPC II: 1865.

***sk^{w}etlo-** 'story' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *scél* [o n]
W: MW *chwedl* [f and m] (GPC *chwedl, chweddl*)
BRET: MBret. *que-hezl,* MoBret. *kehel* [m] 'information, intention'
CO: Co. *whethel*
PIE: *sek^{w}- 'say' (IEW: 898)
COGN: Lat. *in-quam*, OHG *saga* 'tale', Lith. *sakýti*

ETYM: It is difficult to derive the Brittonic forms directly from PCelt. *sk^{w}etlo- (the expected outcome would probably have been initial *sp- > W *ysp-*, cf. *sk^{w}iyat- 'hawthorn'). They may be loanwords from Goidelic, or we would have to assume an early metathesis of *sk^{w}- to *k^{w}s- > *xs-, with the subsequent regular development to W *chwedl* (cf. *xswib-ī- 'move, recede' > W *chwythu*). MoBret. *kehel* is from *kom-sk^{w}etlo-.
REF: LEIA S-39f., GPC I: 846, Deshayes 2003: 379, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 302, Schrijver 1995: 375.

***sk^{w}iyat-** 'hawthorn' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *scé* [d and k, f] 'thorn bush, whitethorn'
W: OW *ispidattenn* [Singulative], MW *yspidat* [f and m] (GPC *ysbyddad, (y)sbaddad*)
BRET: MBret. *spezadenn* [Singulative], MoBret. *spezad* [Collective]
CO: Co. *spethes, spethas*
PIE: *skwey- 'thorn' (IEW: 958)
COGN: Russ. *xvojá* 'needles and branches of a conifer', Lith. *skujà* 'fir-needle and cone'
ETYM: All of the cognates can be accounted for by starting from a PIE paradigm with Nom. sg. *skwēy-s / Acc. sg. *skwoy-m / Gen. sg. *skw(i)y-os. Celtic preserves the zero-grade *skwi(y)- (cf. Lith. *skujà*, with different syllabification, from *skuy-), and Russ. *xvojá* is derived from the o-grade (*skwoy-).
REF: LEIA S-37, GPC III: 3828, Deshayes 2003: 684, EIEC 80, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 159, 172, 183, Oettinger 2003: 191.

***skamo-** 'light' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *scam* [o m] 'lung' (attested only in the plural, *scaim*)
W: MW *ysgafn* 'light'; *ysgefeint* 'lung' (GPC *ysgafn, ysgawn, ysgon*)
BRET: MBret. *caff, scanff*, MoBret. *skañv* 'light'
CO: Co. *scaff, schaff*
COGN: OHG *scamm* 'short'
ETYM: The original meaning was presumably preserved in W *ysgafn* 'light'. For the semantic connection of 'lungs' and 'light' cf. OHG *lunga* 'lung' < PIE *h$_1$lng^{wh}- (Gr. *elaphrós* 'light, quick') and OHG *līhti* 'light' < PIE *h$_1$leng^{wh}-to-. OHG *scamm* and its Germanic cognates have been related to Av. *kamna-* 'little' (Orel 2003: 333), but the connection is quite dubious. The a-vocalism in Celtic is unusual, and a proto-form *skh$_2$m- would be artificial.
REF: LEIA S-31, GPC III: 3829, Deshayes 2003: 659.

***skan-n-d-o-** 'jump' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *sceinnid, -sceinn*; *sescaind* [Pret.] 'springs, darts'
W: MW *ysgeinnyaw* 'disperse, spread, scatter' (GPC *ysgain, (y)sgeinio, ysgeino*)

PIE: *skend- 'jump'
COGN: Skt. *skándati* 'jumps, leaps', Lat. *scando* 'ascend, mount'
ETYM: Cf. also W *cy-chwynnu* 'to arise, start' < *kom-skend-, and the OIr. verbal noun *sceinm* < *skand-men-. The a-vocalism in Celtic is expected (syllabic *n > *an before obstruents), if one starts from the PIE zero-grade of the root (*sknd-). Latin *-a-* can be the result of the development of *e > *a after *k.
REF: KPV 574, LIV 554, LEIA S-41, GPC III: 3834, LP 393, Schrijver 1991: 431f.

***skara-** 'divide, separate' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *scaraid, -scara* 'divides, separates'; *scaraid, -scara* [Subj.]; *scarais, scar* [Pret.]
W: MW *yscar, ysgar* (GPC *(y)sgaru, ysgar, ysgario, ysgarad*)
BRET: MBret. *discar* 'divide, cut off', MoBret. *diskar, skar* [m] 'interstice'
PIE: *(s)kerH- 'divide' (IEW: 938ff.)
COGN: Umbr. *kartu* [Impv.]; Lith. *skìrti* 'cut, divide'
ETYM: MBret. *discar* < *dī-skara- (the simplex verb is unattested in Breton). PCelt. *skara- is from *skera- (by Joseph's rule) < PIE *skerH-. OIr. *scurid* 'unyokes, ceases, desists' is from the causative of the same verb, PIE *skorH-eye-.
REF: KPV 576, LIV 558, LEIA S-33, GPC III: 3832, LP 392f., Pedersen I: 44, Deshayes 2003: 660, McCone 1991: 110f.

***skāto-** 'shadow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *scáth* [o n]
W: MW *ysgawd* [m] 'shade, darkness' (GPC *ysgod*)
BRET: MBret. *squeut*
CO: OCo. *scod* gl. umbra, MCo. *schus* 'terror'
PIE: *skeh$_3$t- 'darkness, shadow' (IEW: 957)
COGN: OE *sceadu*, Gr. *skótos*
SEE: *ufo-skāto/u- 'shelter, shadow'
ETYM: The Celtic forms are sometimes derived from PIE *skōto-, which would represent a vṛddhi-formation from the root *skot- 'shadow', while the Germanic and Greek words are derivable from *skotu- and *skoto- respectively. It is far more probable that we should assume a PIE root-noun with the ablaut pattern *skeh$_3$t- / *skh$_3$to-, with Celtic preserving the full grade of the root, and Germanic and Greek the zero-grade from the oblique cases.
REF: LEIA S-36, GPC III: 3838, EIEC 508, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 324, 528.

***skāx-slo-** 'demon, supernatural being' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *scál* [o n]
W: MW *yscawl* [m] 'young hero, warrior' (GPC *ysgawl*)

COGN: Go. *skōhsl* 'demon'
SEE: *skek- 'move, stir' (IEW: 922f.)
ETYM: W *yscawl* is not very well attested and its meaning is rather vaguely established. The relation to the PIE root *skek- is purely conjectural, but see Hamp 1965a. The long vowel in the root may be the result of regular lengthening before the cluster *xsl, cf. PCelt. *tāxslo- (if from *toḱ-slo- rather than (*tōḱ-slo-).
REF: LEIA S-30, GPC III: 3834, Hamp 1965a.

***skēdo-** 'wing, shoulder' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sciath* [o m] 'wing'
W: MW *ysgwydd* [f] 'shoulder'
BRET: MBret. *scoaz, diou scoaz* 'shoulders'
CO: OCo. *scuid* gl. scapula, MCo. *dyw-scoth* 'shoulders'
SEE: *skēto- 'shield'
ETYM: OIr. *sciath* may have the final *-th* rather than *-d* because of the influence of the word for 'shield', OIr. *sciath* < *skēto-. However, it is also possible that *sciath* 'shield' was borrowed from Brittonic before the lenition of *t > *th*, and that *sciath* 'wing' is the original OIr. word for 'shield', with metaphorical change of meaning. The Brittonic words for 'shoulder' then must have a different etymology.
REF: LEIA S-44, GPC III: 3851.

***skek-** 'move, stir' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *scuichid, -scuichi* 'goes away'; *sceiss, -scé* [Subj.]; *scáich* [Pret.]
W: MW *ysgogi* 'move, stir, tremble' (GPC *ysgogi, ysgog*)
PIE: *skek- 'move fast' (IEW: 922f.)
COGN: OHG *gi-skehan* 'pass, happen', OCS *skočiti* 'jump', perhaps Lith. *šókti* 'dance'
ETYM: The Slavic and Celtic forms of the present point to a PIE causative *skok-eye-; the original present stem with the e-grade is preserved in Germanic and in the OIr. subjunctive. Lith. *šókti*, if related, has the secondary BSl. vr̥ddhi which is characterized by acute intonation (in contradistinction to PIE lengthened grade, which always bears the circumflex, cf. Matasović 2008a: 131ff.).
REF: KPV 580f., LIV 551f., GPC III: 3839, LEIA S-56f., LP 393.

***skēno-** 'knife' [Noun]
SEE: *skiy-o- 'cut'

***skerd-(y)o-** 'scrape off' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *scerdaid, -sceird* 'peels, scrapes off'; *scaird* [Pret.] (DIL *sceirtid*)
PIE: *skerd^{h}- 'cut, pierce' (IEW: 940)

COGN: Lith. *skerdžiù* 'I cut'
ETYM: In all likelihood the PIE root *skerd^{h}- is ultimately the same as *skerH- 'cut, pierce' (cf. PCelt. *skara-).
REF: KPV 582, LIV 558, LEIA S-39.

***skēto-** 'shield' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *scíath* [o m]
W: MW *ysgwyd* [f and m]
BRET: MBret. *scoed*
PIE: *skoyto-, *skeyto- 'shield' (IEW: 921)
COGN: OCS *štitъ*, Lat. *scūtum*, Lith. *skiẽtas*
SEE: *skēdo- 'wing, shoulder'
ETYM: The relationship of this word to PCelt. *skēdo- 'wing' is not completely clear. PCelt. *skēto- must be from PIE *skeyto-. The ablaut *skeyt- / *skoyt- in PIE is impossible to reconcile with a thematic noun, so we can either reconstruct a root-noun (Nom. sg. *skoyt-s / Gen. sg. *skeyt-os), or assume that the e-grade is analogical after a verb *skeyt- 'to protect, to shield (?)', but such a verb is not attested anywhere. The word for 'shield' is a typical European word, with reflexes only in the European branches of IE.
REF: LEIA S-43, GPC III: 3852, EIEC 512, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 557, Campanile 1974: 94, Irslinger 2002: 254f., Oettinger 2003.

***skīssu-** 'weariness' [Noun]
SEE: *skīto- 'tired'

***skīto-** 'tired' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *scíth* [o] 'weary, tired'
W: MW *escud, esgud* (GPC *esgud*) 'quick, vivid'
BRET: MBret. *escuit* 'quick'
CO: Co. *uskys* 'quick, vivid'
PIE: *skeh$_1$t(H)- 'injure, harm' (IEW: 950)
COGN: Go. *skaþjan* 'damage', OHG *scado* 'harm, loss'
ETYM: The Brit. forms are from a compound *exs-skīto-, where *exs- is a negative prefix (cf. PCelt. *exsobno- 'fearless'). The vocalism of MW *esgud* (for expected *esgid) is unaccounted for, cf. OIr. *escid* 'tireless', and *scís* [o and u m], also [ā f] 'fatigue, tiredness' < *skīssu- < *skeh$_1$d-tu-. Gr. *a-skēthḗs* 'unharmed' might be related, but *th* (instead of *t) in this word is difficult to account for. OHG *scado* and the related Germanic forms must be from *skh$_1$t(H)-, with the zero-grade of the root.
REF: LEIA S-46f., GPC I: 1245, EIEC 312.

***(s)kītto-** 'left, clumsy' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *cittach* [o] 'left-handed, awkward'
W: MW *chwith* 'left, left-handed, sinister, sad, wrong'

PIE: *skh$_2$ey- 'left'
COGN: Lat. *scaeuus*, Gr. *skaiós*
ETYM: MIr. has also the variant *cettach*, showing a-affection, expected if the *i* was short. The form *cittach* might point to *kīt-, but *i* is never written long. W *chw-* is from the initial cluster *sk- metathesised to *ks-. The Greek and Latin words for 'left' can be derived from *skh$_2$ey-wo-, while in order to account for the Celtic forms we must assume the zero-grade (*(s)kh$_2$it-) and 'expressive' gemination (*(s)kh$_2$i-tto-), which renders this etymology rather speculative.
REF: LEIA C-108, EIEC 349, GPC I: 858.

***skiy-o-** 'vomit, spew' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *sceïd, -scé*
W: MW *chwydu*
BRET: MBret. *huedaff*
CO: Co. *huedzha*
PIE: *sḱey-(d)- 'defecate' (?) (IEW: 920f.)
COGN: Lith. *skíesti* 'to have diarrhoea', ON *skíta* 'defecate', Eng. *shit*
ETYM: The Brittonic forms are secondary verbs derived from the verbal noun (MW *chwyt*), cf. KPV 579. For the sound development of *skiyet > OIr. *-scé*, cf. PCelt. *sk$^{\text{w}}$iyat-. The acute in Lith. *skíesti* is the result of Winter's law. I am not sure whether these words are related to Lat. *scindo*, Gr. *skhízō* < PIE *skeyd- 'break, divide', as claimed by IEW (920), Orel (2003: 342), and others, because of the considerable difference in meaning.
REF: KPV 578f., LEIA S-37f., GPC I: 860.

***skiy-o-** 'cut' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *scian* [ā f] 'knife'
BRET: MBret. *squeiaff, squeigaff* 'cut'; MoBret. *skejañ* 'cut'
PIE: *sḱey- 'cut' (IEW: 919f.)
COGN: Lat. *sacēna, scēna* 'dolabra pontificalis', OIc. *skeggia* 'axe', *skeina* 'lightly wounded'
ETYM: W *ysgien* [f] is probably an Irish loanword corresponding to OIr. *scían* 'knife' (from PCelt. *skēno- < *sḱey-no-).
REF: LEIA S-42f., Deshayes 2003: 661, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 254, Schrijver 1995: 107.

***skoltā** 'fissure, cleft' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *scoilt, scolt* [ā f] 'splitting'
W: MW *hollt* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *faout* [m] 'fissure'
CO: Co. *fals* 'fissure'
PIE: *skel(H)- 'divide' (IEW: 924)
COGN: Hitt. *iskalla^{i}-* 'tear apart, slit open', Gr. *skállō* 'hoe', ON *skilja* 'divide', Lith. *skélti* 'split'

ETYM: It is difficult to derive the British and Irish forms from exactly the same PCelt. prototype, but they are definitely related, see LEIA S-48f. W *hollt* must be derived by metathesis (PCelt. *sko- > *xso- > *x^{w}o- > *ho-*), and MoBret. *faout* is even more difficult to account for, perhaps by *x^{w}- > *f-*, which is not a well established sound change. Deshayes (2003: 228) denies the connection, and derives *faout* from OFr. *falder* 'fold, wrinkle', but the semantic connection is weak. In Irish, *scoilt* is attested late, only in Modern Irish. However, there is a denominative verb *scoiltid* 'break, split' in OIr., cf. also the W denominative verb *hollti, holli* 'slit, split, open'. In PIE *skel(H)- the laryngeal is assumed because of the acute in Lith. *skélti* (it could have been lost in Celtic regularly after *ol by Saussure's rule).
REF: LEIA S-48f., GPC II: 1894. Deshayes 2003: 228.

***skrībb-ā-** 'scratch' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *scrípaid* 'scratches'
PIE *skri(H)b^{h}- (?) (IEW: 947)
COGN:
'write'
ETYM: The connection of MIr. *scrípaid* and Lat. *scrībo* appears probable, but the exact relationship of these two verbs is uncertain. MIr. *-p-* points to a geminate in PCelt., and the long *-ī- is difficult to reconcile with Umbr. *screhto,* Osc. *scriftas* < *skrib^{h}*-to- (Lat. *scrībo* is presumably from *skreyb^{h}*-). Cf. also Latv. *skrīpât* 'scratch, scribble' (as if from *skrīp-).
REF: LEIA S-55.

***skublo-** 'bird of prey' [Noun]
W: MW *ysglyf* [m] (GPC *ysglyf, sglyf(f), ysglyff, ysgyfl, ysgylf*)
BRET: OBret. *scubl*, MoBret. *skoul*
CO: OCo. *scoul* gl. milvus
GAUL: *Scubli* [Ethnonym]
ETYM: In light of the absence of cognates in other IE languages, this word was probably borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: GPC III: 3837, Delamarre 269.

***skutā** 'point, edge' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *scoth* [ā f]
PIE: *skewt- 'cut' (IEW: 954)
COGN: Lith. *skutù, skùsti* 'peel'
ETYM: MIr. *scothaid, scathaid* 'cuts off, shears' is denominative from *skutā. MIr. *scoth* [ā f] 'word, saying' and 'flower, blossom, lock of hair' are probably the same word. The connection to Skt. *skunóti* 'makes incisions in the ears of cattle' is improbable, because this Sanskrit verb is from a root ending in a laryngeal (note that the accent in Lith. *skùsti* shows that it is from *skewt-, not **skeHut-).
REF: LEIA S-52.

***slad-yo-** 'hit, slay' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *slaidid, -slaid*; *sláiss, -slá* [Subj.]; *selais, -sela* [Fut.]; *selaid* [Pret.]; *slassae, -slass* [Pret. Pass.]
W: OW *ledit* [3s Pres.]; MW *lladd*; *lladdawd* [Pret.]; *llas* [Pret. Pass.]
BRET: OBret. *ladam* gl. caedo, MBret. *lazaff*
CO: Co. *ladha, latha*
ETYM: No convincing IE etymology has been proposed so far.
REF: GPC II: 2079f., KPV 583f., LEIA S-125f., Falileyev 101, LP 396, Schrijver 1995: 178, McCone 1994: 74.

***slāno-** 'safe, whole, sane' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *slán* [o]
PIE: *selh$_2$- 'favorable' (IEW: 900)
COGN: Lat. *sōlor* 'comfort, relief', Gr. *hiláskomai* 'appease', perhaps Go. *sēls* 'good, kind'
ETYM: Lep. *slaniai* is compared to OIr. *slán* by Solinas (1995: 322), but the exact meaning of this form is uncertain (it is probably a proper name in the Dat. sg.). The PIE etymology is somewhat weak on the formal side, see EIEC 236. The PCelt. from would have to be from the zero-grade *slHno-. Go. *sēls* and the related Germanic words have also been plausibly related to Go. *saljan* 'sacrifice' (Orel 2003: 327), cf. *to-sli-yo- 'earn'. Lat. *sōlor*, if it is derived from *selh$_2$-, would have to reflect the lengthened grade *sōlh$_2$- (de Vaan 2008: 572), which is unmotivated in a present stem.
REF: LEIA S-126f., EIEC 236, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 252, Solinas 1995: 322.

***slattā** 'stalk, staff' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *slat* [ā f] 'stalk, stem, branch, twig'
W: MW *llath* [f] 'rod, staff'
BRET: OBret. *lath* gl. stipite, MBret. *laz*
CO: Co. *lath*
ETYM: This could easily be a loanword from some non-IE language of NW Europe. Both the geminate and the a-vocalism testify to a foreign origin. The same source may have been the origin of the Germanic words such as OHG *latta* 'plank' (but note the absence of the intial *s-). The formation in Celtic must be new, since original *tt > *ss in PCelt. In any case, the root could be the same as in *slad-yo- 'hit, slay'? The semantic connection can be seen in Croat. *šîbati* 'beat' from *šîba* 'staff, rod'.
REF: LEIA S-127f., GPC II: 2100, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 510f., Schrijver 1995: 431, Kluge 505.

***slēbos-** 'slope' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *slíab* [s n, later m] 'mountain, moor'
W: W *llwyfan* [f and m] 'stage, platform'

BRET: OBret. *libiriou* gl. lapsus
SEE: *slimono- 'polished, smooth'
ETYM: The relationship of OBret. *libiriou* to the other words is unclear. PCelt. *slēbo- could be from PIE *sley-b^{h}o-, with the root *sley- 'smear' identical as in *slimono- 'polished, smooth'. The basic meaning of *slēbo- would have been 'slippery surface, slope'. However, the semantic connection is weak. W *llwyfan* has also been related to MIr. *léibenn* [o m] 'open surface, terrace, threshing-floor', but this could have been borrowed from Brittonic at an early stage.
REF: LEIA S-131, GPC II: 2243f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 46, 143ff.

***slig-o-** 'strike, hew' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *sligid, -slig*; *sléiss, -slé* [Subj.]; *silis, -sil* [Fut.]; *selaig* [Pret.]; *slechtae, -slecht* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *sleyǵ- 'smear, creep' (IEW: 663f.)
COGN: OHG *slīhhan* 'sneak', OCS *slьzъkъ* 'slippery', perhaps Hitt. *salik-* 'to touch, have contact with'
ETYM: The meanings 'smear', 'sneak' and 'hit' are not easily reconciled, but cf. Germ. *Streich* 'blow' and *streichen* 'smear' (LIV 566).
REF: KPV 591f., LIV 566f., LP 396, LEIA S-133.

***slimono-** 'polished, smooth' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *slemon, slemain* [o] 'smooth, sleek, polished'
W: OW *limnint* [3p Pres.] 'polish', MW *llyfn* 'polished, smooth'
BRET: OBret. *limn* gl. lentum, MBret. *di-leffn* 'hard', MoBret. *levn* 'smooth'
CO: Co. *leven*
PIE: *sley- 'smear (with grease), polish'
COGN: Lat. *līmo* 'polish', OHG *slīmen* 'polish'
ETYM: This PCelt. word seems to contain the suffix *-ono- (cf. *antono- 'forehead').
REF: LEIA S-130, GPC II: 2254, DGVB 242f., EIEC 527, Falileyev 103, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 437, 540.

***slowgo-** 'troop, army' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *slúag, slóg* [o m]
W: MW *llu* [m]
BRET: OBret. *mor-lu* 'great army', *-lu* (in toponyms)
CO: OCo. *luu listri* gl. classis, Co. *lu*
GAUL: *Catu-slugi* [Ethnonym]
PIE: *slowg$^{(h)}$o- 'retinue' (IEW: 965)
COGN: OCS *sluga* 'servant', Lith. *slaugà* 'servitude'
SEE: *tego-slowgo- 'household'
REF: LEIA S-136, GPC II: 2215, DGVB 247, EIEC 506, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 45.

***slu-n-k-o-** 'swallow' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *slucaid, -slucai*; *sloicis* [Pret.]; *-slogeth* [Pret. Pass.] (DIL *sluicid, slocaid*)
W: MW *llyncu*
BRET: OBret. *ro-luncas* gl. *guturicauit,* MBret. *louncaff*
PIE: *(s)lewk-, *(s)lewg- (IEW: 964)
COGN: Gr. *lýzō* 'swallow', Ukr. *lýkaty* 'swallow', Germ. *schlucken* 'swallow'
ETYM: The root-form *(s)lewk- is a variant of *(s)lewg- (LIV 964), from which we have Germ. *schlucken*, etc. and OIr. *loingid* 'eat' (< PCelt. *lu-n-g-o-). The variation *k/g is unexplained, but such irregularities are not uncommon in expressive verbs.
REF: LEIA S-139, GPC II: 2273, KPV 593f., LIV 568, LEIA S-139, LP 396.

***smeko-** 'chin' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *smech* [o n]
PIE: *smeḱru- 'chin, jaw' (IEW: 968)
COGN: Hitt. *zamankur* 'beard', Skt. *śmáśru-* 'beard', Lith. *smakrà* 'chin', Alb. *mjekër,* perehaps Arm. *mawru-k^{c}* 'beard'
ETYM: Cognates in other IE languages point to PIE *smeḱru-, or *smoḱru-, which is probably the result of metathesis from erlier *smoḱwr (cf. Hitt. *zamankur*, and the similar development in PCelt. *dakro- 'tear'). The underived stem in PCelt. *smek-o- is isolated.
REF: LEIA S-140, EIEC 107, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 60, 341, Matasović 2004: 110.

***smēro-** 'blackberry' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *smér* [?o m]
W: MW *mwyar, mwyaren* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *mouar* [Collective]
CO: OCo. *moyr-bren* gl. morus
ETYM: OIr. *mér*, which also means 'a berry, blackberry' is a Brittonic loanword. Formally, the Brittonic words could be collectives in *-aro- (cf. *klukaro- 'heap of stones' from *klukā 'stone'). However, the IE etymology is unknown, so this Celtic word for 'berry' may have been borrowed from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA S-141, Deshayes 2003: 523, Pedersen I: 67.

***smeru-** 'marrow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *smiur* [u] gl. medulla (DIL *smir*)
W: MW *mer* (GPC *mêr*) [m]; *meirion* [p]
BRET: MBret. *mel* [Collective]
PIE: *smer- 'marrow?' (IEW: 970)

COGN: OE *smēoro* 'butter, fat', Lat. *medulla* 'marrow'
ETYM: MoBret. *-l-* instead of *-r- is unexplained. It may be due, according to Hamp (1973: 155) to the analogical influence of the word for 'honey', PCelt. *meli- (v.). Lat. *medulla* was dissimilated from *merulla.
REF: LEIA S-142, GPC III: 2432, EIEC 194, Deshayes 2003: 500, Hamp 1973: 155f.

***snad-o-** 'hew, carve' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *snaidid, -snaid*; *snáiss, -sná* [Subj.]
W: MW *naddu*
PIE: *sneH$_{2/3}$d^{h}- 'hew' (IEW: 972f.)
COGN: OHG *snatta* 'scar'
ETYM: Another possibility would be to relate these Celtic words to ON *snata* 'spear', OHG *snazo* 'pike' (Orel 2003: 357), and perhaps to ORuss. *snastь* 'instrument, weapon', Russ. dial. *snast'* 'penis' (Vasmer, s. v.). The PIE root would be *sneHd-. The short vowel in the present tense of the Celtic reflexes may be the result of Dybo's law, if the original inflection was of the Skt. *tudáti*-type (PIE *snHdé- > *snādé- > PCelt. *snade-).
REF: GPC III: 2548, KPV 594f., LIV 571, LEIA S-146, LP 397.

***snā-** 'swim' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *snaïd, -sná* 'swims, floats, sails, flows'
W: MW *nawf* [m] 'swimming'
BRET: MBret. *neuff* 'swimming', MoBret. *neuñv* [m]
PIE: *sneh$_2$- 'swim, bathe' (IEW: 971f.)
COGN: Skt. *snā́ti* 'bathes', Lat. *no, nāre,* ToB *nask-* 'bathe'
ETYM: Brittonic verbal nouns (W *nawf*, MoBret. *neuñ*) are parallel to OIr. *snám* [o m] 'swimming' < PCelt. *snāmo- < PIE *snh$_2$-mo-.
REF: KPV 596, LIV 572f., LEIA S-145f., LP 397, Deshayes 2003: 536.

***snād-ī-** 'protect' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *snádid, -snádi*
W: MW *nawdd* [m and f] 'protection, defence'
ETYM: PIE etymology is controversial. A connection with Skt. *nātha-* 'help' appears possible if one assumes a PIE root *(s)neh$_2$- with different dental suffixes in Celtic and Skt. Gr. *onínēmi* 'be useful, help' (fut. *onḗsō*) must then be unrelated, because it requires the reconstruction *h$_3$neh$_2$- (cf. also Go. *ansts* 'beneficence').
REF: LEIA S-146f., GPC III: 2556.

***snāmo-** 'swimming' [Noun]
SEE: *snā- 'swim'

***snāto-** 'thread' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *snáth* [o m or n]

BRET: OBret. *notenn* gl. a filo, MBret. *neut*, MoBret. *neud* [Collective]
PIE: *sneh$_1$- 'spin' (IEW: 973)
COGN: OE *snód* 'headband, snood', Latv. *snāte* 'linen cover'
SEE: *sniy-o- 'spin, weave'
ETYM: PCelt. *snāto- can be both from PIE *snh$_1$to- and *snoh$_1$to-; at first sight, the former seems more probable, since zero-grade is expected if we start from the past participle *snh$_1$tó-, but in that case the first syllable would presumably have been shortened by Dybo's law. However, Latv. *snāte* must be from *snoh$_1$to-.
REF: LEIA S-148, EIEC 571, Deshayes 2003: 535, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 342, 441.

***snidā** 'nit' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sned* [?ā f] gl. lens
W: MW *nedd* [Collective], *nedden* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *nez* [Collective], *nezenn* [Singulative]
CO: Co. *nedhen* [Singulative]
PIE: *konid- 'nit' (IEW: 608, 437)
COGN: Gr. *konís*, OE *hnitu*, Russ. *gnída*
ETYM: Although it appears certain that the Celtic words adduced here are related to the PIE word for 'nit', the exact phonetic development is unclear. Word-initial *kn- should be preserved in Celtic. Is it possible that the cluster *skn- (with s-mobile) was reduced to *sn-?
REF: GPC III: 2561, EIEC 357, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 58, Deshayes 2003: 537, Matasović 2004: 89.

***snig^{w}-(y)o-** 'snow' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *snigid, -snig*; *sinis, -sin*; *senaig*
PIE: *sneyg^{wh}- 'snow' (IEW: 974)
COGN: Gr. *neíphei* 'it snows', Lat. *ninguit* 'it snows', OHG *snīwan*, perhaps Skt. *snihyati* 'adheres to'
ETYM: Some think that W *nyf* [m] 'snow' (a late, poetic word) is a loanword from Lat. (*niuem*), but it could also be inherited (*snig^{w}o-?), cf. also OIr. *snige* [iā f] 'snow' < PCelt. *snig^{w}yā and OIr. *snechtae* [io m] 'snow'.
REF: GPC III: 2603f., KPV 597f., LIV 573, LEIA S-153, LP 397, Schrijver 1995: 316, Sims-Williams 1981, McCone 1996: 38f.

***snīs** 'we' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *sní*
W: MW *ni*
BRET: MBret. *ni, ny*
CO: Co. *ny*
PIE: *no- 'we' (IEW: 758)
COGN: Lat. *nōs*, Hitt. *anzas* 'us', Go. *uns* 'us', OPr. *noūson*, Alb. *ne*

SEE: *swīs 'you'
ETYM: The vocalism of PCelt. *snīs may have been influenced by *swīs 'you'. The infixed form of the pronoun (OIr. *-nn-*, MW *-n-*) may reflect the original *snōs (LP 215).
REF: LEIA 150f., GPC III: 2581, LP 215.

***sniy-o-** 'spin, weave' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *sniid, -sní*; *sénaid, -séna* [Fut.]; *sénais, -sénai* [Pret.]; *sníthae, -sníth* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *nyddu, nyddaf*
BRET: MBret. *nezaff*, MoBret. *nezañ*
CO: Co. *nedha*
PIE: *sneh$_1$- 'spin' (IEW: 973)
COGN: Lat. *neo, nēre*, Gr. *nḗthō*, OHG *nāen*
SEE: *snāto- 'thread'
REF: GPC III: 2603, Deshayes 2003: 537, KPV 599, LIV 571f., LEIA S-151f., LP 397.

***snowdo-** 'mist, haze' [Noun]
W: W *nudd* [m and f]
PIE: *snewd^h- 'mist, cloud' (IEW: 978)
COGN: Lat. *nūbēs* 'clouds', Av. *snaoδa-* 'cloud'
ETYM: The PCelt. formation is a pure conjecture, since we have only the W reflex. The theonym *Nowdont- (MIr. *Nuadu* [n m], Gaul. *Nodonti, Nodenti* [Dat. sg.], CIL VII 138, 140, MW *Ludd* from earlier *Nudd) may, in principle, be from the same root (the alternative derivation of this name from PIE *neh$_2$w- 'need, compel' (cf. PCelt. *nāwito-) is formally quite difficult). MIr. *núada, núadu* 'hero, champion' is probably just the euhemerized name of this Celtic deity.
REF: GPC III: 2599, Schrijver 1991: 375, Mallory & Adams 2006: 129, Kalygin 2006: 124.

***so-** 'this' [Demonstrative Pron.]
GOID: OIr. *-so*
GAUL: *so-sin* (Vaison, RIG G-153)
PIE: *so- 'this' (IEW: 979)
COGN: Gr. *ho*, Skt. *sá-*
SEE: *sī 'she'
ETYM: In OIr., *-so* is a clitic demonstrative particle; the Celtic pronominal stem *so- is also contained in MBret. *ho-n* 'our', *ho-z* 'your', as well as in W demonstratives *hwn* [m], *hon* [f], etc.
REF: LEIA S-154f., Deshayes 2003: 334, Lambert 1994: 86.

***sodyo-** 'seat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *suide* [io n] 'sitting, seat'

PIE: *sodyo- 'seat' (IEW: 884)
COGN: Lat. *solium* < *sodiom 'throne, high-backed chair, bath-tub'
SEE: *sed-o- 'sit'
ETYM: Cf. also MIr. *fothae* 'ground, basis', which can be from *ufo-sodyo-.
REF: LEIA S-200, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 209.

***somo-** 'same' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *-som* [emphatic particle 3s m. and n.]
PIE: *som-Ho- 'one, same' (IEW: 904)
COGN: Skt. *samá-* 'same', Gr. *homós* 'one and the same', Go. *sama* 'same'
ETYM: The presence of the laryngeal in the suffix is shown by the non-operation of Brugmannh's law in Skt. The same root is probably reflected in OW *hanther*, MW *hanner* 'middle, half' < PCelt. *santero- < PIE *sm-tero- 'one of the two' (cf. Gr. Dor. *háteros* 'one of the two' < *smtero-, Lat. *sēmi-* 'half' < PIE Locative sg. *sēm-i 'in one').
REF: LEIA S-169, GPC II: 1821.

***sondo-** 'that' [Pron]
SEE: *sindo-, *so-

***sowk-n-o-** 'suck' [Vb]
W: MW *sugno* 'to suck, drink, suckle'
BRET: MBret. *sunaff*, MoBret. *sunañ*
PIE: *sewḱ- suck' (IEW: 1012)
COGN: OCS *sъsati*, ON *súgan*, Lat. *sūcus* 'juice'
ETYM: Cf. also W *sugn* [m] 'suction, suckling, juice', W *sugnedydd* 'pump'. IEW (913) assumed that W *sugno* has *-g-* by analogy with *sug* 'juice', which is from Lat. *sūcus*, but this is not necessary. Lat. *sūgo* 'suck' and OE *sūcan* point to *sewǵ-, but *-g- could have developed regularly in nasal presents (*sewk-n- > *sewg-n-).
REF: GPC IV: 3353, Deshayes 2003: 703, LIV 488.

***sowno-** 'sleep' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *súan* [o m]
W: MW *hun* [f]
BRET: MBret. *hun*
CO: OCo. *hun* gl. letargia, MCo. *hun*
PIE: *swopno- 'sleep' (IEW: 1048)
COGN: Skt. *svápna-*, Gr. *hýpnos*, Lat. *somnus*, Hitt. *supp-* 'to sleep', Arm. *kʻun*, OE *swefn*, Lith. *sãpnas*, OCS *sъnъ*, Alb. *gjumë*
ETYM: The Celtic forms presuppose PIE *supno- and are exactly parallel to Gr. *hýpnos*; the development was PIE *supno- > *suwno- > *sowno- (*sw > W *h* before *o is regular, though, cf. *sworo- 'louse' > W *hor*, so that W *hun* might in principle be from *swopno-).

REF: LEIA S-197, GPC II: 1910, EIEC 529, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 255ff., Campanile 1974: 66.

***sowono-** 'sun, sunlight' [Noun]
W: MW *huan* [m and f] 'sun'
SEE: *suw-o- 'turn'
ETYM: W *huan* is usually derived from the oblique cases of the PIE heterocliton *seh$_2$wol/n- 'sun', but the phonetic development is difficult. Therefore, it is preferable to relate this noun to PIE *sewh$_2$- 'turn, set in motion' (Skt. *suváti*). The Vedic theonym *Savitár-*, which is also derived from this root, is often just an epithet of the Sun (*sū́rya-*) in the Rig Veda. The suffix would have been *-ono- (cf. *antono-, *slimono-).
REF: LEIA S-202, GPC II: 1905, Schrijver 1995: 334.

***soyto-** 'magic' [Noun]
W: MW *hud* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *hud*
CO: Co. *hus*
PIE: *seh$_2$i- 'to bind' (IEW: 891f.)
COGN: ON *seiðr* 'magic, charm'
SEE: *sēbro- 'demon, spectre'
ETYM: Cf. also OCo. *hudol* gl. magus and W *hudol* 'charming, illusory' < *soyto-lo-. If the IE etymology is correct, we can derive PCelt. *soyto- from PIE *sh$_2$oy-to-. OCS *sila* 'force' and Lith. *síela* 'soul' could be from the same root, going back to *seh$_2$yleh$_2$.
REF: GPC II: 1905.

***sregn-o-** 'snore' [Vb]
SEE: *srognā 'nose'

***srobu-** 'snout, beak' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *srub* [u n]
PIE: *serb^h-, *sreb^h- 'suck, absorb, sip' (IEW: 1001)
COGN: Lat. *sorbeo* 'drink, suck up', Gr. *rhophéō* 'slurp', Hitt. *sarāp^i-* 'to sip', Alb. *gjerp* 'slurp', Lith. *srebiù, surbiù, surbti* 'to suck'
ETYM: PCelt. *srobu- presupposes PIE o-grade *srob^h- (cf. Gr. *rhophéō*).
REF: LEIA S-188, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 95.

***srognā** 'nose' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *srón* [ā f]
W: MW *ffroen* [f] 'nostril'
BRET: OBret. *fron*, MBret. *froan, fron*
GAUL: *frognā > OFr. *frogne* (hence Eng. *frown*).
PIE: *sreg^h- 'snore' (IEW: 1002)
COGN: Gr. *rhégkhō* 'snore', Arm. *ṙngun-k^c* [p] 'nose'.

ETYM: OIr. *srennid* 'snore' (PCelt. < *sregn-o-) represents the reflex of the verbal root *sreng^{h}-, from which PCelt. *srognā is derived. Cf. also MoBret. *fri* [m] 'nose', Co. *frig* [f] 'nostril', which might be from *sregos, yet another derivative. The relationship of these words to W *trwyn* [m], OCo. *trein*, which appear to be from *trognī, is unclear, cf. also Galatian *droũggos* 'nose' (Freeman 2001: 14).
REF: LEIA S-187, DGVB 172, Deshayes 2003: 255, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 60, 258, Hamp 1960, Freeman 2001: 14, Gamillscheg 764.

***srowman-** 'stream' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sruaim* [n]
BRET: OBret. *strum* gl. copia (lactis)
PIE: *srew-m- 'flow, stream' (IEW: 1003)
COGN: Gr. *rheũma,* OHG *stroum*, Alb. *rrymë* 'flow (of water), Lith. *sraumuõ* 'stream, brook'
REF: LEIA S-188, DGVB 309, EIEC 207, 486, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 266.

***sruto-** 'stream, flow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sruth* [o n]
W: MW *ffrwd* [m > f]
BRET: OBret. *frut*
CO: OCo. *frot* gl. alueus
PIE: *srew- 'flow' (IEW: 1003)
COGN: Skt. *srávati,* Gr. *rhéō*, OCS *struja* 'stream', OHG *stroum* 'stream, current'
ETYM: OBret. *frut* is not found in DGVB. These Celtic words can be derived from a passive participle of the verb *srew- 'flow'. Cf. also Gaul. *Phroudis* [Hydronym], which is sometimes claimed to show that Gaulish shared the Brittonic change of *sr- > *fr-.
REF: LEIA S-189, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 290, 448, Campanile 1974: 47, Schrijver 1995: 441.

***stabo-** 'shaft, pole' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sab* [o m]
PIE: *steh$_2$- 'stand' (IEW: 1012)
COGN: OHG *stap* 'staff, crane', Lith. *stãbas* 'post'
SEE: *tā-yo- 'stand, find oneself'
ETYM: The etymology is quite dubious, but if correct, PCelt. *stabo- must be from PIE *sth$_2$-b^{h}o-. The connection with Skt. *stámbha-* 'pillar' is improbable because this noun is derived from *stemb^{h}-(H)- 'support', cf. Skt. *stabhnā́ti* 'supports', ToB *śama* 'stood' (LIV: 541).
REF: LEIA S-3, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 175.

***stagrā** 'river, stream' [Noun]

BRET: OBret. *staer*, MoBret. *staer* [f]
PIE: *steh$_2$g- 'pool' (IEW: 1010)
COGN: Lat. *stāgnum* 'pool', Gr. *stázō* 'drip'
ETYM: If the etymology is correct, Celtic and Greek preserve the zero-grade of the PIE root (*sth$_2$g-), while the full grade is preserved in Latin.
REF: Deshayes 2003: 687, de Vaan 2008: 585.

***stamnā** 'mouth' [Noun]
W: MW *safyn* (GPC *safn*) [f and m] 'jawbone, mouth'
BRET: MBret. *staffn*
CO: MoCo. *sawn, sawan* 'cleft'
PIE: *stom-n- 'mouth, jawbone' (IEW: 1035)
COGN: Hitt. *istaman-, istāman-* 'ear', Gr. *stóma,* Av. *staman-* 'mouth of a dog'
ETYM: Late Co. *stevnig* 'palate' is a derivative (< *stamnikā). The reconstruction of the PIE form is a matter of controversy. Kloekhorst (2008: 441) reconstructs *steh$_3$men- because of Luv. *tummant-* 'ear'. If this is correct, PCelt. *stamnā must reflect *sth$_3$m-n-.
REF: GPC III: 3164, EIEC 387, LP 20, LHEB 527, 530, Schrijver 1995: 422.

***star-na-** 'strew, broaden' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *sernaid, -sern*; *seraid, -sera* [Subj.]; *sirt, -sert* [Pret.]; *srethae, -sreth* [Pret. Pass.]
W: W *sarnu*
PIE: *sterh$_3$- 'broaden, extend' (IEW: 1029f.)
COGN: Skt. *stṛṇā́ti*, Lat. *sterno*, Gr. *stórnymi* 'extend', *strōtós* 'extended'
ETYM: Cf. also W *sarn* 'pavement', which can be from *star-no-, and the derivatives MoBret. *gouzer* [m] 'litter' and OIr. *fossair* 'strewing, litter' < *ufo-starV-. The original formation (with the zero-grade of the root) is preserved in W *sarnu*, while OIr. *sernaid* represents the analogically introduced full grade (*ster-na-).
REF: KPV 601f., LIV 599f., LEIA S-93ff., LP 395, Schrijver 1995: 409.

***stātlā** 'heel' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sál* [ā f] gl. calx
W: MW *saudel* (GPC *sawdl*) [m and f]; *sodlau* [p]
BRET: MBret. *seuzl*
CO: Co. *suthel, sul*
PIE: *steh$_2$- 'stand' (IEW: 1004)
SEE: *tā-yo- 'stand, find oneself', *stabo- 'shaft, pole'
ETYM: De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 303 derives these words from PIE *sth$_2$-d^{h}leh$_2$, with zero-grade and a different suffix, cf. also MW *stadl, ystadl* 'position'. The connection with Lat. *tālus* 'ankle' is problematic, since the diminutive *taxillus* implies a proto-form *takslos, not *(s)tātlos.

REF: LEIA S-16f., GPC III: 3184, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 303, Schrijver 1995: 421, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 642.

***sterkā** 'love' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *serc* [ā f]
W: MW *serch* [m]
BRET: OBret. *Serchan* [PN], MBret. *serch* 'concubine', MoBret. *serc'h* [f] 'concubine, mistress, courtisan'
PIE: *ster-k-, *ster-g- 'love' (IEW: 1032)
COGN: Gr. *stérgō* 'love'
ETYM: The fact that Greek *stérgō* has *g* instead of *k casts serious doubts on this etymology. One way to deal with this problem would be to assume that Celt. *k was generalized from the Nom. sg. of the (unattested) root-noun (PIE *stērg-s or *stōrg-s), cf. PCelt. *druko- 'bad'.
REF: LEIA S-91f., GPC III: 3227, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 49, Deshayes 2003: 651.

***sterā** 'star' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ser*
W: OW *serenn* [Singulative], MW *ser, syr* [p] (GPC *sêr, sŷr*)
BRET: MBret. *sterenn* [Singulative]
CO: OCo. *steren* [Singulative] gl. stella, Co. *ste(y)r*
GAUL: *Sirona, đirona* [Theonym]
PIE: *$h_2$stēr 'star' (IEW: 1028)
COGN: Hitt. *hasterz*, Gr. *astḗr*, Lat. *stēlla*, Go. *stairno*
ETYM: OIr. *ser* is a hapax (it occurs in one of the archaic Leinster eulogies), its gender is unknown; therefore, the PCelt. reconstruction is uncertain. Gaul. *Sirona*, if it is indeed from the same etymon, perhaps contains the original lengthened grade from the Nom. sg. (PIE *$h_2$stēr > PCelt. *stīr-ōnā).
REF: LEIA S-90, GPC III: 3226, LP 20, Delamarre 282, Falileyev 142, LHEB 530, Campanile 1974: 96, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 47, McCone 1996: 51, Matasović 2004: 98.

***stirrāko-** 'small animal, chick' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *serrech* [o m]
PIE: *stirp- 'progeny' (IEW: 1042)
COGN: Lat. *stirps* 'stem, stock, ancestral race', Lith. *stir̃pti* 'to grow up'
ETYM: OIr. *serrach* is equally compatible with PCelt. *sterrāko- < PIE *sterp-, but the comparison with Lat. *stirps* shows that *stirr- is the more likely proto-form of the root. However, a PIE form *stirp- seems highly unusual (*sterp- is inherently more plausible). The development *rp > PCelt. *rr is regular, cf. *serrā 'sickle'.
REF: LEIA S-95f.

***stlēki-** 'lye' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sléic* 'lye, nitrum'
BRET: MBret. *stloac, stloacq, stloag*
ETYM: The meaning of OIr. *sléic* as 'lye' is ascertained by Lambert 1990. The word may have been borrowed from Brittonic, as Lambert thinks, but the relation to Lat. *lixa* 'lye' appears probable. If the Italic and Celtic words go back to a root *stleyk- / *stlik-, then Lat. *lixa* cannot be related to *liquor* 'fluid' and derived from *wlik- (as in de Vaan 2008: 347).
REF: LEIA S-129, Hemon 2965, Lambert 1990.

***stlissu-** 'side, wall' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sliss* [u m] (DIL *slis*)
W: MW *ystlys* [f and m] (GPC *ystlys, stlys*)
PIE: *stel- 'spread' (IEW: 1018)
COGN: Gr. *stéllō* 'spread', OCS *stьlati* 'broaden'.
ETYM: The derivation of PCelt. *stlissu- from the zero-grade of the root in PIE *stl-stu- is difficult, since this should have given PCelt. **stalssu-. Assuming a full-grade *stlessu- would imply Schwebeablaut in PIE, for which there is no other evidence. The connection with Lat. *lātus* 'broad, wide' is improbable, since this presupposes a root in a laryngeal, PIE *s(t)lH-to-. It has been compared with OIr. *con-slá* 'go away' (de Vaan 2008: 329), but the semantic difference between 'go away' and 'broad' is considerable.
REF: LEIA S-135f., GPC III: 3863, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 288, 295., Schrijver 1995: 438, Hamp 1985.

***stlondo-** 'sense, meaning' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *slond* [o ?m] 'expression, mention, designation'
W: OW *istlinnit* [3s Pres.] gl. profatur, W *ystlwn* 'connection'
BRET: MBret. *stlen* 'declared'
ETYM: Cf. also the OIr. verb *sluindid* 'expresses, declares, names' from the same root (causative *stlond-ī-). Schrijver (1995: 435ff.) defends the old connection of these words with Lat. *splendor* 'brightness', Lat. *splendeo* 'shine', cf. also ToB *pällātär* 'praise', Go. *spill* 'tale'. If this is true, the correct PCelt. reconstruction is *sflondo-, and the semantic development would have been from 'enlighten, shed light on' to 'declare'.
REF: LEIA S-137f., Falileyev 97, Schrijver 1995: 435ff., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 295.

***(s)towxsman-** 'bend, arch, curve' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *túaimm* [n n] '?mound'
W: MW *ystum* 'curve, gesture, shape, trick' [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *stum* 'form'
CO: Co. *Stym(codde)* [Toponym]
SEE: *stu-n-g-o- 'bend'

ETYM: The exact meaning of MIr. *túaimm* is unknown, but it appears to mean something like 'tumulus, mound'. Greene (1958) related it to OIr. *túag* [ā f] 'arch'. W *ystum* is apparently the same word as *túaimm* with the s-mobile, or, alternatively, with the prefix *eks- (Stüber 1998: 68). Alternatively, OIr. *túaimm* might reflect a sandhi-variant which lost the initial *s-. Since the change *rst > *rt is regular, the loss of the initial *s- may have been generalized from the environments after the final *-r of the preceding word in the sentence, cf. also *tā-yo- 'stand, find oneself' < *stā-yo-).
REF: GPC III: 3867, Stüber 1998: 68, Greene 1958, Schrijver 1995: 419.

***strato-** 'valley' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *srath* [o m] 'grass, sward, valley'
W: OW *Strat,* MW *Ystrad* [in toponyms], MW *ystrad* [f and m] 'valley'
BRET: MBret. *strad* 'bottom'
CO: Co. *Straet-neat* [Toponym]
PIE: *sterh$_3$- 'extend, strew' (IEW: 1029f.)
COGN: Skt. *stṛṇāti,* Lat. *sterno*, Gr. *stórnymi*
SEE: *star-na- 'broaden, extend'
ETYM: PCelt. *strato- is derivable from the participle *strh$_3$-tó-, with shortening of the first vowel by Dybo's law.
REF: GPC III: 3865, McCone 1996: 52f.

***stronko-** 'excrement'
W: W *trwnc* [m] 'urine'
BRET: MoBret. *stroñk, stronk* [m] 'excrements'
PIE: *sterḱ- 'excrement, dung' (IEW: 1031f.)
COGN: Lat. *stercus* 'dung', perhaps Hitt. *istark-^{zi}* 'to ail, afflict' and Lith. *teršiù* 'befoul'
ETYM: Deshayes (2003: 700) derives MoBret. *stronk* from OFr. *estron* 'dung', but this is unlikely in light of the W cognate. Cf. also W *troeth* [m and f] 'urine, lye', MBret. *troaz,* MoBret. *troazh* [m] 'urine', Co. *trôth* 'urine, lye' < *(s)troxtā. The connection of PCelt. *stronko-, *(s)troxtā to Lat. *stercus* is not quite clear, since it seems to presuppose *Schwebeablaut.* One could assume that Celtic has the new o-grade of the root built from the zero-grade *strik-, but the zero-grade is actually unattested in Celtic.
REF: GPC IV: 3627, 3613, Deshayes 2003: 700, 746, Schrijver 1995: 453f.

***(s)troxtā** 'urine' [Noun]
SEE: *stronko- 'excrement'

***struti-** 'old, senior' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *sruith* 'old, venerable'
W: OW *strutiu* gl. *antiquam gentem*
BRET: OBret. *strot*

PIE: *strew- 'respect' (IEW: 1037)
COGN: Lith. *strùjus* 'old man', ORuss. *strъi* 'uncle', Pol. *stryj* 'uncle'
ETYM: PCelt. *struti- seems to be derived with the abstract noun forming suffix *-ti-, so the original meaning of the word could have been 'respect', vel sim.
REF: LEIA S-189, GPC IV: 3346, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 293, Schrijver 1995: 453.

***stu-n-g-o-** 'bend' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *as-toing* 'refuse, swear away'; *as-tó* [Subj.]
W: MW *estwng, ystwng, estyngi* 'bend, lower oneself'
BRET: MBret. *stoeaff* 'bend, lower oneself'
PIE: *(s)tewg- 'move abruptly' (IEW: 1032f.)
COGN: Skt. *tuj-* 'set in motion', *tuñjáte* 'moves swiftly', Gr. *stygéō* 'hate'
ETYM: MIr. *as-toing* < *exs-stungo- (the simplex verb is unattested). In Old Irish, forms of PCelt. *tungo- 'swear' were confused with the forms derived from *stungo- 'bend', see KPV 605. The connection with PIE *(s)tewg- 'move abruptly' is not completely convincing, because the meanings are quite different.
REF: KPV 603ff., LIV 602, GPC I: 1251, Schrijver 1995: 419f.

***su-** 'good' [Adv], [(Prefixed) Adjective]
GOID: OIr. *so-, su-*
W: MW *hy-*
BRET: MBret. *he-*
CO: Co. *he-*
GAUL: *Sucellos* [Theonym]
PIE: *$h_1$su- 'well, good' (IEW: 1037)
COGN: Skt. *su-*, Gr. *eu-*, etc.
REF: LEIA S-153f., EIEC 235, Delamarre 283, Zimmer 1995.

***subi-** 'strawberry' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sub* [i n]
W: MW *syui* (GPC *syfi*) [p]; *syfien* [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. *seuuienn* [Singulative]; *s(u)iuy* [p]
CO: Co. *syvyen* [Singulative]; *sevi* [p] (MoCo.)
ETYM: Presumably a loanword from some non-IE substrate; however, the declension class of OIr. *suib* (a neuter i-stem) looks archaic.
REF: LEIA S-197f., GPC III: 3379, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 281

***sūdyā, *sudyā** 'soot' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *suide*
W: MW *huddygl* [m]
BRET: MoBret. *huzel* [f]
CO: Co. *hudhyl, hylgeth*

GAUL: *sūdyā > Fr. *suie*, Cat. *sutje*
ETYM: It is possible that we should restore *ú* for *u* in OIr. *o suidi* gl. fuligine. In this case OIr. *súide* would be parallel to Gaul. *sūdyā. The Brittonic forms, however, seem to point to *sowd-, perhaps with the VLat. suffix *-clum*. I do not believe these words have anything to do with the PIE root *sed- 'to sit', as suggested in IEW (886). Rather, the comparison with Lith. *súodžiai* 'soot' and OE *sōt* 'soot' seems to show that we have a PIE *seh$_3$wd-. The stem *sūd- in Celtic could be due to laryngeal metathesis (*sh$_3$ud- > *suHd-), while the Brittonic forms seem to point to PIE *sh$_3$ewd-. The *Schwebeablaut* that needs to be posited appears strange, however.
REF: LEIA S-201, GPC II: 1908, Gamillscheg 827.

***sukko-** 'pig' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *soc(c)* [o m] 'snout, plough-share'
W: OW *huch, suh,* MW *hwch* [f and m] 'pig'
BRET: OBret. *hoch* gl. aper, MoBret. *houc'h*
CO: OCo. *hoch* gl. porcus, Co. *hoch*
PIE: *suH- 'pig' (IEW: 1038)
COGN: Lat. *sūs*, Av. *hū-*, ToB *suwo*, OE *sugu* 'sow', Alb. *thi*
ETYM: Cf. also the OIr. river-name *Socc* and *socc sáil* 'name of a fish'. Fr. *soc* 'plough-share' is from Gaul. *sukko- and shows the same development of meaning as OIr. *socc*. If the IE etymology in Pokorny is correct, the short *u in PCelt. is unexplained; the geminate *-kk- may be due to the analogical influence of the other word for 'pig', PCelt. *mokku-. In any case, borrowing from an unknown source remains a possibility.
REF: LEIA S-158f., GPC II: 1928, EIEC 425, LHEB 567, Falileyev 87, Campanile 1974: 64, Gamillscheg 811, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 35, 96, 519, Zimmer 1994: 152-3.

***su-oxsmiyo-** 'rich' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *sommae* [io]
PIE: *h$_2$op- 'wealth' (IEW: 780)
COGN: Hitt. *happinant-* 'rich', Skt. *ápnas-* 'property', Lat. *op-ulentus* 'rich'
SEE: *su- 'good'
ETYM: There is, in OIr., also the antonym *doimm* 'poor' < *dus-oxs-mi-. Both *su-oxsmiyo- and *dus-oxs-mi- show unusual word formation.
REF: LEIA S-170, EIEC 637.

***sutu-** 'fruit, produce, issue' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *suth* [u m] 'fruit, offspring'
PIE: *sewH- 'bear offspring, give birth to' (IEW: 913)
COGN: Skt. *sūte* 'gives birth to', *sūnús* 'son', Gr. *hyiós*, *hyiýs*, *hyós* 'son', ToA *se* 'son'
SEE: *sowkno- 'juice'

ETYM: The short vowel in OIr. *suth* may be due to Dybo's law (but cf. the accent in Skt. *sūtu-* 'pregnancy'). MIr. *suth* 'milk' is treated as related by DIL, but it may be from a different root, PIE *sew- 'flow, pour' (Gr. *hýei* 'it rains', OE *séaw* 'juice', Skt. *sunóti* 'presses (juice)', IEW 912, LEIA S-206). It could represent PCelt. *suto-. The same root may be reflected in W *sudd* 'juice, sap, bodily fluid' (GPC IV: 3352), if it is from *sow-yo-, or *sow-do-, with *s- > *s-* as in *seith* 'seven' < PCelt. *sextam, but cf. Isaac 2004. Gr. *hyiýs*, ToA *se* and ToB *soy* reflect PIE *suH-yu-.
REF: LEIA S-205f.

***suw-o-** 'turn, wind' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *soïd, -soí*; *soaid, -soa* [Subj.]; *soífid, -soífea* [Fut.]
W: MW *amheu* 'doubt' (GPC *amau, amheuo*)
PIE: *sewh$_1$- 'move, set to motion' (IEW: 914)
COGN: Hitt. *suwezzi,* Skt. *suváti*
SEE: *sowono- 'sun'
ETYM: W *asseu, aswy* 'left' might be derivable from *ad-sowo-, from the same root; however, in this dictionary it is derived from PCelt. *assowyo- 'left'.
REF: KPV 605f., LIV 538f., LP 397f., LEIA S-156f., GPC I: 90

***suxto-** 'silence, inactivity' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *socht* [o m] 'silence, dejection, gloom'
PIE: *sewg- 'be ill, sorrowful' (IEW: 915)
COGN: Go. *siuks* 'ill', Eng. *sick*, OHG *suht* 'illness'
ETYM: The OIr. form looks like a to-participle, PIE *sug-to- (cf. OHG *suht* < *sug-ti-). The development of meaning was presumably from 'illness' to 'inactivity' and 'silence'.
REF: LEIA S-161.

***swādu-** 'sweet' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *Sadb* [PN]
GAUL: *Suadu-gena,* [PN], *Suadu-rix* [PN]
PIE: *sweh$_2$du- 'sweet' (IEW: 1039)
COGN: Skt. *svādú-*, Gr. *hēdýs,* Lat. *suāuis*, ToB *swāre*
ETYM: W *hawdd* 'easy' is certainly not from this root, cf. PCelt. *sādo-.
REF: Delamarre 284, Ellis Evans 1967: 258, Meid 2005: 206f.

***swan-na-** 'sound, play (an instrument)' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *seinnid, -seinn*; *sifais, -sif(e)* [Subj.]; *sefainn, sephainn* [Pret.]
PIE: *swenh$_2$- '(produce) sound' (IEW: 1046f.)
COGN: Skt. *svan-, ásvanīt* [3s Aor.], Lat. *sono*, *sonus* 'sound', OE *swinn* 'music'

ETYM: PCelt. *swan-na- is from the zero-grade of the PIE root (*swn-neh$_2$-), with the regular development of syllabic *n > *an before resonant.
REF: KPV 607f., LIV 611, LP 395, LEIA S-86, Watkins 1963: 130-133.

***swanto-** 'desire, what is desired' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sét* [o m] 'treasure'
W: MW *chwant* [m] 'desire, lust, space'
BRET: MoBret. *c'hoant*
CO: Co. *whans*
ETYM: The original meaning of PCelt. *swanto- was probably 'desire', and the meaning of OIr. *sét* developed through the stage 'what is desired, the object of desire'. The PIE etymology is uncertain. A connection with Go. *swinþs* 'strong, healthy', OHG *gi-sund* 'healthy' is possible, but the difference in meaning is a considerable obstacle to this etymology. Moreover, if the a-vocalism in PCelt. *swanto- is due to the reflex of syllabic *n, we would have to assume that the PIE zero-grade *swnto- was syllabified differently in Celtic and in Germanic (cf. OHG *gi-sund* < *sunto-). On a deeper level, a derivation from PIE *h$_1$su-nt-, *h$_1$sw-ent- is thinkable (cf. Gr. *eús* 'good', Skt. *su-* 'good', Hitt. *āssu-* 'good'). The development of meaning would have been from 'good' to 'healthy, strong' in Germanic, and to 'desirable' in Celtic, but the details of the phonetic development are unclear.
REF: LEIA S-99, GPC I: 841.

***swar-yo-** 'laugh' [Vb]
W: MW *chwerthin*; *chwarddaf* [1s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *huerzin*
CO: OCo. *hwerthin* gl. risus
PIE: *swer- 'sound, make a sound' (IEW: 1049f.)
COGN: Skt. *svárati*, ON *sverja* 'swear', perhaps Lat. *susurrus* 'whisper'
ETYM: The attribution of these Celtic forms to the PIE root *swer- is semantically difficult, but possible (see KPV 609). PCelt. *swar-yo- continues the zero-grade of the root, PIE *swr-yo-. Other derivatives from the same root in Celtic might include MW *chwyrn* 'rapid, whirling', MW *chwyrnaf* 'snore', MoBret. *huerniñ* 'to quarrel', OCo. *hwirnores* 'hornet' < *swer-no-.
REF: KPV 608f., GPC I: 843, LIV 613, LP 314.

***swe-** 'self, own' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *féin*
PIE: *swe 'self' (IEW: 1040)
COGN: Skt. *svayám*, Gr. *hé*, Go. *swes* 'own'
ETYM: OIr. *féin* reflects a compound pronominal stem *swe-sin, cf. also *fadesin* 'himself' < *swe-de-sin. Schrijver (1997: 83) sees the Brit. reflex of

the pronominal stem *swe- in the element *-(h)eu* of the MW conjunctive pronouns (*minheu, titheu, ynteu*,etc.). Thus, he derives MW *ynteu* from *en-de-swe, *titheu* from *tū-de-swe, etc.
REF: Schrijver 1997: 78.

***swēd-o-** 'swell' [Vb]
W: MW *chwyddaw* (GPC *chwyddo*)
BRET: MoBret. *c'hwez* [m] 'vanity, swelling'
PIE: *sweyd- 'sweat' (IEW: 1043)
COGN: Skt. *svedate*, Gr. *idíō,* OHG *swizzen*, Latv. *svîstu*, ToB *syelme*
SEE: *swēsso- 'sweat'
ETYM: In OIr. there is the deverbal noun *síat* [?u m] 'inflation, swelling' < PCelt. *swēdu-. For the semantic development 'sweat' > 'swell' see KPV 609.
REF: KPV 610f., GPC I: 860, LIV 607, Deshayes 2003: 164.

***swēdu-** 'swelling' [Noun]
SEE: *swēd-o- 'swell'

***swekrū-** 'mother-in-law' [Noun]
W: MW *chwegr* [f]
CO: OCo. *hweger* gl. socrus
PIE: *swekru-h_2 'mother-in-law' (IEW: 1043f.)
COGN: Skt. *śvaśrū́-*, Lat. *socrus*, OCS *svekry*, Arm. *skesur*, Alb. *vjehërr*, OE *sweger*
SEE: *swekrVno- 'father-in-law'
REF: GPC I: 848, LP 18, Campanile 66

***swekrVno-** 'father-in-law' [Noun]
W: MW *chwegrwn* [m]
CO: OCo. *hwigeren* gl. socer
SEE: *swekrū- 'mother-in-law'
ETYM: The suffixes in W and OCo. do not agree. OCo. presupposes *swekrino-, while W *chwegrwn* can be derived from *swekruno-. Both are derived from *swekrū- 'mother-in-law'. The suffixes of the form *-(V)no- often indicate possession, cf. Lat. *dominus* 'master, lord, possessor' (from *domus*, 'house(hold)'), Go. *þiudans* 'king' (from *þiuda* 'people'). PCelt. *swekrVno- replaced PIE *swékuro- 'father-in-law' (IEW: 1043f., cf. Skt. *śváśura-*, Lat. *socer,* Gr. *hekyrós*, OCS *svekrъ*).
REF: GPC I: 848, LP 18, Campanile 66.

***swelo-** 'turn, moment' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sel* [o m]
W: MW *chwyl* [m and f] 'turn, course, destiny' (GPC *chwŷl*)
BRET: MBret. *hoalat,* MoBret. *hoalad* 'attract, delight'

CO: Co. *whel* 'course'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *des-sel* 'right turn', *tuath-bil* 'left turn', where the second elements in the compounds also come from *swelo-. I do not believe that W *chwyn* 'movement' is from the same root (*swey-, cf. EIEC 63, IEW 1041). The verbal root is preserved in OIr. *-sel-*, e.g. in *con-sela* 'leaves', *coisle* 'leave!' (see LEIA S-78f.). A convincing IE etymology is lacking. A connection with PIE *swel- 'burn' (IEW 1052, cf. OHG *swellen*) is improbable because of the semantic difference, but one is tempted to think of a derivation from PIE *wel- 'turn, wind round' (IEW 1040ff., cf. Lat. *uoluo*, Gr. *eilýō*, Go. *walwjan* 'revolve'). If this is correct, we must assume s-mobile in Celtic.
REF: LEIA S-77f, GPC I: 861, Deshayes 2003: 333, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 222, EIEC 63.

***swengo-** 'thin' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *seng* [o]
COGN: MHG *swanc* 'flexible, thin'
ETYM: LEIA S-85f. derives the ancient name of Belgrade, *Singi-dunum*, also from this root. It is known that *Singidunum* was the seat of the Celtic tribe of Scordisci, but *sw- is usually preserved in Gaulish, and the element *sweng- is otherwise unattested in toponymy.
REF: LEIA S-85f., EIEC 63, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 42, 324.

***swergo-** 'illness' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *serg* [o m]
PIE: *swerg^{h}- 'be ill' (IEW: 1051)
COGN: Lith. *sergù* 'I am sick', Alb. *dergjem* 'lie ill', Go. *saurga* 'care, sorrow', ToA *särk* 'illness'
REF: LEIA S-92, EIEC 516

***swerno-** 'loud, whirling' [Adj]
SEE: *swar-yo- 'laugh'

***swerwo-** 'bitter' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *serb* [o]
W: MW *chwerw*
BRET: MBret. *hueru*, MoBret. *c'houero*
CO: Co. *wherow*
SEE: *sworo- 'louse'
ETYM: W *chwarren* [f] 'gland, ulcer, lump', if related, must represent PCelt. *swarrinā < *swarsinā (with *ar < syllabic *ṛ). These Celtic words lack a persuasive IE etymology. A connection to PIE *swer- 'wound' (IEW 1050) is possible (Av. *x^{v}ara-* 'wound', OHG *swero* 'pain'); for the semantic development cf. the connection between Eng. *bitter* (PGerm. *bitraz) and *bite* (PGerm. *bītanan).

REF: LEIA S-90, GPC I: 345, 850, Morris Jones 1913: 29.

***swēsso-** 'sweat' [Noun]
W: MW *chuis* (GPC *chwys*) [m]
BRET: MBret. *hues,* MoBret. *c'hwès, c'hwes* [m]
CO: Co. *hwys*
PIE: *sweyd- 'sweat' (IEW: 1043)
COGN: Lat. *sūdo*, Skt. *svedate,* OHG *sweiz*, Arm. *kʿirtn*, Alb. *dirsë*, ToB *syelme*
SEE: *swēdo- 'swell'
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from PIE *sweyd-so- or, more probably, *swid-to- (past participle).
REF: EIEC 560, LEIA A-62, GPC I: 864, Deshayes 2003: 164.

***swesūr / *swesr-os** 'sister' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *siur* [r f]
W: MW *chwaer* [f]
BRET: MBret. *hoer*, *hoar*, MoBret. *c'hoar* [f]
CO: OCo. *huir* gl. soror
GAUL: *suiorebe* [Instr. p] (Néris-les-Bains, RIG L-6)
PIE: *swesōr 'sister' (IEW: 1051)
COGN: Skt. *svásar-*, Lat. *soror*, Go. *svistar*, Lith. *sesuõ*, OCS *sestra*, Arm. *kʿoyr*
REF: LEIA S-123, GPC I: 838, Deshayes 2003: 161, Delamarre 286, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 122, 405, Campanile 1974: 66, McCone 1994a.

***swexs** 'six' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *sé* [Geminating]
W: MW *chwech, chwe*
BRET: OBret. *hue,* MoBret. *c'houec'h*
CO: Co. *whegh, whe*
GAUL: *suexos* 'sixth' [Ordinal] (Coligny)
CELTIB: *sues* (Botorrita I)
PIE: *swéks 'six' (IEW: 1044)
COGN: Lat. *sex*, Gr. *héks*, Skt. *ṣáṭ*, Lith. *šeši,* OCS *šestь*, Alb. *gjashtë*
ETYM: The meaning of Celtib. *sues* is not certainly established. Although most specialists see it as the numeral 'six', some have interpreted it as the reflexive pronoun.
REF: LEIA S-59, GPC I: 846, DGVB 214, EIEC 402, Delamarre 285f., Jordán Cólera 1998: 102, 186, MLH V.1: 353.

***swexto-** 'taste' [Noun]
W: MW *chwaeth* [m and f]
PIE: *swek^{w}- 'sap, juice' (IEW 898f.)

COGN: Gr. *opós*, OHG *swehhan* 'smell', Lith. *sakaĩ* 'resin', OCS *sokъ* 'juice'
ETYM: PCelt. *swexto- reflects PIE *swek^{w}-to-, with the e-grade of the root; the o-grade is attested in Gr. *opós* (< *swok^{w}o-).
REF: GPC I: 839, Matasović 2004: 127.

***swīs** 'you (p)' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *sí*
W: OW *hui*, MW *chwi*
BRET: OBret. *hui,* MBret. *huy*
CO: Co. *why*
GAUL: (?) *sui, sue* (Châteaubleau tile); *suis* (Chamalières)
ETYM: Both Gaul. forms *sui* < *swīs and *sue* < *swes are found in a single inscription, the Châteaubleau tile (lines 2-5). The interpretation of *suis* from Chamalières is uncertain, like the interpretation of most other forms in that text (see Lambert 1994: 158). The shape of the PCelt. 2 pl. personal pronoun is unusual; the PIE stem is *we- (Lat. *uōs*, OCS *vy*, etc.), but the word-initial *s- must be analogical (perhaps influenced by the demonstrative / 3 sg. and pl. pronoun stem *so-?). OIr. *sethar* 'your (pl.)', proclitic *far n-*, is from *swes-tero- (cf. Lat. *uos-ter, ues-ter*).
REF: LEIA S-101f., GPC I: 850, GOI 254, 282, Falileyev 87f., Lambert 1998-2000.

***swizd-o-** 'blow' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-infet* 'blows, inspires'; *do-r-infid* [3s Pret. Relative]; *do-r-infess* [Pret. Pass. Relative]
W: MW *chwythu* 'blow, breathe'
BRET: MBret. *huezaff*, MoBret. *c'hwezhañ* 'breathe'
CO: Co. *hwytha*
PIE: *sweys-d- 'hiss' (IEW: 1040f.)
COGN: Gr. *sízō*, Russ. *svistát'*
ETYM: OIr. *do-infet* < *to-eni-swisdo- (the simplex verb is unattested in Goidelic). These words are of onomatopoetic origin, so indepentent creations in different branches of IE cannot be excluded.
REF: GPC I: 865, LIV 611ff., LP 395, LEIA S-100, Deshayes 2003: 164.

***sworo-** 'louse' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *sor* [o m] (DIL *sar*)
W: MW *hor* [Collective] (GPC *hôr*) 'lice, esp. on pigs'
PIE: *swer- 'wound' (IEW: 1050)
COGN: Av. *x^{v}ara-* 'wound', OHG *sweran* 'feel pain'
SEE: *swerwo- 'bitter'
ETYM: For the development in W (*swo- > *x^{w}o- > *ho-*) cf. PCelt. *skoltā* 'cleft'. These words can represent the PIE thematic agent noun *sworós 'wounder' > 'biter' (>'louse').

REF: LEIA S-173, GPC II: 1898.

T

***tag-o-** 'strangle, choke' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *tachtaid, -tachta* 'chokes, stifles, oppresses'
W: MW *tagu*
BRET: MBret. *tagu*, MoBret. *tago*
CO: Co. *tage*
ETYM: OIr. seems to have a verbal stem built from the passive past participle, PCelt. *taxto-, whereas Brittonic points to primary *tag-o-. For possible, but unconvincing, IE etymologies, see LEIA T-5, IEW 1055.
REF: LEIA T-4f., GPC III: 3421, Deshayes 2003: 708, EIEC 518.

***talamon-** 'earth, ground' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *talam* [n m]
GAUL: *Talamone, Talmun* (> *Talmont*) [Toponyms]
PIE: *telh$_2$-m- 'surface, support' (IEW: 1061)
COGN: Lat. *tellus* 'earth', OPr. *talus* 'ground, floor', OCS *tьlo* 'ground', OE *þel* 'floor', Arm. *t'al* 'district'
SEE: *tli-na- 'raise'
ETYM: The PCelt. stem *talamon- < *telamon- < PIE *telh$_2$mon- is the result of Joseph's rule. The PIE root is probably *telh$_2$- 'raise, support' (IEW 1060f.).
REF: LEIA T-22f., EIEC 247, Delamarre 288f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 107, 241, Remmer 2002-3: 183.

***tal-ī-** 'pay'
W: MW *talu*; *talaf* [1s Pres]
BRET: OBret. *tal[ont]* gl. dependunt, MBret. *taluout*, MoBret. *talvoud* 'be worthy, cost', *tal, taliñ* 'pay'
CO: Co. *tal*
PIE: *teh$_2$-li- (IEW: 1087)
COGN: Lat. *tālis* 'such', OCS *toli* 'to such a degree', *toliko* 'so much'
ETYM: It has been suggested that these Brittonic verbs were borrowed from ON *tal* 'number, count' (cf. also Germ. *Zahl* 'number' and the denominative *zahlen* 'pay'), but they could also be related to Lat. *tāliō* 'exaction of compensation' from PIE *teh$_2$li-. We may have to do with an Italo-Celtic legal term 'to pay, exact a compensation' from the PIE root that meant 'so much'. PCelt. *tal- must be from the zero-grade *th$_2$l- (like OCS *toli*), but Latin *tālis* implies the full grade *teh$_2$l-. OCS *toli(ko)* may be from the zero-

grade *th$_2$l-, but it is also possible that its vocalism is analogical to *koli(ko) 'so much' < *k^{w}o-l-.
REF: GPC IV: 3425f., Deshayes 2003: 709f., de Vaan 2008: 619.

***talskV-** 'fragment, piece' [Noun]
W: W *talch* [p] 'oatmeal, groats, fragments'
CO: OCo. *talch* gl. furfures
PIE: *telk- 'strike, hit' (IEW: 1062)
COGN: OCS *tlěšti*
SEE: *telmi- 'sling, snare'
ETYM: W *talch* can be related to the PIE zero-grade *tlk- by assuming that it is from *talxsko- < *tlk-sḱ-o- (like W *arch-* from < *parxsko- < *prḱ-sḱ-o-).
REF: GPC IV: 3428, LP 43, LIV 566.

***talu-** 'front, forehead' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *taul* [u n] 'boss, protuberance' (DIL *tul*)
W: OW *tal,* MW *tal* [m] 'forehead' (GPC *tâl*)
BRET: OBret. *talar*, MBret. and MoBret. *tal* [m]
CO: OCo. *tal* gl. frons, Co. *tal, taal*
GAUL: *Argio-talus* [PN]
SEE: *talamon- 'earth, ground'
ETYM: The connection with PCelt. *talamon- suggested by IEW (1061) is uncertain for semantic reasons. A connection may exist with Skt. *tālu-* 'palate', in which case we should reconstruct PIE *teHlu- / *tHl-ew-, with Celtic generalizing the zero-grade of the root. If this is correct, the semantic development in Skt. would be from 'forehead' to 'top' and 'palate, top of the (interior part of the) mouth'.
REF: GPC III: 3425, Falileyev 144, Delamarre 288, Deshayes 2003: 709, Schrijver 1995: 84f., Meid 2005: 153.

***tanā** 'time' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tan* [? f]
W: MW *tan* 'until, while, below' (GPC *tan, dan*)
BRET: OBret. *tan, dan*
SEE: *tan-nu- 'broaden, stretch'
ETYM: OIr. *tan, tain* is often used as a subordinating conjunction in temporal, final, and conditional subordinated clauses, e.g. *tan tíastae* 'when they come'. Formally, the derivation from *ten-eh$_2$ would be possible (by Joseph's rule), and the relationship to the root *ten- 'stretch' appears probable. The evolution of meaning could have been from 'a stretch of time' to 'time', cf. Ved. *tánā* [Instr. sg.] 'extension, a stretch of time'.
REF: LEIA T-25f., GPC IV: 3435, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 49, 474, 539.

***tanawyo-** 'thin' [Adj]

GOID: OIr. *tanae, tana* [io]
W: OW *teneu*, MW *teneu* (GPC *tenau*)
BRET: MBret. *tanau*, MoBret. *tanaw*
CO: OCo. *teneþen* gl. latus, Co. *tanow*
PIE: *tenh$_2$u-, *tnh$_2$u- 'thin'
COGN: Gr. *tanaós*, Lat. *tenuis*, OHG *dunni*
ETYM: Gamillscheg (837) derives Fr. *tanner* 'to tan' from Gaul. *tan- 'thin' (the original meaning of the verb would be 'scrape off, make thinner'), but I do not find this very convincing. PCelt. *tanawyo- must be a derivation of *tanawo-, which is from PIE *tenh$_2$wo-, a thematization of the original u-stem *tenh$_2$u- (cf. Gr. *tanaós*). The development *tena- > *tana- would be regular (Joseph's rule), but the a-vocalism could also have been generalized from the zero-grade of the root (PIE *tnh$_2$u- > *tanHu- > PCelt. *tanu-).
REF: LEIA T-26, GPC III: 3477f., EIEC 574, Falileyev 146, Campanile 1974: 99, Deshayes 2003: 712, Schrijver 1995: 85, 297, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 49, 91, 213.

***tand-man-** 'cutting, gnawing' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *teinm* [?n n]
W: MW *tam* [m] 'morsel, piece'
BRET: MBret. *tamm* [m] 'piece'
CO: Co. *tam*
SEE: *tend-o- 'break, cut'
ETYM: There are phonological difficulties in equating MIr. *teinm* with W *tam,* etc., see Stüber 1998: 167. MIr. *taman, tamon* [o m] 'trunk (of a tree)' might also be related (LEIA T-25), but this word has also been derived from PIE *sth$_2$mon-o- (cf. OHG *stam* 'stem', ToB *stām* 'tree').
REF: GPC III: 3434, Deshayes 2003: 710, Stüber 1998: 167.

***tang^{w}āt-** 'tongue' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tengae* [m > f d]
W: OW *tauawt,* W *tafod* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *teaut, teut*, MoBret. *teod* [m]
CO: OCo. *tauot* gl. lingua, MCo. *tawes*
PIE: *dnǵ^{h}uh$_2$- 'tongue (IEW: 223)
COGN: Skt. *jihvā́-*, Lat. *lingua,* OHG *zunga*, OPr. *insuwis*, ToB *kantwo*
ETYM: In Celtic, the initial *t (instead of the expected *d-) is best explained as the result of assimilation (*d...t > *t...t*). The Celtic forms with stem-final *-t presuppose an earlier ā-stem, *tangwā (see Widmer 1997). In other IE languages, the word for 'tongue' has often been subject to various irregular and analogical changes, e.g. Lat. *lingua* with *l-* under the influence of *lingo* 'lick' (similarly Lith. *liežuvìs*).
REF: LEIA T-50f., GPC III: 3416f., Deshayes 2003: 720, EIEC 98, 594, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 159ff., Hamp 1974-5a, Matasović 2004: 108, Widmer 1997.

***tanko-** 'peace' [Noun]
W: OW *tagc*, MW *tang, tanc* [m]
GAUL: *Tanco-rix* [PN]
PIE: *tenk- 'be solid, firm' (IEW: 1068)
COGN: Skt. *tañc-*, Germ. *dicht* 'thick', Lith. *tánkus* 'thick'
ETYM: OIr. *téchtaid, -téchta* 'freeze, solidify' is a denominative verb from this root, built from the stem of OIr. *técht* 'frozen' < PCelt. *tanxto-, cf. also MIr. *con-téici* 'freezes' < *kom-tank-ī-. PCelt. *tanko- presupposes the zero grade of the root, PIE *tnko-. The evolution of meaning was presumably from 'what is firm, established' to 'peace' (cf. Lat. *pāx* from *pango* 'fix'). Fr. *tanche* < OFr. *tenche* < Gallo-Lat. *tinca* 'tench' could also be from the same root (? PCelt. *tenkā, *tenko- 'firm, solid'), cf. also Gaul. toponym *Duro-tincum*.
REF: LEIA T-38f., GPC III: 3439, Delamarre 288f., Falileyev 144, Gamillscheg 838, Meid 2005: 118, Sims-Williams 2006: 115.

***tanno-** 'green oak' [Noun]
CO: OCo. *glastannen* gl. quercus uel ilex
GAUL: *Tannetum, Tanno-gilum* [Toponyms]
ETYM: OIr. *tinne* 'holly, elder (?)' is probably also related (PCelt. *tennyo-), cf. LEIA T-71, but the PIE etymology of these tree names is unclear. Borrowing from some non-IE language seems probable, but a connection may exist to OHG *tanna* 'fir wood', OS *danna* 'pine', cf. Hitt. *tanau* 'a kind of tree' (the meaning 'fir' of Hitt. ^{GIŠ}*tanau* is actually not certain, *pace* EIEC). We could start from *(s)d^{h}onu- *(s)d^{h}nwos-, and then have to assume that *s- was lost in Celtic (presumably after *sd^{h}- > *st-), cf. *tā-yo- 'be, find oneself' < *stā-yo-).
REF: LEIA T-71, Delamarre 289f.

***tan-nu-** 'broaden, spread, stretch' [Vb]
W: MW *tannu* 'spread out, extend'
CO: Co. *tan* [Impv] 'take'
PIE: *ten- 'broaden, stretch' (IEW: 1065f.)
COGN: Skt. *tanóti*, Gr. *tánymai*, Lat. *tendo*, Go. *uf-þanjan*, OHG *dennen*
ETYM: Celtic preserves the zero-grade of the root (with regular *n > *an before nasal); the present stem built with the suffix *-new- / *-nu- is inherited from PIE, cf. Skt. *tanóti* and Gr. *tánymai*.
REF: KPV 618, LIV 626f., GPC III: 3443.

***tantā** 'cord, cable' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tét* [ā f] 'rope, cord, stringed instrument'
W: OW *tantou* [p] gl. fides, W *tant* [m]
BRET: OBret. *tanntou*, MoBret. *tant* [m]
PIE: *ten- 'stretch' (IEW: 1065)

COGN: Skt. *tan-, tanóti* [3 s Pres.], Gr. *tánymai*, Lat. *tendo*
SEE: *tan-nu- 'broaden, stretch'
ETYM: This is an old participle of the verb *ten- 'to stretch', cf. Lat. *tentus* (from *tendo*).
REF: GPC IV: 3444, LEIA T-55, Falileyev 145, Deshayes 2003: 713, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 296.

***tārāko-** 'tick, insect' [Noun]
SEE: *tar-wo- 'hit, strike'

***tarankyo-** 'nail' [Noun]
SEE: *tara-wo- 'hit, strike'

***taras** 'across' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *tar, dar* [+Acc.]
PIE: *terh$_2$- 'cross' (IEW: 1075)
COGN: Skt. *tirás* 'across', Lat. *trāns* 'across'
ETYM: W (and OW) *tra,* Bret. *treuz* can be derived from a related form, *trāns (cf. Lat. *trāns*). OIr. *tar* presupposes PIE *trh$_2$-es. The PIE root is *terh$_2$- 'to overcome', Hitt. *tarhu-* 'prevail', Skt. *tára-*, etc. (IEW 1075f.).
REF: LEIA T-28f., GOI 530f., EIEC 4, Falileyev 149.

***taratro-** 'auger' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tarathar* [o m]
W: OW *tarater*, W *taradr* [m]
BRET: MBret. *tarazr*, *talazr*, MoBret. *tarar* [m]
CO: Co. *tardar*
GAUL: *taratro- > Lat. *taratrum* (Isidore of Seville, hence Fr. *tarière,* Pr. *taravel, travel*)
PIE: *terh$_1$tro- 'auger' (IEW: 1072)
COGN: Gr. *téretron*, Lat. *terebra*
SEE: *tara-wo- 'hit, strike'
ETYM: The change *-era- > *-ara- in this word is regular (Joseph's rule). The PIE root is *terh$_1$- 'to drill, tear' (IEW 1071, cf. Lat. *tero*, Gr. *teírō*, etc.). Lat. *terebra* is from *terh$_1$-sro-.
REF: LEIA T-30, GPC IV: 3447, LP 46, EIEC 36, 424, Deshayes 2003: 714, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 304, Delamarre 290, Falileyev 145.

***tara-wo-** 'hit, strike' [Vb]
W: MW *taraw, taro*, (GPC *trawaf* [Pres 1 s])
BRET: OBret. *toreusit* gl. *atriuit*, MBret. *tarauat* 'rub, use', MoBret. *tarawad*
PIE: *terh$_1$- 'drill, rub' (IEW: 1072)
COGN: Lat. *tero*, Gr. *toreúō*
SEE: *taratro- 'auger'

ETYM: The a-vocalism is explicable by Joseph's rule, see Joseph 1982. Another derivative from this root could be OIr. *tairnge* [io m] 'iron nail', if from < *tarankyo-, cf. also OFr. *taranche* 'big iron pin' (probably from Gaulish). W *torogen* 'tick, blood-sucking insect', OBret. *torocenn* gl. curculio, MoBret. *teureuguenn* 'tick' may also be from the same root (*tārāko- < PIE *tōrh$_1$-), cf. also Lat. *termes* 'termite', Gr. *terēdṓn* (IEW 1076).
REF: GPC IV: 3359f., DGVB 316, LEIA T-14, Deshayes 2003: 714.

***targ^w-o-** 'disturb, scare' [Vb]
W: MW *tarfu* 'disturb, trouble, scare'
PIE: *terg^w- 'scare, fear' (IEW: 1076f.)
COGN: Gr. *tarbéō* scare', Skt. *tarjati* 'threatens', Lat. *toruus* 'grim', Hitt. *tarkuwant-* 'looking angrily'
ETYM: The development is not straightforward as it may appear at first sight, because we would expect PCelt. *trib- from PIE *trg^w-. One could assume an assimilation *trg^w-wo- > *trwwo- > PCelt. *tarwo- > W *tarfu*, but this is clearly *ad hoc*.
REF: GPC IV: 3449f., LIV 574f., Frisk II: 855.

***tar(r)tu-** 'dryness, thirst' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tart* [u m] 'thirst'
W: MW *tarth* [m] 'vapour, steam, fume'
GAUL: *Tartos* (?) [PN]
PIE: *ters- 'dry' (IEW: 1078)
COGN: Lat. *torrus* 'piece of firewood', Av. *taršna-* 'thirst', OHG *durri*
ETYM: The semantic connection of W *tarth* and OIr. *tart* is not beyond doubt, but the formal correspondence is perfect. The derivation from a PIE abstract noun *trs-tu- 'dryness' would be regular.
REF: LEIA T-35, GPC III: 3452, EIEC 170, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 145, 289, Delamarre 291.

***tarwo-** 'bull' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tarb* [o m]
W: MW *tarw* [m]
BRET: OBret. *taruu,* MBret. *taru*, MoBret. *tarw* [m]
CO: Co. *tarow*
GAUL: *taruos*, perhaps *Tarvisium* [Toponym]
PIE: *tawro- 'bull' (IEW: 1083)
COGN: Lat. *taurus*, Lith. *taũras*, OCS *turъ*
ETYM: In Celtic, the metathesis *-wr- > *-rw- must be assumed; it may be a regular change. The PIE noun may have been borrowed from Semitic, or some intermediate source (cf. EIEC 98).

REF: LEIA T-31, GPC III: 3452, LP 12f., Deshayes 2003: 715, EIEC 98, 135 de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 214, 219, Delamarre 291, Matasović 2004: 87, Sims-Williams 2006: 114f.

***tar-yo-** 'boil, burst' [Vb]
W: MW *tarddu* 'emerge, issue, sprout, appear'
BRET: OBret. *tardom* gl. clangor
CO: Co. *tardha* (IEW: 1074)
COGN: Lat. *trāns* (?)
ETYM: This PCelt. verb is derived from PIE *terh$_2$- 'cross, overcome' (IEW 1074, cf. Hitt. *taruhzi*, Skt. *tū́rvati*) by KPV and LIV, but the meanings are very different. A development from 'cross' to 'change state' and to 'boil' is possible, but speculative. Cf. also OIr. *tair* 'come' [Ipv.] < *trh$_2$ye 'cross'?
REF: KPV 620, LIV 633f., GPC III: 3448, Schrijver 1995: 144f.

***tasko-** 'badger' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *tadg* '1. poet, 2. hard', *Tadg* [PN]
GAUL: *Tascos* [PN], *Tasco-uanus* [PN] 'badger-slayer'
PIE: *tosko- 'badger'
COGN: OHG *dahs*, perhaps Hitt. *tasku-* 'testicle?'
ETYM: OIr. *tadg* < *tazgo-. It is unknown why Goidelic replaced the cluster *sk with *zg (dissimilation in voicing with the initial *t?). Although this etymology appears weak on the semantic side on the first sight, it is actually quite sound, since MIr. *Tadg* is the name of a certain king whose totem was a badger. There are also reflexes of the Gaulish word for 'badger' in VLat. *taxo* and in various Romance dialects, e.g. Fr. (dial.) *taisson*, It. *tasso*, Sp. *tejón*, etc. (some believe these words were borrowed from Germanic, but initial *t-* points to Gaulish).
REF: LEIA T-5f., Delamarre 2004: 292, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 475, Ellis Evans 1967: 263ff., Gamillscheg 835, Matasović 2004: 88, Katz 1998: 61-82, Uhlich 2002: 417.

***tātant-** 'thief' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *táid* [nt, m] gl. fur
PIE: *teh$_2$- 'steal' (IEW: 1010)
COGN: Skt. *tāyú-* 'thief', OCS *tatь* 'thief', *tajiti* 'hide', Hitt. *tāyezzi* 'steals'
ETYM: The word formation of OIr. *táid* is unclear. Despite LIV (559), it is not superimposable on OCS *tatь*, which is a masculine i-stem (presumably an old abstract 'the stealing'). If *táid* is an old nt-participle, we would have to assume a present with the suffix *-t-, PIE *teh$_2$-t- (the type of Lat. *plecto*, *dicto*, etc.). For a similar nominalized participle cf. *karant- 'friend'.
REF: LEIA T-7, LIV 559, EIEC 543, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 285, 355ff.

***tato-** 'father' [Noun]

W: MW *tat* (GPC *tad*) [m]
BRET: MBret. *tat*, MoBret. *tad* [m]
CO: OCo. *tat* gl. pater, Co. *tas*
SEE: *attyo- 'father'
ETYM: A noun from children's language, similar to Croat. *tàta* 'daddy', Eng. *daddy*, etc., cf. PCelt. *attyo- > OIr. *aite* 'father'.
REF: GPC IV: 3407, Deshayes 2003: 707.

***tawso-** 'deaf' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *tó* [o], *túae* [yo]
W: MW *taw* [m] 'silence'
BRET: MBret. *tao*, MoBret. *taw* [m] 'silence'
CO: Co. *taw*
SEE: *taws-yo- 'be quiet, be still'
ETYM: Derived from the verbal root *taws- < PIE *teh$_2$ws- (IEW 1056f., for cognates see *taws-yo-).
REF: LIV 582, GPC IV: 3455, LEIA 90f., Deshayes 2003: 716.

***taws-yo-** 'be quiet, be still' [Vb]
W: MW *tewi*; *tawaf* [1s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *teuell*, MoBret. *tewel*
CO: Co. *tewel*
PIE: *teh$_2$ws- 'be quiet, be still' (IEW: 1056f.)
COGN: Hitt. *tuhu(s)siyezzi* 'awaits', Luv. *tuhusiya-* 'to keep silent, quiet (?)', Skt. *tūṣṇī́m* 'quietly', OPr. *tusnan* 'quiet'
SEE: *tawso- 'deaf'
ETYM: The Hittite verb is derived from *tuHs- < *th$_2$us- by regular metathesis (but Kloekhorst 2008: 894 is sceptical). A different reconstruction of the PIE root is offered by LIV and KPV 621ff.
REF: KPV 621ff., LIV 642f., GPC III: 3456, LEIA T-90f., T-99, Deshayes 2003: 723, LP 401.

***tā-yo-** 'melt' [Vb]
SEE: *tā-yo- 'melt'

***tā-yo-** 'stand, find oneself (somewhere)' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *at-tá, -fil* 'be, find oneself' (substantive verb)
W: MW *-tau* [3s Pres.] 'is'
BRET: OBret. *to* [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. *otte* 'there is'
PIE: *steh$_2$- 'stand' (IEW: 1004f.)
COGN: Lat. *sto, stare*, Gr. *hístēmi*, OCS *stojati*, Lith. *stóti*
SEE: *si-sta- 'put'
ETYM: OIr. *at-tá* is from *ad-stā-yo-. The loss of initial *s- is irregular, but it could be due to the generalization of a sandhi variant occurring regularly

after *-r, since *rst > *rt is a sound law in Celtic (cf. *tart* 'thirsty' < *tarrtu- < *tarstu-).
REF: KPV 623ff., LIV 590ff., LP 323f., LEIA T-2, A-90, EIEC 468.

***tā-yo-** 'melt' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *taíd* (disyllabic), *-tá, -taa*
W: MW *toddi*
BRET: MBret. *teuzi*, MoBret. *teuzo*
PIE: *teh$_2$- 'melt' (IEW: 1053)
COGN: Lat. *tābeo*, Oss. *taj-* 'thaw, melt', Russ. *tájat'*, Eng. *thaw*
ETYM: The present with the suffix *-y- is attested in OIr. *taíd* 'melt, dissolve' < *tā-yo-, while the Brittonic forms apparently reflect *tā-d-o- < PIE *teh$_2$-d^h-. OIr. *tám* [u ?] 'plague, swoon, death' may represent a nominal derivative from the same root (*tāmu-). Lat. *tābeo* must be from *teh$_2$-b^h-, which is an unusual formant in a present stem.
REF: GPC IV: 3514, KPV 627f., LIV 560, Deshayes 2003: 723, Schrijver 1995: 418, Mallory & Adams 2006: 124.

***taysto-** 'dough' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *taís, taés* [o] (DIL *taes*)
W: MW *toes* [m] 'lump of dough or pastry, farina subacta, massa farinaria'
BRET: MBret. *toas* [m], MoBret. (Gwened) *toés*
CO: Co. *tôs*
PIE: *teh$_2$ys-t- 'dough' (IEW: 1054)
COGN: OCS *těsto* 'dough', OHG *theismo, deismo* 'dough'
ETYM: PCelt. *taysto- can be from PIE *th$_2$eys-to-, but *teh$_2$isto- is inherently more probable.
REF: LEIA T-17, GPC IV: 3515, Deshayes 2003: 727, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 272.

***tāxslo-** 'axe' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tál* [o m], ? Ogam *TALA-GNI*
PIE: *téks-slo- 'axe' (IEW: 1058)
COGN: OCS *tesla*, OHG *dehsa, dehsala*
ETYM: OIr. *tál* may point to a lengthened grade, PIE *tōḱ-, which is expected only in a root-noun (for which there is no evidence in other IE languages). Widmer's (2001) reconstruction of PIE *tōḱt-lo- (with length from a putative Narten-present *tēḱt-ti) is also without clear parallels. It is possible, however, that vowels were regularly lengthened before the cluster *xsl (and *xsr?) in PCelt. (cf. PCelt. *skāxslo- 'demon' < *skok-slo-, perhaps also *kīsrā 'comb' < *ke-ks-reh$_2$). The simplification of the geminate after a long vowel (*tāxslo- > *tāxllo- > *tālo- > OIr. *tál,* not *táll) is parallel to the development of *mīros- 'piece of meat, food' and *tīros- 'land'.

REF: LEIA T-22, EIEC 38, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 224, Ziegler 1994: 116, Schrijver 1995: 433ff., Widmer 2001.

***tefent-** 'hot, warm' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *te, tee* [nt]
PIE: *tep- 'be warm' (IEW: 1070)
COGN: Skt. *tápati* 'burns', Lat. *tepeo* 'be warm', OCS *toplъ* 'warm'
ETYM: Cf. OIr. *téit* gl. luxoriatae ('wanton women') < *tefentes.
REF: LEIA T-38, 263, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 148, 432, 532, Hamp 1974.

***tefesmi-** 'warm' [Adj]
SEE: *tefnet- 'hot'

***tefnet-** 'fire' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tene* [d m]
W: MW *tan* [m] (GPC *tân*)
BRET: MBret. *tan* [m]
CO: Co. *tan*
PIE: *tep- 'be warm' (IEW: 1070)
SEE: *tefent- 'hot, warm'
ETYM: The Celtic form *tefnet- presupposes an earlier s-stem (*tepnēs), see Widmer 1997. The nasal might be due to the influence of *tefent- 'warm'. Cf. also W *twym* 'warm' < *tēmo- < *tefesmi- as if from PIE *tepes-mi- (Skt. *tápas-* 'heat'), cf. also OIr. *timme* 'heat' < *tefsmiyā < *teps-mih$_2$.
REF: LEIA T-49f., GPC IV: 3437, Deshayes 2003: 711f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 165, Widmer 1997, Isaac 2007: 15.

***tefstu- (*texstu-)** 'heat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tess* [u m]
W: MW *tes* [m]
BRET: OBret. *a tes* gl. fotu, MoBret. *tes* [Collective]
CO: OCo. *tes* gl. feruor
GAUL: *Tessi-gnius* (?) [PN]
LEP: *Ašeš-* (?) [PN]
PIE: *tep- 'be warm' (IEW: 1070)
COGN: Skt. *tápas-* 'heat', Lat. *tepeo* 'be warm', OCS *teplъ*, *toplъ* 'warm'
SEE: *tefent- 'hot, warm'
ETYM: If related, Lep. *Ašeš-* is from *ad-tess- < *ad-tef-s-. Celt. *tefstu- presupposes PIE *tepstu-. For the suffix *-stu- cf. *flenstu-, *tlustu-.
REF: LEIA T-54, GPC IV: 3487, EIEC 263, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 146ff., Delamarre 294, Deshayes 2003: 721, Campanile 1974: 100, Ó Flaithearta 1997, Meid 2005: 117f.

***tēg-** 'go' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *téit, -tét, -tíagait* [3p]; *téis, -té* [Subj.]
W: MW *ardwyaw* 'defend, protect' (GPC *ardwyo*)
PIE: *steyg^{h}- 'tread, go' (IEW: 1017f.)
COGN: Gr. *steíkhō,* Go. *steigan*
ETYM: MW *ardwyaw* < *fare-tēg-o-, cf. also MW *ymardwyaw* 'defend oneself' < *ambi-fare-tēg-o-. The simplex *tēg- probably had athematic present (Kortlandt 2007: 127f.). The Celtic forms consistently point to word initial *t-, so the simplification (probably originally in sandhi) of *st- > *t- is already Proto-Celtic (cf. also PCelt. *tā-yo- 'stand' < *stā-yo-). Gaul. *moritex* (*negotiator Britannicus,* CIL XIII 8164a, Cologne) is a compound of *mori 'sea' and PCelt. *tēg- 'go'; cf. W *mordwy* 'movement of the sea, sea-voyage' < *mori-tēgV-.
REF: KPV 637ff., GPC I: 184, LIV 593f., LEIA T-57ff., EIEC 228, LP 399ff, Bammesberger 1985, Uhlich 2002: 420, Kortlandt 2007: 127f.

***tegos-** 'house' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tech* [s n]
W: OW *tig*, W *ty* [m] (GPC *tŷ*)
BRET: OBret. *bou-tig* 'stable', MBret. and MoBret. *ti* [m]
CO: OCo. *ti* gl. domus, MCo. *chy*
GAUL: *attegia > Lat. *attegia* 'hut' (Juvenal)
PIE: *teg-os 'cover, roof' (IEW: 1013)
COGN: Lat. *tego* 'cover', Gr. *tégos* 'roof', Germ. *Dach*
ETYM: Celtib. *tekez* (Luzaga) is often compared, but this form is completely obscure, not only with respect to meaning, but also grammatically: is it a verb in the 3 sg. preterite, or the Abl. sg. of a root noun? OCo. *to* gl. tectum, W and Bret. *to* 'roof' all presuppose PCelt. *togo-, another ablaut variant of the same root, while Gaul. ethnonym *Tecto-sages* may contain PCelt. *texto- (cf. Lat. *tectum* 'roof'). Lat. *attegia* is a Gaul. loanword and reflects Gaul. *ad-teg-yā. Cf. also OIr. *tuige* 'cover, protection' (DIL *tugae*) < *togyā, hence the denominative *tuigithir* 'covers'. The comparison of this form with Celtib. *TOGIAS* (perhaps a Gen. sg. of an ā-stem) is formally in order, but the meaning of the Celtiberian word is unclear. The lengthened grade is attested in OIr. *tí* 'cloak' < *PCelt. *tīg-s < *(s)tēg-s, which is also compatible with the Brit. forms (OW *tig*, etc.). Should we reconstruct a PCelt. ablauting paradigm *tīg-s / *teg-os, or rather two etymons with different ablaut-grades in the root?
REF: LEIA T-39, GPC IV: 3667, EIEC 488, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 142, Uhlich 2002: 412, Meid 1994a: 43, Jordán Cólera 1998: 170, Campanile 1974: 100, Deshayes 2003: 723, MLH V.1: 374f., 404f.

***tego-slowgo-** 'household' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *teglach* [o n]
W: OW *telu* 'retinue', MW *teilu* [m] (GPC *teulu*)

CO: OCo. *teilu* gl. familia
SEE: *tegos- 'house', *slowgo- 'retinue'
ETYM: A Proto-Celtic compound from *tego- 'roofed building, house' and *slowgo- 'retinue'.
REF: LEIA S-137, LEIA T-39, GPC IV: 3490, Falileyev 146, Campanile 1974: 99.

***tegu-** 'thick' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *tiug* [u] 'thick, dense, solid'
W: OW *teu,* MW *tew*
BRET: MBret. *teo, teu*
CO: Co. *tew*
PIE: *tegu- 'thick' (IEW: 1057)
COGN: OHG *dicchi*, OE *ðicce* 'thick'
ETYM: Reflexes of this PIE root are attested only in Celtic and Germanic. Both branches point to an original u-stem (Orel 2003: 411).
REF: LEIA T-76, GPC IV: 3491, Falileyev 147, Schrijver 1995: 68.

***tek^{w}-o-** 'run, flee' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *teichid, -teich*; *teiss, -té* [Subj.]; *teiss, -té* [Fut.]; *táich* [Pret.]
W: MW *techu*
BRET: MBret. *techet*, MoBret. *tec'hed*
CO: Co. *têgh*
PIE: *tek^{w}- 'flow, run' (IEW: 1059f.)
COGN: Skt. *tákti* 'hurries', OCS *tešti, tečetъ*, Lith. *tekù* 'run', Alb. *ndjek* 'follows', perhaps Hitt. *watku^{zi}*- 'flee'
ETYM: Brittonic *-ch-* is from an old subjunctive stem, cf. LP 399. The old present stem, parallel to OIr. *teich-* is preserved in Canu Aneirin 55.1418 *ny-debit* [Impf. Impersonal Relative].
REF: KPV 629ff., LIV 620f., GPC IV: 3461, LEIA T-40, Deshayes 2003: 717, EIEC 491.

***telmi-** 'sling, snare' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *teilm* [i f] (DIL *tailm*)
W: MW *telm* [f] 'snare, trap'
BRET: OBret. *talmorion* gl. cum funditoribus, MBret. and MoBret. *talm* [f] 'sling; a strike of lightning'
SEE: *talskV- 'fragment, piece'
ETYM: A possible proto-form would also be PCelt. *talx-smi-, from PIE *telk- 'hit, beat' (IEW 1062, see PCelt. *talskV-). This appears more probable than *telfsmi- > *telxsmi- proposed by Hamp (1990a). He interpreted this reconstructed proto-form as 'defence' and related it to PIE *tpol- 'defend' (Gr. *pólis, ptólis* 'defended settlement > town', etc.).
REF: LEIA T-10, GPC IV: 3474, Deshayes 2003: 710, Hamp 1990.

***temeslo-** 'darkness' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *temel* [o m] 'shadow, darkness' (DIL *teimel*)
W: OW *timuil*, W *tywyll* 'dark, darkness'
BRET: OBret. *temoel* gl. fenicatum, MBret. *teffal*, MoBret. *teñval*
CO: OCo. *tiwoulgou* gl. tenebrae, Co. *teul, tevle*
PIE: *temH- 'dark' (IEW: 1064)
COGN: Skt. *támisrā-* 'dark night', OHG *demar* 'twilight', Lat. *tenebrae* 'darkness'
SEE: *temo- 'dark'
ETYM: PCelt. *temeslo- probably presupposes an s-stem *temos < *temHos-, parallel to Skt. *támas-*, cf. also Lith. *tamsà* 'darkness' and Lat. *temere* 'blindly' < *temHesi (Loc. sg.).
REF: LEIA T-48, GPC IV: 3686, Falileyev 147, Deshayes 2003: 720, Schrijver 1995: 322, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 46.

***temo-** 'dark' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *tem* (DIL *teim*)
SEE: *temeslo- 'darkness'
ETYM: OIr. *tem* 'dark' is a rare word occurring only in glossaries, but cf. the derivative *temeslo- 'darkness'. In any case, PCelt. *temo- presupposes PIE *temH-o-.

***tend-o-** 'break, cut' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *teinnid, -teinn*; *téiss, -té* [Subj.]; *tethainn* [Pret.]
PIE: *tend- 'cut' (IEW: 1062f.)
COGN: Lat. *tondeo* 'shear', Gr. *téndō* 'gnaw at'
SEE: *tondā 'skin'
REF: KPV 614, LIV 628, LP 399, LEIA T-51.

***tennyo-** 'holly, elder' [Noun]
SEE: *tanno- 'green oak'

***teterV-** 'scaldcrow' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *tethra*
PIE: *teter- 'a kind of bird' (IEW: 1079)
COGN: Skt. *tittirá-* 'partridge', Lith. *tetervà* 'capercaille', Gr. *tetráōn* 'capercaille'
ETYM: MIr. *tethra* is attested mostly in glossaries. Its stem-formation cannot be ascertained. In some contexts it refers to the war-goddess (Badb). The PIE word, whatever its precise meaning, was obviously onomatopoetic.
REF: LEIA T-56, Mallory & Adams 2006: 143f.

***tigerno-** 'lord, master' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tigern* [o m], Ogam *TIGIRN*
W: MW *teern, teyrn* [m]

BRET: OBret. *Tiarn* [PN], MBret. and MoBret. *tiern* [m]
CO: Co. *mach-deyrn* 'king'
GAUL: (*Castrum*) *Tigernum* [Toponym]
ETYM: Jordán Cólera 1998: 207ff. mentions the possibility that Celtib. *TIGINO* (Peñalba de Villastar, var. lect. *TICINO*) actually represents *Tigernos*, but I find this unconvincing. For possible IE etymologies of PCelt. *tigerno-, see LEIA T-63 and IEW 1016f., but I find none of them very promising. With respect to word formation, *tigerno- contains the same suffix as Lat. *dominus* (from *domus* 'house, household'), used to derive terms for social functions (cf. also Go. *þiudans* 'king' from *þiuda* 'people'), so *tiger- would have to refer to some sort of social unit. A connection to *tēg-o- 'go' (the zero-grade of which is *tig-) may be possible, but the word formation is quite unclear. One may only speculate that, if *tiger- was 'a going', i.e. 'a raid, a raiding party', *tigerno- would have been 'the chief of the raiding party'.
REF: LEIA T-62f., GPC III: 3494, Delamarre 296, Deshayes 2003: 724, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 238ff., Jordán Cólera 1998: 207ff., MLH V.1: 383, Ziegler 1994: 116.

***tigu-** 'final, last' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *tigu-*
W: OW *guotig*, W *wedy, wedi* 'after'
BRET: OBret. *guetig*, MoBret. *goude* 'after'
CO: OCo. *guotig*, Co. *woge, wosa* 'after'
ETYM: The Brittonic forms come from PCelt. *wo-tigu- 'at the end'.
REF: LEIA T-76f., GPC IV: 3730.

***ti-ni-** 'melt' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *tinaid, -tin* gl. evanescit, 'melts, disappears'
PIE: *teyh$_1$- 'become hot' (IEW: 1053f.)
COGN: Hitt. *zēari* 'boils', OE *ðīnan* 'moisten', ON *þíðr* 'thawed'
ETYM: Celtic reflects the zero-grade of the root, PIE *ti-nh$_1$-. The lack of lowering (**tina- > **tena-) in OIr. shows that the original inflection must have been *ti-nī- / *ti-na-, which was leveled to *ti-ni- throughout the paradigm in PCelt. The suffix *-ni- was subsequently replaced by the productive *-na-* in OIr.
REF: KPV 640, LIV 617, LEIA T-67f.

***tīros-** 'land, earth' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tír* [o n]
W: OW *tir*, MW *tir* [m]
BRET: MBret.*tir* [m]
CO: OCo. *tir* gl. tellus, Co. *tyr*
PIE: *ter-s- 'dry' (IEW: 1078)
COGN: Hitt. *tars-* 'become dry', Lat. *terra* 'land'

ETYM: The long vowel of *tīros < *tēros is exactly parallel to *sīdos < *sēdos, OIr. *síd* 'mound' (see s. v. *sedo-, *sīdos-). It may represent an old vṛddhi, but it may also point to a PIE root-noun *tērs- 'dryness, firmness', Gen. sg. *trs-os; Lat. *terra* has the full grade (*terseh$_2$). The simplification of geminates (i. e. *tīrso- > *tīrro- > *tīro-) is regular (cf. *mīros- 'peace of meat' and *wāri- 'sunrise'). Cf. also OIr. *tirimm, tirimm* 'dry' < *tīrs-es-mi- (for the word formation cf. *tefesmi- 'warm'.
REF: LEIA T-74f., GPC IV: 3503, EIEC 100, 170, GOI 39, Falileyev 148, Campanile 1974: 100, Deshayes 2003: 725, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 144ff.

***tlāstā** 'weakness' [Noun]
SEE: *tlāti- 'weak, sick'

***tlāti-** 'weak, sick' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *tláith* [i] 'weak, feeble, soft, pleasant'
W: MW *tlawdd* 'poor, sick'
PIE: *telh$_2$- 'support' (IEW: 1060f.)
COGN: Gr. *talás* 'sad', OHG *dolen* 'suffer'
ETYM: Cf. also MIr. *tlás* [o m and ā f] 'weakness, mildness' < *tlāstā. The meaning in Celtic can be derived from 'suppressed', and finally from the PIE root *telh$_2$- 'support', but complex semantic evolution must be assumed ('supporting' > 'suppressed' > 'weak', or 'support' > 'suffer' 'be weak, sick').
REF: LEIA T-78, GPC III: 3510, McCone 1996: 52f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 293, 337.

***tli-na-** 'take away, steal' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *tlenaid, -tlen*; *tlieid, -tlia* [Subj.]; *-tíuil* [Pret.]
PIE: *telh$_2$- 'raise, support, bear' (IEW: 1060f.)
COGN: Lat. *tollo* 'pick up, raise, remove', Gr. *tálanta* 'scales', Go. *þulan* 'endure, bear', ToB *tallaṃ* 'raises'
SEE: *talamon- 'earth', *tlāti- 'weak, sick'
ETYM: If the IE etymology is correct, the development of meaning was from 'pick up' (cf. Lat. *tollo*) to 'steal, take away'. PCelt. *talamon- 'earth' (< 'supporter') is from the same root. The stem *tli- is analogical, since *tln- > *taln- in Celtic; should we assume that the source of the stem was the passive participle *tlto- > *tlito- (itself analogical, since *tlH-to- would give PCelt. *tlāto-, cf. PCelt. *tlāti- 'weak, sick')?
REF: KPV 641f., LIV 622f., LP 401, LEIA T-78f.

***tlok^{w}-ī-** 'talk' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-tluchedar, atluchedar* 'thanks', *do-tluchedar* 'demands'
PIE: *tlok^{w}- 'talk' (IEW: 1088)
COGN: Lat. *loquor* 'talk', OCS *tlъkъ* 'talk', Russ. *tólk* 'meaning'

ETYM: Celtic and Latin point to o-grade *tlok^{w}-, while Slavic preserves the zero-grade *tlk^{w}-. Perhaps we may reconstruct an old perfect paradigm with regular ablaut (*tlok^{w}-e / *tlk^{w}-ro).
REF: LEIA T-79f., Oettinger 2003: 191.

***tlustu-** 'kine, riches' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *tlus* [u m]
W: MW *tlws* [m] 'treasure, jewel'
ETYM: No convincing IE etymology. However, if the Welsh word was borrowed from Irish, we can derive MIr. *tlus* from *(s)tloxstu- < PIE *stlok-stu-, and compare Lat. *locus* 'place' < *stlocus*, which also has an unclear etymology (the usual connection to *stel- 'spread' does not make any sense, cf. de Vaan 2008: 347). Note that Lat. *locāre* means not only 'to place', but also 'to hire out', and *loculus* means 'a box', and *locārium* is 'rent for a market stall'. We may start from PIE *(s)tlok- 'property, ware (for exchange)', and an abstract noun *tlok-stu- would yield OIr. *tlus* regularly. For the semantic connection, cf. OCS *město* 'place', Pol. *miasto* 'town, city' < *moy-sth$_2$o- (from the root *mey- 'change', cf. OCS *měna* 'exchange', Lith. *maĩnas*).
REF: LEIA T-80, GPC III: 3510f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 269.

***to-** 'to' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *to-, do-, do*
W: OW *di,* W *dy*
BRET: OBret. *do*
SEE: *tod 'yes'
ETYM: Clear connections in other IE languages are lacking, but cf. OHitt. sentence connective *ta*, possibly related to PIE demonstrative pronominal stem *to-.
REF: LEIA T-81f., Falileyev 42f., Watkins 1965.

***to-ad-ret-o-** 'reach, grasp' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-áraid, -tarraid* 'grasps, finds, overtakes, attains' (DIL *do-airret, do-áirret*)
W: MW *daeredu* 'reach, come, pay taxes'
SEE: *ret-o- 'run'
REF: KPV 538f., GPC I: 878.

***to-ambi-org-o-** 'press, strike down' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-immuirc* 'presses, constrains' (DIL *do-immoirg*)
W: MW *-damorth* 'struck down' [3 s Pret.]
REF: KPV 498f.

***tod** 'yes, indeed' [Particle]
GOID: OIr. *tó*

ETYM: W *do* 'indeed, yes' is probably the same word, but the word initial *d-* must somehow be analogical. Cf. also the parallelism between OIr. *nathó* 'no' and MW *naddo* (< *ne-tod). For a convincing argument that *-d was preserved in Proto-Celtic see McCone 2006: 171ff. It should also be preserved in OIr. in monosyllables, to judge by *cid* 'what' < *k^{w}id, *ed* 'it' < *id, so that in OIr. *tó* it probably dropped analogically after *nathó*.
REF: GPC I: 1068, Schrijver 1997: 15, McCone 2006: 171ff., Hamp 1996a.

***to-exs-brend-o-** 'flow' [Vb]
SEE: *brend-o- 'flow'

***to-fare-ufo-kan-o-** 'prophesize' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-aurchain*
W: MW *darogan, daroganu*
SEE: *kan-o- 'sing'
ETYM: Cf. OBret. *darcenneti* gl. hariolis.
REF: KPV 388ff., GPC I: 897.

***togyā** 'covering, roof' [Noun]
SEE: *tegos 'house'

***to-kom-far-sko-** 'ask' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *do-comairc*
W: MW *dy-m-kyueirch* (with infixed pronoun *-m-*)
SEE: *far-sko- 'ask, plead'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. verbal noun *tochmarc* [o n] 'wooing, courting' < *to-kom-farsko-.
REF: KPV 512.

***tolgo-** 'strength, energy' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *tolg* [o m] 'strength, force, attack'
PIE: *(s)tolg- 'effort' (?) (IEW: 1020)
COGN: OE *stealc* 'high, steep', Lith. *stalgùs* 'stiff, defiant, proud'
ETYM: LEIA compares Bret. (Vannetais) *tolhien* 'tuft, spike', which shows the semantic connection with the Germanic words. MIr. *tolg* can also be used in the sense of 'piercing'.
REF: LEIA T-102.

***tol-ī-yo-** 'sleep' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *tuilid, con-tuili*; *con-tuil* [Pret.] 'sleeps'
PIE: *(s)telH- 'be quiet, be still' (IEW: 1061f)
COGN: OHG *stillen* 'make still', Lith. *tylà* 'quiet person', *tìlti* 'fall silent', OCS *u-toliti* 'quench, soothe'
ETYM: Cf. OIr. verbal noun *cotlud* 'sleep' < *kom-toli-tu-. That the PIE root ended in a laryngeal is shown by the accentuation in Lithuanian.

REF: LEIA T-170, EIEC 475.

***tondā** 'skin, surface' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tonn* [ā f]
W: MW *tonn* 'skin, rind, surface, turf' (GPC *ton* [m and f], *tonnen* [Singulative])
BRET: OBret. *tonnenn* gl. cutela, MBret. *ton(n)enn*, MoBret. *tonnenn*
SEE: *tend-o- 'cut'
ETYM: Fr. *tonne* 'ton, great vat' is probably unrelated to these words, *pace* Gamillscheg 853 (the meanings are too different, although Gamillscheg starts from Gaul. *tondā 'skin' > 'skin bag'). The PIE rood may well be *tend- 'cut' (IEW 1063, cf. Gr. *téndō*, Lat. *tondeo*) since the word for 'skin' are often related to verbs that mean 'cut' (cf. PCelt. *seket- 'skin, hide' < PIE *sek- 'cut').
REF: LEIA T-108f., GPC IV: 352of., Gamillscheg 853.

***tong-o-** 'swear' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *tongaid, -toing*; *-tó* [Subj.], *tithis, -tith* [Fut.], *tochtae, -tocht* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *tyngu*
BRET: MBret. *toeaff, touet*, MoBret. *toued*
CO: Co. *ty*; *tof* [1s Pres.]
GAUL: *toncsiiontio* [3p Fut. Relative] (Chamalières)
PIE: *teh$_2$g- 'touch' (IEW: 1055)
COGN: Lat. *tango*, Gr. *tetagōn* 'having seized', Go. *tekan* 'touch', ToB *ceśäṃ* 'touch'
ETYM: The connection with Lat. *tango* 'touch' is not beyond doubt. The usual explanation is that swearing was performed by touching a part of the body, or the ground, see LEIA T-108. However, even if this is accepted, the o-grade (PIE *th$_2$og-?) is unexpected (analogy with *tonketo- 'destiny'?). KPV 650 derives this Celtic verb from *tu-n-g-o-, from earlier *lu-n-g-o- and relates it to PCelt. *lugyo- 'oath'; the explanation offered there how the stems *tek- and *leug- became confused is rather complicated. KPV also claims that the Gaulish form *toncsiiontio* is unrelated to the Insular Celtic forms.
REF: KPV 648ff., RIG II.2: L-100, LEIA T-106ff., LP 401f, GPC III: 3672, Delamarre 298, Fleuriot 1976-7: 184, Deshayes 2003: 732.

***tonketo-** 'destiny' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tocad* [o m] gl. fors
W: MW *tynghet* [f and m] (GPC *tynged*)
BRET: MBret. *tonquaff* 'presage', MoBret. *tonkañ*
CO: Co. *tenky*
GAUL: *Togi-marus* (?) [PN]

CELTIB: *tokoitei* [Dat.-Loc. s] (Botorrita I) (?); *TOGOTI* [Dat. s, Theonym] (CIL II 893.)
PIE: *tenk-
COGN: Go. *þeihan* 'prosper'
ETYM: The attribution of the Celtiberian forms to this root is as uncertain as anything else in this language. For the possible relation to PCelt. *tong- 'swear' see, e.g., Delamarre 298. Much less probable is the derivation from *tenk- 'be solid, firm' (IEW 1068), cf. PCelt. *tanko- 'peace'.
REF: LEIA T-84f., GPC III: 3672, Deshayes 2003: 729, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 395, Meid 2005: 88f., Schumacher 1995, MLH V.1: 406ff.

***torano-** 'thunder' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *torann* [o m and ā f] 'thunder, noise'
W: MW *taran* [f] '(peal of) thunder, thunderclap'
BRET: OBret. *taran* gl. tonitru, MoBret. *taran* [m]
CO: OCo. *taran* gl. tonitruum, MCo. *taran*
GAUL: *Taranis* [Theonym]
PIE: *(s)tenH- 'thunder' (IEW: 1021)
COGN: Skt. *stánati* 'to thunder', Lat. *tono* 'to thunder', OHG *donar*, Eng. *thunder*
ETYM: The Gaulish word for 'thunder' is preserved in the Gasconian dialect of French (*taram*). The Celtic forms are best explained by a metathesis *tonaro- > *torano-, despite some doubts expressed by LEIA (s. v.). The unmetathesized form is perhaps attested as the OBrit. theonym *Tanaro* and in the old name of the river Po, *Tanarus* 'thundering'. Both Celtic and Germanic point to PIE *(s)tonHr- / *stnHr-os (the zero-grade of the root is preserved in PGerm. *þunraz).
REF: LEIA T-113, GPC III: 3447, Delamarre 290, Deshayes 2003: 714.

***to-ret-o-** 'approach' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-reith*, *-torreith* 'hurries, hastens'
W: MW *dyred* 'approach'
SEE: *ret-o- 'run'
REF: KPV 538f., GPC I: 1146.

***to-rid-** 'pillar, hero'
GOID: MIr. *tuir* [d m and f]
PIE: *$h_1$reyd- 'support'
COGN: Lat. *ridica* 'vine prop', Gr. *ereídō* 'support'
ETYM: de Vaan (2008: 522) claims that the connection of Lat. *ridica* and Gr. *ereídō* is 'very uncertain'. This should also apply to the etymology presented here. If the etymology is correct, we would have to reconstruct a root noun *$h_1$reyd- / *$h_1$rid-os, with Celtic preserving the zero-grade of the root from the oblique cases. Of course, this is just a speculation.
REF: LEIA T-172, Joseph 1982a: 176, Uhlich 2002: 410.

***torrV-** 'belly' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *tarr, tair* [u or i, m]
W: OW *torr* gl. palma, MW *tor* [f] 'belly'
BRET: OBret. *tar* gl. ventrem, MBret. *torr, teur*, MoBret. *tor* [m] 'abdomen'
CO: OCo. *tor* gl. uenter, MoCo. *torow* [p]
ETYM: I have some doubts whether OW *tor* gl. palma is the same word as W *tor* 'belly'. It could belong rather to W *torri* (Co. *terry,* MBret. *torret*) 'break, smash', if the original meaning was 'fist'. MoBret. *teur* 'belly' seems to come from *tār- with the lengthened grade, but I find it probable, in the absence of IE etymology, that these words were borrowed from some non-IE language (cf., however, Pokorny 1024).
REF: LEIA T-33f., GPC III: 3525, Falileyev 148, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 262, Campanile 1974: 101, Deshayes 2003: 729.

***torrāko-** 'pregnant' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *torrach* [o]
W: MW *torrog*
BRET: OBret. *toroc*
SEE: *torrV- 'belly'
ETYM: An adjectival derivative, with the suffix *-āko-, from *torrV- 'belly'.
REF: LEIA T-33, GPC IV: 3534.

***to-skara-** 'conquer, subject, strew' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-scara* 'conquer, subject'; *tascrais* [Pret.]
W: MW *dyscaraf* [1s Pres.] 'strew'
SEE: *skara- 'separate'
REF: KPV 576.

***to-sl-iyo-** 'earn' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-slí, -tuilli; (ro)-thuillisem* [1p Pret. Relative] 'desires, merits, earns'
W: MW *dyrllid* (GPC *derllyddu, dyrllyddu, dyrllys, dyrllid*)
BRET: MBret. *dellezaff,* MoBret. *dellezañv*
CO: Co. *deleth* [3s Pres.]
PIE: *selh$_1$- 'take' (IEW: 899)
COGN: Lat. *cōn-sulo* 'gather, advice', Gr. *heîlon* 'I took', ON *selja* 'sell'
ETYM: The verbal root is unattested as simplex in Celtic. W *dyrllid* and MBret. *dellezaff* are from *to-fro-sl-iyo-. It is difficult to derive the PCelt. present stem *-sl-iyo- directly from PIE *slh$_1$-yo- (we would expect **slāyo- or **sal-yo-, if the laryngeal were lost before *y), but cf. the parallel case of *gn-iyo- < *ǵnh$_1$-yo-. Could this be due to some sort of special development

of the cluster *h_1y? Schumacher (KPV 381, 590) assumes in both cases a Celtic innovation (yo-present built to the zero grade *sl- viz. *gn-).
REF: KPV 588ff., GPC I: 932, LIV 529, LP 396, Deshayes 2003: 176, LEIA S-130f.

***to-wissāko-** 'chief, first' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *toísech* [o]
W: MW *tywyssawc* [m] 'prince', Brit. *TOVISACI* [Gen. s] (Ogam) (GPC *tywysog*)
BRET: OBret. *toguisoc*
SEE: *wēd-o- 'sight, presence'
ETYM: PCelt. *to-wissāko- < *-wid-t-āko- (or *wid-s-āko-) < PIE *weyd- 'see, know' (cf. *wēd-o- 'sight, presence'). Another etymology derives the attested forms from PIE *wed^h- 'lead', i. e. PCelt. *to-wessāko- < *to-wed-t-āko- or *to-wed-s-āko- (cf. OCS *vožďь* 'leader' < PIE *wod^{h}yo-, IEW 1115f.). Although somewhat better from the semantic point of view, this reconstruction is difficult to square with *-i-* in the British Ogam inscription *TOVISACI* (CIIC 399, McManus 1997: 108).
REF: LEIA T-100f., GPC III: 3688, LHEB 186f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 349, Cowgill 1967: 129-138.

***to-wissu-** 'leadership, act of leading, driving' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tuus, tús* [u n] 'act of leading, preceding, beginning'
W: MW *tywys* 'lead, guide' (GPC *tywys, tywysio, tywysu*)
SEE: *to-wiss-āko- 'chief, first', *wēd-o- 'sight, presence'
ETYM: The attested forms cannot be from PCelt. *-wessu- < PIE *wed^h-tu- (from the root *wed^h- 'lead', IEW 1115f.), since this would yield OIr. **tóes, cf. OIr. *róe* < *rowesyā 'field, open ground'.
REF: LEIA T-188, GPC III: 3688.

***towtā** 'people, tribe' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *túath* [ā f] (DIL *túaid*)
W: MW *tut* [m] 'people, country' (GPC *tud*)
BRET: MBret. *tut*, MoBret. *tud* [p] 'people'
CO: Co. *tus*
GAUL: *Teutates* [Theonym], *Touto* [PN], *Touto-bodiaci* [Ethnonym]
PIE: *tewteh$_2$ 'people, tribe' (IEW: 1084)
COGN: Go. *þiuda* 'people', Osc. *touto* 'city', Lith. *tautà* 'people', perhaps Hitt. *tuzzi-* 'army'
ETYM: Gaul. *Teutates* was presumably 'god of the tribe'; this form appears strange, as the change *ew > *ow, ou* is well-attested in Gaul. (it may be just a spelling variant for a diphthong with no counterpart in Latin). Celtib. family name *Toutinikum* [Gen. pl.] (Botorrita III) probably represents a derivative from *towtā.

REF: LEIA T-164, GPC IV: 3651, Deshayes 2003: 751, Pedersen I: 54, EIEC 288, 437, 631, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 379, Delamarre 295, Sims-Williams 2006: 114f., MLH V.1: 412.

***towto-** 'left, north' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *túath* [o]
PIE: *tewto-
COGN: Lat. *tūtus* 'safe', Go. *þiuþ* 'good'
ETYM: OBret. *tut*, which Fleuriot (DGVB) renders as 'good, favorable', appears to be the same word, cf. also OBret. *tuthe* 'a kind of demon'. OIr. *túath* also means 'bad, perverse'. It is unclear if the meanings 'left', 'good', and 'magic' can be brought together, since the associations of the left hand side are almost universally negative. Perhaps some sort of taboo replacement is involved, but in any case the IE part of this etymology remains somewhat conjectural.
REF: LEIA T-164f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 379.

***toybo-** 'side' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *toíb, tóeb* [o m] (DIL *taeb*)
W: MW *tu* [m]
BRET: OBret. *tu*, MBret. and MoBret. *tu* [m]
CO: Co. *tu*
PIE: *(s)teyg^{w}- '‘flank, side' (?) (IEW: 1018)
COGN: Arm. *t'ēkn* 'shoulder', OCS *stьgno* 'femur', Russ. *stegnó* 'hip'
ETYM: PCelt. *toybo- would presuppose PIE *(s)toyg^{w}o- and the loss of s-mobile. The semantic development would have been either from 'flank' to 'hip' or 'shoulder' (in Slavic and Armenian respectively), or vice versa (in Celtic).
REF: LEIA T-91f., GPC IV: 3648f., DGVB 324, Deshayes 2003: 750, EIEC 518, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 492.

***trāgi-** 'beach, low tide' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tráig* [i f]
W: MW *trei* [m] (GPC *trai*) 'low tide, draining'; *treiau, treion* [p]
BRET: MBret. *tre* [m], MoBret. *tre(c'h)*
CO: Co. *trig*
ETYM: Cf. also the denominative verb MIr. *tráigid* 'ebbs, recedes'. I doubt that these words are related to PCelt. *treget- 'foot', as is often assumed. One would have to posit an *ad hoc* lengthened grade, and the meanings are worlds apart.
REF: LEIA T-123f., GPC IV: 3551, Deshayes 2003: 738, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 66, 73, 525.

***trāns-** 'across' [Prep]
SEE: *taras- 'across'

***trātu-** 'length of time, hour' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tráth* [u n]
W: MW *trawd* [m and f] 'course, voyage' (GPC *trawd, trawdd*)
PIE: *terh$_2$- 'traverse, cross' (IEW: 1074)
COGN: Skt. *tárati* 'crosses', OCS *trajati* 'to last'
SEE: *taras- 'across'
ETYM: PCelt. *trātu- presupposes PIE *tr̥h$_2$tu- (the zero-grade is expected). The development of meaning was from 'traversing, passing' to 'duration, period' and 'time'.
REF: LEIA T-124f., GPC IV: 3560, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 287, Schrijver 1995: 188f.

***trē** 'through' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *tre* [Aspirating, +Acc., later also +Dat.]
W: OW *trui,* MW *trwy, drwy*
BRET: OBret. *tre*, MBret. and MoBret. *dre*
CO: Co. *dre*
SEE: *taras- 'across'
ETYM: The relationship to PCelt. *taras-, *trāns- 'across' (PIE *terh$_2$- 'traverse, cross') suggested by IEW (1076) is plausible semantically, but formally quite unclear. In principle, if *trāns- first yielded *trās, and if this was still a root-noun in PCelt., the dative sg. form *trās-ē could have been contracted as *trāē > *trē after the loss of intervocalic *s in Insular Celtic. Needless to say, this is just a speculation.
REF: LEIA T-126, GPC IV: 3630f., Falileyev 151, Deshayes 2003: 202, Schrijver 1995: 246f.

***trebā** 'settlement' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *treb* [ā f]
W: MW *tref* [f] 'town, dwelling-place', *Tre-* (in PN)
BRET: OBret. *treff* .i. urbs, MoBret. *trev* [f]
CO: Co. *tre-* (in Toponyms), *trê* 'house, village'
GAUL: *Ambi-trebius* [PN], *Atrebates* [Ethnonym]
CELTIB: *Con-trebia, kon-terbia* (A.75) [Toponym]
PIE: *treb- 'settlement' (IEW: 1090)
COGN: Go. *þaurp*, Lith. *trobà* 'house'
SEE: *attrebā 'settlement'
ETYM: Old Provencal *trevar* 'inhabit' is from the lost Gaulish verb of the same meaning. MW *trefn* [m and f] 'room, house' can be derived from PCelt. *trebno-. OIr. *trebar* [o] 'wise' is usually considered a derivative of this root (e.g. LEIA T-126f.), but this may be just a folk-etymology. In fact, OIr. *trebar* can be from PCelt. *trebro- 'wise' < PIE *trepro- 'turning, apt' (cf. Gr. *trépō* 'turn', Skt. *trápate* 'is ashamed', perhaps Lat. hapax *trepit*

'turns'). For the semantic connection cf. Croat. *òkretan* 'handy, apt' vs. *òkret* 'turn'.
REF: LEIA T-127f., GPC IV: 3572, EIEC 281, Delamarre 301, Deshayes 2003: 743, Jordán Cólera 1998: 30, 108, 117, Sims-Williams 2006: 115f., MLH V.1: 193f.

***trebno-** 'room, house' [Noun]
SEE: *trebā 'settlement'

***trebro-** 'wise' [Adj]
SEE: *trebā 'settlement'

***treget-** 'foot' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *traig* [d m]
W: MW *troet* [m] (GPC *troed*)
BRET: OBret. *troat*, MBret. *troat,* MoBret. *troad* [m]
CO: OCo. *truit* gl. pes, MCo. *troys, tros*
GAUL: *treide* .i. pede (Endlicher's Glossary)
PIE: *treg^{h}- 'run, walk' (IEW: 1089)
COGN: Go. *þragjan* 'run', Croat. *trâg* 'trace'
ETYM: The derivation of OIr. *traig* is straightforward, with *e > *a* before palatalized *ǵ as in *fraig* < *wregi-. The Brittonic forms are somewhat ambiguous (they could be from a variant *troget, according to Hamp 1982b because of the analogy with *drogo-, *droko- 'runner' > 'wheel'). OIr. *tráig* 'beach' etc., adduced by IEW (1089) is probably unrelated to this set of words. The connection with *d^{h}reg^{h}- 'run' (Gr. *trékhō* etc., see Hamp 1982b) is also possible, but difficult (it requires positing s-mobile, *sd^{h}rog^{h}et-, and its subsequent loss in Celtic (but cf. *tanno- 'green oak', which may be from *sd^{h}nwo-).
REF: LEIA T-123, GPC IV: 3608f., LP 29, EIEC 491, Deshayes 2003: 746f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 167, 172, 525, Delamarre 300, Hamp 1982b, Schrijver 1995: 136, de Vaan 1999, Campanile 1974: 102f.

***trexs(n)o-** 'strong' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *trén* [o], Ogam *TRENA-GUSU*
W: MW *trech* 'stronger'
BRET: MBret. *trech,* MoBret. *trec'h* [m] 'victory'
CO: Co. *trygh* 'victorious'
GAUL; *Trexius, Trexa, Trenus* [PN]
PIE: *treg- 'strength' (IEW: 1090)
COGN: OE *þraka* 'courage', ON *þrekr* 'strength'
ETYM: The Brittonic and Gaulish forms are from underived *trexso-, whereas OIr. *trén* is from *trexsno-. Cognates are attested only in Germanic and point to PGerm. *þrakja- < PIE *trogyo-.

REF: LEIA T-136, GPC IV: 3571, Delamarre 301, Deshayes 2003: 739, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 252, 258, 389, Ziegler 1994: 117.

***trīs** 'three' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *trí*; *téoir* [f]
W: MW *tri*; *teir* [f] (GPC *tair*)
BRET: MBret. *tri*; *teir* [f]
CO: Co. *try*; *teyr, tyr* [f]
GAUL: *tri-*; *tiðres* [f]
PIE: *treyes 'three'; *t(r)isres [f] (IEW: 1090f.)
COGN: Skt. *tráyas,* Lat. *trēs*, Gr. *treĩs*, Lith. *trỹs*, Go. *þrins* [Acc. p], OCS *trьje*, Alb. *tre*, ToB *trai*, Hitt. *tri-*
ETYM: OIr. *trí* has long *í* when used as a substantive, but short *i* when used attributively (shortening in proclisis). A possible cognate in Celtiberian is *tiris* (Botorrita I), but this word has also been related to PCelt. *tīros- 'earth'. The ordinal numeral is formed differently in various Celtic languages: Gaulish has *Tritos* [PN], OIr. *tris, tres* < *tristo-, W *trydydd,* MoBret. *trede* < *tritiyo-.
REF: LEIA T-139f., GPC IV: 3591, EIEC 400, Delamarre 301f., Falileyev 150, Deshayes 2003: 744, MLH V.1: 392f.

***trisano-** 'one third' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *trían*
W: OW *trean,* MW *trayan*
BRET: OBret. *troian*
SEE: *trīs 'three'
REF: LEIA T-141f., GOI 250, Falileyev 149.

***trowgo-** 'sorry, sad' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *trúag, tróg* [o]
W: OW *tru*, MW *tru*
BRET: OBret. *tru[ed]* gl. humanitatis, MBret. and MoBret. *truez* [f] 'pity', *tru* 'miserable'
CO: Co. *tru*
GAUL: *Trouceti-marus* [PN]
ETYM: Cf. the parallel compounds OIr. *trócar* 'merciful' < *trowg-kar-o-, *trowkkaro-, W *trugar-og* 'merciful', *trugar-edd* 'mercy' (W has *-g-* rather than *ch < *kk by analogy with the simplex *trowgo-). Fr. *truand* 'beggar' is commonly derived from Gaul. *trūg-ant-, *trowgant- from the same root. Gaul. *trowg-ant- would be an old participle present of the underlying verb, parallel to *kar-ant- > OIr. *carae* 'friend'. The PIE etymology is unknown, but a connection with PCelt. *truk-, *truxso- 'trunk, broken part' appears possible.

REF: LEIA T-53f., GPC IV: 3621, DGVB 324, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 325, 337f., Delamarre 303, Deshayes 2003: 749, Gamillscheg 875, Meid 2005: 119f.

***trowkkaro-** 'merciful' [Adj]
SEE: *trowgo- 'sorry, sad'

***truk-, *truxso-** 'trunk, broken part'
GOID: MIr. *trú* [k m and f] 'doomed person, man condamned to death' (Gen. s *troch*)
W: MW *trwch* [m] 'wounded, broken, sad, thickness, density'; *trychiau* [p]
BRET: OBret. *truch* gl. obtusi, MoBret. *trouc'h, troc'h* [m] 'cut'
CO: OCo. *trech* gl. truncus; MoCo. *trogh* 'broken'
PIE: *trewk- 'cut' (IEW: 1074)
COGN: Lat. *truncus* '1. mutilated, 2. stem'
ETYM: GPC distinguishes two words, *trwch* thickness, bulk' and *trwch* 'sad, broken, wounded'; however, the meaning 'thickness, density (= GPC *trwch*[1]) is clearly secondary, being attested only in Modern Welsh. The Brittonic forms presuppose *truk-so- with regular metathesis to *trusko- > W *trwch*. In Irish, we should start from a root noun *truk-s, which meant 'slain, cut man', hence 'man condemned to death'. Despite formal and semantic problems, the connection to Lat. *truncus* 'trunk', *trucidāre,* Lith. *trenkiù* 'hit' remains probable, but forms adduced in IEW (1074) belong to several different roots.
REF: LEIA T-152, GPC IV: 3625, DGVB 324, Deshayes 2003: 747.

***trummo-** 'heavy' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *trom* [o]
W: OW *trumm*, MW *trwm*
BRET: OBret. *trom, trum* gl. inoportune
CO: Co. *trom*
PIE: *trewd- 'thrust, press' (IEW: 1095f.)
COGN: Lat. *trūdo* 'thrust, push', Go. *us-þriutan* 'to maltreat', OCS *trudъ* 'trouble', perhaps also Alb. *tredh* 'castrate'
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from *trud-smo-, or maybe *trud-mo- (but *-dm- is preserved in *dedmV- 'rite'). Another possibility is Hamp's (1984: 138) *truks-mo- > *truxsmo-, cf. W *trwch* 'thickness' < *trukso- (cf. PCelt. *truk- 'trunk, broken part'). Germ. dial. (Bavaria) *Trumm* 'great piece, chunk' (Kluge, s. v. *Trümmer*) may be a loanword from Gaulish.
REF: LEIA T-151, GPC IV: 3626f., DGVB 324, EIEC 451, Falileyev 151, Hamp 1984, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 267, 373.

***trussko-** 'dirty, leprous' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *trosc* [o] 'leprous'

W: MW *trwsgl* 'rash, crude, rude, coarse, clumsy'
BRET: OBret. *trusci* gl. scabiem, MBret. *trousquenn*, MoBret. *trousk* [Collective] 'polyps'
CO: Co. *trosken*
ETYM: OIr. *trosc* is also used as a substantive meaning 'a leper'. Perhaps related are Gaulish PNs *Truxus, Troxus, Troxo*, cf. Delamarre 303. In all likelihood, these words were borrowed from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA T-152, GPC IV: 3628, Delamarre 303, Deshayes 2003: 749, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 277.

***trusto-** 'noise, cry' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *trost* [o m]
W: MW *trwst* [m]
BRET: MBret. *trous* [m]
CO: Co. *tros*
ETYM: Since this word has no PIE etymology, it may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA T-152, GPC IV: 3629, Deshayes 2003: 748.

***truti-** 'starling' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *truit, truid* [i f]
W: MW *trydw* (GPC *drudw*)
BRET: MBret. *dret, tret*, MoBret. *tred* [f]
CO: OCo. *troet* gl. turdus, Co. *trôs*
PIE: *trusdo- 'starling, thrush' (IEW: 1096)
COGN: Lat. *turdus* 'thrush (or similar bird)', MHG *trostel,* OPr. *tresde*, Croat. *drȍzd*
ETYM: MIr. *truit* could also be from *trozdi- (cf. Lat. *turdus* < *trosdo-). The relationship of W *tresglen*, OBret. *tra[s]cl* gl. larum, MoBret. *drask(l)*, Co. *traskel* 'thrush' to these words is unclear to me (? from PCelt. *trezd-ko-, or *trazd-ko-, with *ra < *ar < *ṛ). Cf. also Fr. *drenne* 'thrush' (earlier also *draine, drine*), allegedly from Gaul. *dresdinā < *tresd-inā (Gamillscheg 332f.). Like the word for 'blackbird' (*mesalkā), this word for 'starling' has all the appearances of a loanword from some non-IE language of NW Europe (but cf. Arm. *tordik* 'thrush').
REF: LEIA T-155, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 274, 519, Campanile 1974: 102, Deshayes 2003: 739, 202, Gamillscheg 332.

***tū, *tu** 'you' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. *tú, tu-ssu*
W: OW *ti*, MW *ti* (GPC *ti, di*)
BRET: MBret. *ti, te*
CO: Co. *ty*
PIE: *tuH 'you' (IEW: 1097f.)

COGN: Hitt. *zik / tu-*, Skt. *t(u)vám,* Gr. *sý*, Lat. *tū*, Go. *þu*, OCS *ty*, Lith. *tù*, ToB *twe*
ETYM: Two forms of this pronoun must be distinguished in PCelt., one with long *ū, *tū (> W *ti*), and the other with short *u, PCelt. *tu, preserved in OIr. *tu-ssu* and relengthened in OIr. *tú* (cf. *mé* 'I' vs. *me-sse*). Lengthening is regular in monosyllables. The origins of the alternation of *tu and *tū go back to PIE. Some linguists think that *tū was the stressed variant, and *tu the clitic pronoun, but it is also possible that the forms were actually *tuH and *tu, with *tu being the result of the loss of laryngeal in pausa (this is argued for in Matasović 2008a: 233f.).
REF: LEIA T-156f., GPC IV: 3496, DGVB 311, 313, EIEC 455, Falileyev 147.

***tud-o-** 'fall' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-tuit*; *-toth* [Subj.]; *-tóeth* [Fut.]
PIE: *(s)tewd- 'hit' (IEW: 1033f.)
COGN: Skt. *tudáti,* Lat. *tundo*, Go. *stautan*
ETYM: OIr. *do-tuit* < *tu-tud-o-; the verb is unattested as simplex.
REF: KPV 642ff., LIV 601, LEIA T-177ff., LP 402.

***tuknā** 'back, bottom, arse' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *tón* [ā f] 'hindquarters, podex, bottom'
W: MW *tin* [f and m] 'bottom, arse, rear'
CO: Co. *tyn*
PIE: *tewH-k- 'swell' (IEW: 1080)
COGN: OE *þeoh* 'thigh', Lith. *táukas* 'fat'
ETYM: In MIr. this word is also attested as a feminine i-stem *tóin*. The MIr. forms must be from *tuknā or *tukni- (*tūknā would yield MIr. **tún). The Brittonic forms point to *tūnā, which is derivable from *tuknā under the assumption that the compensatory lengthening of *u > *ū before *kn is earlier than the change of *ū > *ī > MW *i* (for the lengthening in Brittonic, cf. W *mawn* 'peat' < *makni- < PIE *mh_2kni- 'swamp'). The laryngeal in PIE is confirmed by the acute in Baltic, so the short *u in Celtic is a problem. One possibility would be to assume that it was shortened by Dybo's law (*tuHknó- > *tūknó- > *tukno-).
REF: LEIA T-105f., GPC IV: 3498f.

***tullo-** 'pierced, perforated' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *toll* [o]
W: MW *twll* [m]
BRET: OBret. *tull* gl. foramen, MBret. and MoBret. *toull* [m] 'hole'
CO: Co. *toll, tol*
PIE: *tewk- 'beat, perforate' (IEW: 1032f.)
ETYM: The Celtic forms are usually derived from *tuxslo- < *tuk-slo- from the root *tewk- 'beat, perforate' (IEW 1032f. cf. Gr. *týkos* 'hammer', Latv.

tukstēt 'beat'). However, the suffix *-slo- is used to derive nouns, not adjectives, and it appears probable that vowels were regularly lengthened before the cluster *xsl (cf. PCelt. *tāxslo- 'axe'). In any case, the proximate reconstruction based on the Insular Celtic forms yields *tullo- rather than *tuxslo-.
REF: LEIA T-103, GPC IV: 3658, Deshayes 2003: 734, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 264f.

***tumbo-** 'excrescence, hill' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *tomm* [o m] 'bush, bunch, hillock' (DIL *tom*)
W: MW *tom* [f and m] 'dung, heap of dung, mound'
PIE: *tum-b^h- 'mound, hill' (IEW: 1082)
COGN: Lat. *tumulus* 'mound'
ETYM: OIr. *túaim* [n n] 'hill, mound' might also belong here (see LEIA T-159), but it might also be from *stowxsman- (see above).
REF: LEIA T-104, T-159, GPC IV: 3519, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 281, 315.

***tum-ī-** 'grow' [Vb]
W: MW *tyfu*
BRET: OBret. *tum* [3s Pres.], MoBret. *teñvañ*
CO: Co. *a dyff* 'grow'; *tyff* [3 s Pres.]
PIE: *twem- 'grow, swell' (IEW: 1082)
COGN: Skt. *túmra-* 'strong, thick', Lat. *tumeo*, Lith. *tuméti* 'get fat', OIc. *þumal-fingr* 'thumb'
ETYM: Celtic *tum-ī- is a reflex of the PIE stative present *tum-eh_1-, which is also the source of Lat. *tumeo* and Lith. *tuméti.*
REF: KPV 646f., GPC IV: 3671, DGVB 325, Deshayes 2003: 720, LIV 654.

***tundā** 'wave' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tonn* [ā f]
W: OW *tonnou* gl. aequora; MW *tonn* [f] (GPC *ton*)
BRET: OBret. *tonn* gl. lympha, MBret. and MoBret. *tonn* [f]
CO: Co. *ton*
ETYM: Perhaps related to Lat. *tundo* 'beat', Skt. *tudáti* 'beat', Arm. *t'ndam* 'I am shattered' (PIE *(s)tewd- 'beat', IEW 1032ff., see *tud-o- 'fall'), cf. LEIA T-109; however, the difference in meaning is considerable (the semantic connection would lie in the beating of waves against the shore?). Note also that all of the reflexes in the Celtic languages could be derived from PCelt. *tondā, which could be identical to *tondā 'surface, skin', if the word first referred to the surface of the sea, and to 'wave' only secondarily.
REF: LEIA T-109, GPC IV: 3519, Deshayes 2003: 729, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 342.

***tuto-** 'vulva' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *toth* [o m] 'vulva, vagina, feminine gender (in grammar)'
GAUL: *Tuta* [PN], *Uiro-tuti* [Dat. s, PN] (?)
ETYM: Of course, the interpretation of the Gaulish personal names is quite uncertain, so the connection with MIr. *toth* is a speculation. There is also a possible connection to the name of the Roman Priapic deity *Tutūnus*.
REF: LEIA T-119, Delamarre 305.

***tworko-** 'boar' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *torc* [o m]
W: MW *twrch* [m] 'young pig, boar'
BRET: OBret. *torch* gl. uerres, MoBret. *tourc'h* [m]
CO: OCo. *torch* gl. magalis
PIE: *tworḱo- 'cutter, boar'
COGN: Av. *θβərəsa-* 'piglet', perhaps Gr. *sárks* 'flesh'
ETYM: It is assumed here that *tw- was preserved in PCelt. (just as PIE *dw- was retained), but it is also possible that the change *tw- > *t- is already Proto-Celtic, since all Celtic languages have *t-. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1994a) derives the Celtic forms from the zero-grade of the PIE root (*turḱ-o-), since the cluster *rk usually resists raising in Irish. However, *tworḱo- makes more sense from the morphological point of view, if the word was originally an agent noun of the *tomós*-type. The PIE root meant 'to cut out (a pit)', cf. Av. *θβərəs-* 'dig, cut out', so the meaning 'boar' must have developed from 'cutter, digger'.
REF: LEIA T-115, GPC III: 3661, DGVB 316, Deshayes 2003: 735, EIEC 425, Campanile 1974: 101, McCone 1992a, Schrijver 1995: 65, Lubotsky 1994a.

U

***uden-sk-yo-** 'water' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *uisce* [io m]
PIE: *wod-r / *uden- 'water' (IEW: 79)
COGN: Skt. *udán-*, Hitt. *watar-*, Gr. *hýdōr* (Gen. *hýdatos*), Umbr. *utur*, Lat. *unda* 'wave', OCS *voda*, Germ. *Wasser*
ETYM: Although this etymology is often repeated in handbooks, I am not absolutely certain that it is correct. The suffix combination *-skyo- seems odd. Another possibility is to posit *ud-es-kyo- (cf. the s-stem in Gr. dial. *hýdos* 'water', and cf. Skt. *útsa-* 'well'). OIr. *odar* 'brown, dun' is often derived from the same PIE root for 'water' (PCelt. *ud-ro-), but the semantic difference is considerable.

REF: LEIA U-21, EIEC 636, De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 136, 451, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 706ff., Hamp 1991.

***ufelo-** 'bad, evil' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *fel* [o]
PIE: *$h_2$wop- 'treat badly' (IEW: 1107)
COGN: Hitt. *huwapzi* 'harrows, despoils', Go. *ubils* 'bad, evil'
ETYM: The development is regular: PIE *$h_2$up-elo- > *ufelo- > *welo- > OIr. *fel*. The closest cognates are found in Germanic, cf. also OE *yfel* 'evil, bad'.
REF: EIEC 43, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 410, 450.

***ufo-** 'under' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *fo* [Aspirating, +Acc, +Dat]
W: OW *guo*, MW *go, go-* 'under, rather, partly'
BRET: OBret. *guo*, MoBret. *gwa-, gou-*
CO: Co. *go- gwa-*
GAUL: *Vo-*
LEP: *Uvamo-kozis* (Prestino)
PIE: *upo- 'under, up to' (IEW: 1106)
COGN: Skt. *úpa*, Gr. *hypó,* Go. *uf*
ETYM: I am not certain whether Lep. *Uvamokozis* (var. lect. *Uvamakozis*) stands for *uwamo-gostis, as is usually supposed, but the first element of this compound is likely to contain the reflex of PCelt. *ufo- (whether or not the letter *v* of the Lugano alphabet actually stands for the preserved PCelt. *f). The other element of this compound is thought to represent *gostis < PIE *g^hostis 'guest' (OCS *gostь*, Go. *gasts*, etc.), but it is unclear whether this word is otherwise not preserved in Celtic (see under *gazdo- 'withe').
REF: GPC II: 1416, GOI 139, 511, Isaac 2007: 11ff.

***ufo-ate-k^wri-na-** 'buy back, redeem' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-aithchren*
BRET: MBret. *dazprenaff*
REF: KPV 440.

***ufo-biyo-** 'blow, injury' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fubae* [io n]
W: MW *gofwy* 'to visit, afflict with sickness, punish' (GPC *gofwy, gofwyo*)
PIE: *b^heyH- 'strike, hit' (IEW: 117f.)
COGN: OCS *biti,* OLat. *per-finas* [2s Subjunctive]
SEE: *bi-na- 'strike'
REF: LIV 57, GPC II: 1433, Schumacher 2000: 173.

***ufo-dam-yo-** 'suffer' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *fo-daim*, *-fodaim*; *-fadam* [1s Pres. Subj.]; *fondidmae* [2s Fut]; *forodamair* [3 s Perf.]
W: OW *ni cein-godemisauch* gl. non bene passa; MW *goddef* 'suffer, allow, bear'
BRET: MBret. *gouzaff*
CO: Co. *godhaff*
SEE: *dam-yo- 'suffer'
REF: KPV 260ff., GPC II: 1425.

***ufo-dex-tā** 'blaze' [Noun]
SEE: *deg^{w}i- 'flame'

***ufo-gni-yo-** 'serve, be useful' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fo-gní*, *-fognai*; *-fogna* [3 s Subj.]; *fugen-sa* [1s Fut.] 'serves, avails, profits, is used by'
W: MW *gweini*; *gweinyt* [3s Pres.] (GPC *gweini, gweinyddu*)
BRET: MBret. *go(u)nit*
CO: Co. *gonis* 'work'
SEE: *gn-iyo- 'do'
REF: KPV 339ff., GPC II: 1621.

***ufo-k^{w}ri-na-** 'buy, earn' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *fo-cren* 'buys, exchanges, hires'; *fo-chiura* [Fut.]; *fa-críth* [Pass.]
W: MW *gobryn* 'earn' (GPC *gobryn, gobrynu*)
SEE: *k^{w}ri-na- 'sell'
REF: KPV 438f., GPC II: 1419.

***ufo-kan-o-** 'sing along, play' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fo-cain* 'accompanies (with a musical instrument)'
W: MW *goganu* 'praise' (GPC *goganu, gogan, goganyd*)
SEE: *kan-o- 'sing'
REF: KPV 388ff., GPC II: 1435.

***ufo-kel-o-** 'protect, cover' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *fo-ceil* 'hide, cover'
W: MW *goglyt* 'defend, protect'; *gogel* [3s Pres.] (GPC *goglyd, gogelyd, gogel, gogelu*)
SEE: *kel-o- 'hide'
REF: GPC II: 1435, KPV 394ff.

***ufo-lawto-** 'property, wealth' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *folud* [o n] 'substance, material, property, equivalent, reason, cause'
W: MW *golud* [m and f]

CO: OCo. *wuludoc* gl. dives
PIE: *leh$_2$u- 'benefit, prize' (IEW: 655)
COGN: Gr. *apolaúnō* 'enjoy', Lat. *lucrum* 'profit', OE *lēan* 'reward', Go. *laun* 'reward'
ETYM: The Celtic forms represent a derivative with the suffix *-to-, or the past participle (*leh$_2$u-to-). Cf. also OIr. *lúag, lóg* 'prize' < *lowgo- < *loh$_2$u-go-. OE *lēan* and Go. *laun* can be from *leh$_2$w-no-. Lat. *lucrum* may represent *lu-tlo-, but the loss of laryngeal is unusual (by Dybo's rule?). OIr. *lour* 'enough' and W *llawer* 'many, a lot' (Co. *lower*), *llawen* 'merry' (MBret. *louen*, Co. *lowen*) could also be from the same root (*law-ero-, *law-eno- ?, cf. Gr. *lārós* 'tasty' < *lāwaros).
REF: GPC II: 1452, EIEC 484, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 144.

***ufo-leg-** 'shelter, lair' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *foil, fail* [k f]
W: MW *gwal* [f and m] 'lair, pigsty' (GPC *gwâl*)
PIE: *leg^h- 'lie' (IEW: 659)
ETYM: Cf. also W *gwely* 'bed' < *ufo-leg-yo-.
REF: GPC II: 1564f., Uhlich 2002: 411.

***ufo-rēdo-** 'horse' [Noun]
W: MW *gorwydd* [m] 'horse'; *gorwyddawr, gorwyddod* [p]
GAUL: *verēdo- > VLat. *uerēdus* 'post horse'
SEE: *rēdo- 'riding', *rēd-smen-
ETYM: VLat. *para-ueredus* (ultimately from Gaulish) is the source of Germ. *Pferd* 'horse' and Fr. *palefroi*. The Gaulish form *werēdo- can represent the result of assimilation from *worēdo- < *ufo-rēdo-.
REF: LEIA R-26, GPC II: 1596, Delamarre 315.

***ufor-** 'over, on' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *for* [+Acc., +Dat.]
W: OW *guor,* MW *gor, gwar*
BRET: OBret. *guor-, gor-*
CO: Co. *gor*
GAUL: *Ver-cingeto-rix* [PN]
CELTIB: *UER-AMOM* [Acc. s] 'highest'
PIE: *uper- 'over' (IEW: 1105)
COGN: Skt. *upári,* Gr. *hypér*, Go. *ufar*
ETYM: It is not clear whether PCelt. *ufor- is a variant of *ufer- < *uper-, or a development thereof. For the development of *ufV- > *wV- cf. PCelt. *ufelo- and *ufo-.
REF: GOI 513, Delamarre 314, Falileyev 72, Villar 1997: 902, MLH V.1: 444.

***ufor-bu-yo-** 'remain' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *for-tá*; *-forbái* [3s Pret.]; *-forbía* [3s Fut.]
W: MW *gorfot* 'win, force (someone)' (GPC *gorfodi*)
SEE: *bu-yo- 'be'
REF: KPV 245, GPC II: 1479.

***ufo-ret-o-** 'help, save' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fo-reith* 'helps, takes someone's place'
W: MW *gwared* 'save, be helpful to' (GPC *gwaredu, gwared*)
GAUL: *Uoreto-uirius* [PN]
SEE: *ret-o- 'run'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *cobair, cobuir* 'help' < *kom-ufo-ret-, OIr. *tóir* 'help' < *to-ufo-ret-. For the semantic development of the verb 'to run' (*ret-o-) with the prefix *ufo- > *wo- 'under' cf. Lat. *su-curro* 'help' (the Insular Celtic verbs may actually be calques of Latin).
REF: KPV 538ff., GPC II: 1582, Ellis Evans 1967: 126f., Uhlich 2002: 411.

***ufor-k^{w}enno-** 'end' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *forcenn* [o n>m] 'end, final limit, what is destined'
W: MW *gorffen* [m]
BRET: MBret. *gourffenn*
CO: Co. *gorfen*
SEE: *k^{w}enno- 'head'
ETYM: There is also the denominative verb OIr. *for-cenna* 'puts an end to', W *gorffennu* 'finish off'. This may be the result of a parallel development in Goidelic and Brittonic.
REF: GPC II: 1483, LP 45.

***ufor-kan-o-** 'teach' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *for-cain*
W: MW *gwarchanu* (GPC *gorchan, gorchanu, gwarchan*)
SEE: *kan-o- 'sing'
REF: KPV 388ff., GPC II: 1463.

***ufo-skāto/u-** 'shadow, shelter' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *foscad* [u and o n>m] 'shade, shelter'
W: MW *gwascawt* (GPC *gwasgod*) [m] 'shelter, shady place, shadow'
BRET: OBret. *guascotou* gl. frigora, MBret. *goasquet,* MoBret. *gwasked* [m]
PIE: *skeh$_3$t- 'darkness' (IEW: 957)
COGN: Gr. *skótos*, OE *sceadu* 'darkness'
SEE: *skāto- 'shadow'
REF: GPC II: 1596, LP 2, Deshayes 2003: 300.

***ufo-sodyo-** 'ground' [Noun]
SEE: *sodyo- 'seat'

***ufo-star-na-** 'strew' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *fo-sern* 'arranges in due order, spreads abroad'
W: MW *gwassarnu* (GPC *gwasarnu, gosarnu*)
SEE: *star-na- 'strew, broaden'
REF: KPV 601f., GPC II: 1593, Zimmer 2000: 413.

***ufo-wik-o-** 'commit an offence' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fo-fich* 'trespasses, commits an offence'
W: MW *gowyn* [m] (GPC *gowŷn*) 'shame, disgrace'
SEE: *wik-o- 'fight'
REF: KPV 683ff., GPC II: 1517.

***ulk^{w}o-** 'bad, evil' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *olc* [o]
LEP: *Ulkos* [PN]
PIE: *wlk^{w}o- 'wolf' (IEW: 1178f.)
COGN: Skt. *vṛ́ka-*, Gr. *lýkos*, Lat. *lupus*, Lith. *vil̃kas*, OCS *vlъkъ*, Go. *wulfs*
ETYM: The meaning of this word in PCelt. could have been 'wolf', as in PIE. Another etymology, less persuasive in my opinion, relates OIr. *olc* to Lat. *ulciscor* 'take vengeance' (see LP 43). The Gaulish ethnonym *Volcae* and W *gwalch* 'hawk, rascal' are sometimes also connected with the PIE word for 'wolf', but this is quite uncertain (Gaulish and Brittonic would have preserved the o-grade *wolk^{w}o-).
REF: LEIA O-19f., LP 43, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 553, McCone 1985, McCone 1996: 44.

***u-n-k-o-** 'understand' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-ucai* (DIL *do-ucci*, s. v. *do-beir*)
PIE: *h$_{1}$ewk- 'get used to' (IEW: 347)
COGN: Skt. *ucyati*, Go. *bi-uhts* 'used to', OCS *učiti* 'learn', *vyknąti* 'get used to', Lith. *jùnkti* 'get used to'
ETYM: OIr. *do-ucai* is from *to-u-n-k-o-. The simplex is not attested. Cf. the verbal noun *tuicse, tuicsiu* 'understanding' < *to-unk-syon-.
REF: KPV 652f., LIV 244f., LEIA U-13f., LP 345.

***up(p)u** 'ouch' [Exclamation]
GOID: OIr. *upp* gl. ei mihi
W: MW *wb* (GPC *wb, ub*)
REF: LEIA U-26, GPC III: 3729.

***uxso-, *uxson-** 'ox' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *oss* [o m] 'stag, cow'
W: MW *ych* [m], *ychen* [p]

BRET: OBret. *penn ohen* gl. caput boum [p], MBret. *ouhen*, MoBret. *oc'hen* [p]
CO: Co. *oghan* [p]
PIE: *uksōn 'ox' (IEW: 1118)
COGN: OE *oxa,* Av. *uxšan-* 'bull', ToB *okso* 'draft-ox'
ETYM: The Brittonic forms presuppose a n-stem (with Nom. sg. *uxsō(n) > *uxsū > *uxsī and subsequent i-affection in W). MIr. *oss* presupposes a thematic *uxso-, cf. also the PN *Os-car* ('stag-loving').
REF: LEIA O-34, GPC III: 3749, Deshayes 2003: 544, EIEC 135, Schrijver 1995: 258, Stüber 1998: 12f.

W

***wā(d)-sko-** 'press' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *fáiscid, -fáisci* 'presses'
W: MW *gwascu* (GPC *gwasgu*)
BRET: OBret. *(dem)guescim*, MBret. *goascaff,* MoBret. *gwaskañ*
CO: Co. *gwyscel*
PIE: *wed^{h}H- 'strike' (IEW: 1115)
COGN: Skt. *ávadhīt* 'slew' [3s Aor.], Lith. *vedegà* 'a kind of axe', ToA *wac* 'struggle', perhaps Hitt. *wizzai* 'beats, hits'
SEE: *wodwo- 'cutting'
ETYM: The derivation from the PIE root *wed^{h}H- is doubtful, since it requires positing an unmotivated lengthened grade in Celtic (it is unexpected with sḱ-presents). OIr. *fodb* [o n] probably does not belong here, since it means 'booty (usually of clothes)' rather than 'weapon', as stated by EIEC 471. The reconstruction of the PIE root is uncertain; LIV reconstructs *wed^{h}h$_1$- and Kloekhorst (2008: 349) compares Hitt. *huttiyezi* 'draws, pulls, plucks' and reconstructs *h$_2$wed^{h}h$_1$-.
REF: LP 19, LIV 600f., EIEC 471.

***wāgno/ā-** 'depression, slope, hollow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fán* [o m] 'slope, declivity, hollow'
W: OW *guoun* [f] 'meadow', MW *gwawn, gweun* (GPC *gwaun*)
BRET: OBret. *goen,* MBret. *gueun*
CO: OCo. *guen* gl. campus, MCo. *goen, gon, goon*
ETYM: The cluster *-gn-* is assured by the toponym *Vagniacis* in Britain (Itin.). The toponym *Vagna* in Piemont could be the Gaulish equivalent of these words. The genders in OIr. and in Brittonic do not match, so we must assume both *wāgno- and *wāgnā (OIr. *fán* could also be derived from *wagno-, with short *a, cf. de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 255). On the Indo-

European side, PCelt. *wāgno- has been connected to Lat. *uagus* (IEW 1120), but this is uncertain from both semantic and formal points of view.
REF: GPC II: 1603, Delamarre 305f., Falileyev 75, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 255, 258, de Bernardo Stempel 2000: 92.

***walatro-** 'ruler' [Noun]
SEE: *walo- 'prince, chief'

***wal-na-** 'rule, govern' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fallnaithir, -fallnathar, -follnathar*
PIE: *welH- 'be strong, rule' (IEW: 1111f.)
COGN: Lat. *ualeo* 'be strong', Lith. *veldė́ti* 'govern, rule', Go. *waldan* 'rule', perhaps also Hitt. *hulle^{zi}-* 'smash, defeat'
SEE: *walo- 'prince, chief'
ETYM: Celtic preserves the zero-grade of the PIE root (PIE *wl-neh$_2$- > *wal-nā- >> PCelt. *wal-na-).
REF: KPV 655f., LIV 676f.

***walo-** 'prince, chief' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *fal* 'rule' (DIL *fál* 'king')
W: OW *Con-gual* [PN]
BRET: OBret. *Conuual* [PN]
PIE: *welH- 'rule' (IEW: 1112)
COGN: Lat. *ualeo* 'be strong' Go. *waldan* 'rule', ToB *walo* 'king'
SEE: *wlati- 'sovereignty', *wal-na- 'rule, govern'
ETYM: OIr. *Con-all,* OW *Con-gual,* OBret. *Conuual* [PN] < *kuno-walo-. Cf. the parallel compound PNs Gaul. *Katouualos*, OW *Catgual*, OIr. *Cathal* 'strong in battle' < *katu-walo-. PCelt. *walo- can be derived regularly form PIE *wlHo-. Cf. also W *gwaladr* 'ruler' < *walatro- < *wlh$_2$etro-. MIr. *follamnaigid* 'rules, governs', *follamnacht* 'ruling, government' presuppose a nominal derivative from the same root, PCelt. *wolnā-mon- 'ruler' < PIE *wolH-neh$_2$-(mōn). The Gaul. ethnonym *Catu-vellauni* is also often related to this set of words (Ellis Evans 1967: 276f., Sims-Williams 2006: 118).
REF: EIEC 490, Delamarre 306, Untermann 2002: 414, Ellis Evans 1967: 276f., Sims-Williams 2006: 118.

***wanno-** 'weak' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *fann* [o]
W: MW *gwan*
BRET: OBret. *guenion* gl. *mitiores,* MoBret. *goann, gwan*
CO: OCo. *guan* gl. debilis
PIE: *h$_1$weh$_2$-sn- 'disappear, vanish' (IEW: 345)
COGN: Lat. *uānus* 'hollow, devoid', Skt. *ūná-* 'deficient', Go. *wans* 'missing'

ETYM: The PCelt. form can be from the PIE adjective *$h_1$weh$_2$-sno- (= Lat. *uānus*), with *ā > *a by Dybo's law (cf. the accentuation in Skt. *ūná-* 'empty'. Alternatively, it could, perhaps, represent *$h_1$uh$_2$sno- (though **ūno- would be a more likely outcome of this form).
REF: GPC II: 1571f., Campanile 1974: 53, Deshayes 2003: 297.

***wāri-** 'sunrise, east' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *fáir* [? ?]
W: MW *gwawr* [f and m] 'dawn'
PIE: *wōsri-, *wesr/n- 'spring'
COGN: Gr. *éar* 'spring', Lat. *uēr* 'spring'
ETYM: W *gwawr* can also mean 'hero, prince, chieftain' and GPC treats these meanings as metaphoric extensions of the primary meaning 'dawn, sunrise'. However, I am not sure that this is correct; S Zimmer (p. c.) relates W *gwawr* to Germ. *wehren* 'prohibit' (PIE *wer-, LIV 684). Celtic *wāri- appears to be a vṛddhi derivative from PIE *wesr 'spring'. The PCelt. reconstruction is difficult since the gender and stem of OIr. *fáir* are unknown. The word is known only from glossaries. PIE *sr regularly gives PCelt. *rr, but the geminate was probably simplified after long vowels, cf. PCelt. *mīros- 'peace of meat, food' < *mīrros-.
REF: GPC II: 1605, LP 22.

***warrā** 'post, prop' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *farr* [? f] 'post'
W: OW *guar,* MW *gwar* [m and f] 'nape of the neck, noddle, upper part'
CO: OCo. *guar* gl. collum
PIE: *wer-s- 'top, peak' (IEW: 1150ff.)
COGN: Skt. *várṣman-* 'height, top', OCS *vrъxъ* 'top, peak', Lith. *viršùs* 'top, peak', Lat. *uerrūca*
SEE: *werro- 'high'
ETYM: The semantic connection between the Goidelic and Welsh forms is not wholly convincing. Besides, *farr* is attested rather late in Irish. Gamillscheg (469) derives Fr. *garenne* 'rabbit-warren, fishing preserve', Fr. dial. *varenne* 'wilderness', from Gaul. *war(r)ennā', a derivative of a putative *warro- 'stick, post', but I doubt if this etymology is correct. On the formal side, PCelt. *warrā can be derived from PIE *wrseh$_2$.
REF: GPC II: 1576, Walde-Hoffman II: 762.

***wāsto-** 'empty' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *fás* [o]
PIE: *$h_1$weh$_2$sto- 'waste' (IEW: 345f.)
COGN: Lat. *uāstus*, OE *wēste* 'waste, empty'
ETYM: It is unclear whether W *gwaws* 'gentle, pleasant, terrible' is related to this set of forms, or is it a borrowing from Lat. *uāstus*. In any case, the

meaning is quite different. The word-initial laryngeal can be deduced if these words are related to Gr. *eũnis* 'deprived', but this is not certain.
REF: EIEC 179, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 271.

***wasto-** 'servant' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *foss* [o m]
W: OW *guas,* MW *gwas* [m]; *gweision, gweis* [p]
BRET: MBret. *-uuas, -guas* [in PN], MoBret. *gwaz* 'man, husband'
CO: Co. *guas*
GAUL: *uassos > MLat.*uassus* (cf. Fr. *vassal*)
ETYM: OIr. *foss* 'male servant' should be distinguished from OIr. *foss* [o m] 'rest, resting place'. Some linguists derive these words from PIE *upo-sth$_2$-o- 'standing beneath', cf. Delamarre 307, IEW 1106. However, this proto-form should give PCelt. *ufo-sto- > *wosso-, from which we could derive OIr. *foss* 'rest, resting place', while PCelt. *wasto- must have a different etymology. See, however, PCelt. *wostu-.
REF: GPC II: 1590f., EIEC 506, Delamarre 307, Falileyev 65, Uhlich 2002: 415, Schrijver 1995: 407.

***wastu-** 'dwelling' [Noun]
W: MW *gwas* [f] 'abode, dwelling'
PIE: *weh$_2$stu- 'dwelling' (IEW: 1170f.)
COGN: Skt. *vā́stu-* 'house, dwelling', Gr. *ásty* 'city', ToB *ost* 'house'
ETYM: OIr. *i foss* 'at rest, at home' is sometimes related to this set of forms, but the o-vocalism makes this comparison unlikely. It is more probably related to *foss* 'rest', which can, in turn, be derived from *ufo-sto- (see PCelt. *wasto- 'servant'). MW *gwas* reflects the zero-grade of the PIE word, which had an ablauting paradigm (presumably *woh$_2$stu- / *wh$_2$stew-). For the development *wHC- > *waC- in Celtic, see *waxto- 'bad' (the same development is found in Gr. *ásty* < *wh$_2$stu-).
REF: GPC II: 1591, EIEC 281.

***wāti-** 'sooth-sayer, prophet' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fáith* [i m]
GAUL: *ouáteis* [p] (Strabo 4.4.4.)
PIE: *weh$_2$-ti- 'prophet' (IEW: 1113)
COGN: Lat. *uātēs* 'prophet', OE *wōd* 'inspiration'
SEE: *wātu- 'poetic inspiration'
ETYM: Lat. *uātēs* is often considered to be an old Celtic loanword, but de Vaan (2008: 656) thinks it is inherited. It is true that *uātēs* is rather isolated in Latin, but there are no compelling reasons to think it must have been borrowed from Celtic.
REF: LP 6, 65f., EIEC 707, Delamarre 308, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 369, 375.

***wātu-** 'poetic inspiration' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fáth* [u m] 'prophesy, cause, reason'
W: MW *gwawd* [m and f] 'poem, song of praise, satire, mockery'
PIE: *weh$_2$-tu- 'prophesy' (IEW: 1113)
SEE: *wāti- 'sooth-sayer, prophet'
REF: GPC II: 1603, LP 6, Delamarre 308, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 286, Wagner 1971: 46ff.

***waxto-** 'bad' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *facht* [? ?] 'malice'
W: MW *gwaeth* 'worse' (comparative to *drwg* 'bad')
BRET: MBret. *goaz*, MoBret. *gwazh* 'worse'
CO: Co. *gweth* 'worse'
ETYM: OIr. *facht* is very poorly attested, and stem formation, gender, and precise meaning of this word are unknown. Gaul. name *Vaxtulla* (CIL XIII 5864, Billy 1993: 152) might be from the same root, but there is no proof that it is. Schrijver (1995: 132, following Morris Jones 1913: 246) derives the MW superlative *gwaeth-af* from < *ufo-fed-isamo- < *upo-ped-is-mmo-, where *ped- is the word for 'foot' (Lat. *pēs*, etc.). The positive *gwaeth* would be analogical (since *ufo-ped-yo- would yield MW **gweidd). All of this makes the etymology proposed here rather problematic. The connection of PCelt. *waxto- and Lat. *uacillo* 'stagger, waver' (IEW 1135, as if from PIE *wak-) is a mere possiblity. I believe that Lat. *uacō* 'be empty', *uacuus* 'empty' are better candidates for cognates outside Celtic. We could reconstruct a PIE root *weh$_2$k-, and both the Latin and the Celtic reflexes could be regularly derived from the zero-grade of that root under the assumption that *wHk- > *wak- (rather than *ūk-). The Celtic form could be an old to-participle, and the semantic development could have been from 'emptied' to 'lacking' and 'bad'. Note that de Vaan (2008: 649, 653) connects Lat. *uacuus* to *uānus* 'hollow, devoid', and reconstructs the PIE root as *h$_1$weh$_2$-, with *h$_1$- because of Gr. *eáō* 'let, permit' (cf. also Go. *wans* 'missing' and Skt. *ūná-* 'empty').
REF: GPC II: 1551, Deshayes 2003: 301.

***way** 'woe, oh, alas' [Interjection]
GOID: MIr. *fáe* 'alas'
W: MW *gwae* 'woe, misery, trouble'
BRET: MBret. *goa*, MoBret. *gwa*
PIE: *way 'alas, woe' (IEW: 1111)
COGN: Av. *vaiiōi*, Lat. *uae*, OE *wā*
ETYM: All of these interjections in different IE languages could be independent formations, but their similarity is obvious. Cf. also W *gwael* 'poor, wretched, despised', MoBret. *gail*, Gaul. PN *Vailo*, which may be from the same root (*waylo-).
REF: GPC II: 1544.

***waydā** 'shout, cry, clamour' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fáed, faíd*
W: MW *gwaedd* [f]
ETYM: Possibly connected with *way 'woe'.
REF: GPC II: 1548.

***waylo-** 'poor, wretched' [Adj]
SEE: *way- 'woe'

***waylo-** 'wolf' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *fáel* [o m]
PIE: *waylo- (?) 'wolf' (IEW: 1110f.)
COGN: Arm. *gayl* 'wolf'
ETYM: MW poetic compound *gweil-gi* [f] 'ocean, sea' has been compared to OIr. *fáel-chú* 'wolf' (PCelt. ? *waylo-kū, cf. Zimmer 2000: 56), but the evolution of meaning in Welsh is difficult to explain (if this is correct). A putative MoBret. *gail* 'wolf' seems not to exist. There is some evidence that OIr. *fáel* was originally an u-stem, and in some texts it inflects as a dental stem. The correspondence between it and Arm. *gayl* could be accidental, since it is based on only two IE languages. The connection with the interjection *way (IEW 1111) is not convincing. It is assumed here that the PIE word for 'wolf', *wlk^{w}o-, became the adjective meaning 'bad, evil' in PCelt. (*ulk^{w}o-).
REF: EIEC 647, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 226.

***wed-o-** 'lead, bring together' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *feidid, -feid*; *feiss, -fé* [Subj.], *feiss, -fé* [Fut.]; *fáid* [Pret.]; *fessae, -fess* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *arweddu* 'lead, bring'
BRET: MBret. *dimiziff* 'marry'
CO: Co. *demmedhi* 'marry'
PIE: *wed^{h}- 'lead' (IEW: 1115f.)
COGN: Lith. *vedù* 'lead, marry', Go. *ga-widan* 'bind', OCS *vesti*, Lith. *vedù, vèsti*
ETYM: MW *arweddu* is from *fare-wed-o-, and MBret. *dimiziff*, Co. *demmedhi* are from *to-ambi-wed-o-. Cf. also W *cywain, cyweiniaf* 'carry together, convey' < PCelt. *kow-wed- < *kom-wed^{h}-, and W *dyweddio* 'marry' < *dī-wed-. Some linguistis reconstruct a word-initial *h_2 in the PIE root and compare Hitt. *huett(iya)-* 'draw, pull, pluck', but this connection is not universally accepted. Note that the Hitt. verb is written with double *-tt-*, which should be from the PIE voiceless stop *t, or *dH, *d^{h}H; Kloekhorst 2008: 349 derives it from PIE *$h_2$wed$^{h}h_1$- 'strike' (Skt. *vadh-*, etc., cf. *wād-sko- 'press').

REF: KPV 656f., GPC II: 1609, LIV 658f., EIEC 346, LP 361f., LEIA D-140.

***wedo-** 'yoke, harness' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *fedil* (DIL *feidil*)
W: MW *gwedd* [m and f]
PIE: *wed^{h}- 'bind' (IEW: 1117f.)
COGN: Go. *ga-widan* 'bind', OHG *wetan* 'bind', perhaps Hitt. *weda-, wete-* 'build'
SEE: *wed-o- 'lead, bring to'
ETYM: The Welsh formation is original, and the MIr. noun is a derivative (? *wed-el-o-). Cf. also *gweddu* 'subject oneself to, submit, be humbled' (originally 'be bound, harnessed'). GPC claims these words are derived from *wed-o- 'lead'; the semantic connection would presumably lie in the fact that oxen are harnessed in order to be led. I find this difficult to accept, and I believe that it is better to separate PIE *wed^{h}- 'lead' and *wed^{h}- 'bind, harness', as Pokorny does (IEW 1116-7). Skt. *vádhra-* 'leather belt' is sometimes compared, but it may be actually dissimilated from *várdhra-*, which is from 'enclose, encompass' (cf. Mayrhofer, *s. v.* vádhra-).
REF: GPC II: 1609.

***wēd-o-** 'tell, relate' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ad-fét* 'tells'; *ad-fé* [Subj.]; *ad-fí* [Fut.]; *ad-fiad* [Pret.]; *ad-fess* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *amkawdd* [3s Pret.]
PIE: *weyd- 'perceive, see' (IEW: 1125f.)
COGN: Skt. *vindáti* 'finds', Lat. *uideo*, OCS *viděti* 'see', Arm. *gitem* 'know'
ETYM: OIr. *ad-fét* < *ad-wēd-o-, MW *amkawdd* < *ambi-kom-wēd-o-. The simplex is not attested. The semantic evolution from 'perceive, see' to 'tell, relate' is somewhat difficult (one would expect a causative formation of which there is no trace in Celtic).
REF: KPV 664ff., LIV 665ff., LP 363f., LEIA D-112.

***wēdo-** 'sight, presence' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fiad* [Preposition, Aspirating] 'in the presence of'
W: MW *gwydd* [m] (GPC *gŵydd*) 'sight, presence'
CELTIB: *ueizos* ? 'witness'
PIE: *weyd- 'perceive, see' (IEW: 1125f.)
COGN: Lat. *uideo*
SEE: *wēd-o- 'tell, relate'
ETYM: The meaning of Celtib. *ueizos* is uncertain. It occurs in the dative in Luzaga *(ueizui),* and, apparently, in the Nom. sg. in 'The Bronze reś'. Meid (1994: 48) renders its meaning as 'visitor, guest', but 'witness' has also been

proposed (cf. OIr. *fiadu* [n m] 'witness' (DIL *fiada*) < *wēdon- and *noídiu* 'baby, small child' < *ne-wēd-yon-).
REF: GPC II: 1752, McCone 1996: 15, Meid 1994: 48, MLH V.1: 438.

***wēdon-** 'witness' [Noun]
SEE: *wēdo- 'sight, presence'

***wēdu-** 'wild' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *fiad* [u m] 'wild animals, game', Ogam *VEDA-CUNAS*
W: MW *gwydd* (GPC *gŵydd*)
BRET: OBret. *guoid-och* gl. aper, MBret. *goez,* MoBret. *gouez*
CO: OCo. *guit-fil* gl. fera
PIE: *weyd^{h}- 'wood, wilderness' (IEW: 1177)
COGN: OE *wāð* 'hunt'
SEE: *widu- 'wood'
ETYM: In OIr., there is also *fiad* 'uncultivated land' and *fiadach* 'hunt'. Ogam PN *VEDA-CUNAS* [Gen. sg.] is plausibly interpreted as 'wild dog'. Another derivative from the same PCelt. root could be MIr. *fían*, denoting a troop of young warriors and brigands. It could be derived from *wēdnā (McCone 1987), but an alternative etymology derives it from PCelt. *wēnā (see below) and relates it to OCS *vojьna* 'war'. OE *wāð* 'hunt' represents a different ablaut grade, PGerm. *waydaz. These words are probably from the same PIE root as PCelt. *widu- 'wood' (Lat. *siluaticus* > Fr. *sauvage* 'wild', from *silua* 'wood', also means 'wild'). Also a derivative from the same root is OW *Goidel (W *Gwyddel* 'Irishman', which was borrowed into OIr. as *Goídel*.'Irishman, a Gael'.
REF: GPC II: 1753, DGVB 196, Delamarre 2003: 283, McCone 1987, Ziegler 1994: 118.

***wegno-** 'wagon' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fén* [o m] gl. *plaustrum*
W: W *gwain*
PIE: *weǵ^{h}no- 'wagon' (IEW: 1118ff.)
COGN: OHG *wagan*, ToB *yakne* 'way, manner'
ETYM: W *gwain* 'car' appears not to be attested in GPC (*gwain* 'sheath' < Lat. *uagīna* is a different word of course). Cf. also OIr. *fénae* [iā f] 'wagon' < *wegn-yā.
REF: LP 11, EIEC 625, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 254, 258.

***wegnyā** 'wagon' [Noun]
SEE: *wegno- 'wagon'

***wegro-** 'grass' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fér* [o n]
W: MW *gweir* (GPC *gwair*) [m] 'grass, hay'

PIE: *$h_2$ewg- / *$h_2$weg- 'grow' (IEW: 84f.)
COGN: Lat. *augeo*, Go. *aukan*
ETYM: In OW, there is the compound *guer-claud* 'meadow'. Deshayes (2003: 296) adduces MoBret. *gwain* 'chiendent des grèves' and claims it comes from *wegro- by a 'dissimilation de la consonne finale'; however, a different proto-form, *wegno-, would appear equally probable. On the Indo-European side, this etymology is weak from the semantic point of view; the semantic development would be from 'outgrowth' to 'grass', and formally PIE *$h_2$wegro- > PCelt. *wegro- would be regular (if one admits *Schwebeablaut*, cf. Go. *wahsjan* 'grow' < *$h_2$weg-s-). A. Lubotsky (p. c.) suggests that PCelt. *wegro- may be related to Lat. *uegeo* 'enliven', OHG *wahhēn* 'to be awake' (PIE *weǵ- 'be lively', IEW 1117f., LIV 601). This may be more likely from the formal point of view, but again a rather complex semantic development would have to be assumed (cf. MLat. *vegetatio*, Eng. *vegetation*).
REF: GPC II: 1563, Falileyev 67, Deshayes 2003: 296, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 228, 230.

***weg(y)ā** 'web, woven fabric'
GOID: OIr. *fige* [iā f] 'weaving'
W: MW *gwe* [m and f]
BRET: OBret. *gueg* gl. textrix, MoBret. *gwe* [m] 'torsion, weaving'
SEE: *weg-yo- 'weave'
REF: GPC II: 1607, Delamarre 2003: 301.

***weg-yo-** 'weave, compose' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *figid, -fig*; *fáig* [Pret.]; *fechtae, -fecht* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *gwëu* (GPC *gwau*)
BRET: MBret. *gueaff*
CO: Late Co. *gwia*
PIE: *weg- 'spin, weave' (IEW: 1117)
COGN: Lat. *uēlum* 'sail', OE *wice* 'wick'
SEE: *weg(y)ā 'web, woven fabric'
ETYM: Lat. *uēlum* represents *weg-slo-, while Celtic points to PIE *weg-yo-.
REF: KPV 660ff., GPC II: 1602, LIV 662, LP 364, EIEC 473, 572.

***wek^{w}o-** 'face', originally 'speech (?)' [Noun]
GOID: ? Ogam *VEQ-REQ*
W: MW *gwep* [f] 'face, aspect, grimace'
BRET: MBret. *goap* [m] 'mockery'
GAUL: *Uepo-litanos* [PN], *Uepos* [PN]
PIE: *wek^{w}- 'say, utter' (IEW: 1135f.)
COGN: Gr. *épos* 'word', Lat. *uōx* 'voice', ToB *wek* 'voice', Arm. *gočem* 'call'.

SEE: *woxtlo- 'word'
ETYM: A difficult etymology. Ogam PN *VEQREQ* could contain the same element as the first part of Gaul. *Vepo-litanos* (but cf. a different explanation in Ziegler 1994: 118). The change of meaning in W would be from 'speech' to 'mockery' to 'grimace', and finally, to 'face'. This semantic evolution is complex, but possible. On the other hand, it is difficult to know the meaning of the onomastic element *Uepo-* in Gaulish (see Meid 2005: 245ff.). Is *Uepo-litanos* 'broad-faced' or 'one with the broad speech?' Such difficulties of interpretation cast some doubt on the validity of this etymology. Deshayes 2003: 277 considers Bret. *goap* to be a loanword from Norman French *gouaper* 'mock' (form ON *gabba*). The PIE root *wek^{w}- is attested in Celtic in MIr. *anocht* [o m, originally n] 'mistake to be avoided by poets' < *anuxto- < *an-uk$^{(w)}$-to-, cf. Skt. *anukta-* 'unpronounced', in PCelt. *woxtlo- 'word' (see below), and perhaps in MIr. *fúaimm* 'noise' if it is from *wox-sman- < *wok^{w}-smn-.
REF: GPC II: 1641, Delamarre 313f., Deshayes 2003: 277, Meid 2005: 245ff., Ziegler 1994: 118.

***welet-** 'seer, poet' [Noun]
SEE: *wel-o- 'see'

***weli-, *woli-** 'blood' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fuil* [i f]
W: MW *gweli* [f and m] 'blood, wound'
BRET: MBret. *goulyow* [p]
CO: Co. *goly*
PIE: *welh$_{2/3}$- 'wound' (IEW: 1144f.)
COGN: Lat. *uolnus*, Gr. *oulḗ* 'scar'
SEE: *wlanno- 'blood red'
ETYM: W *gweli* and the other Brittonic forms cannot be derived directly from the proto-form *weli-, but rather presuppose some kind of suffix, perhaps *-īso- (IEW). OIr. *fuil* appears to be from *woli- < *wolHi-. The laryngeal in the PIE root is implied by Lat. *-ln-* (from *-lan- by syncope; original *ln would have been assimilated to *ll*, cf. *tollo* 'take' < *tolnō)
REF: GPC II: 1627, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 65, 73, EIEC 650.

***wēliyo/ā-** 'modesty' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *féle* gl. honestas [iā f]
W: OW *guiled* [m], MW *gwyled* (GPC *gwyledd*)
BRET: OBret. *guiled* gl. honestas
SEE: *wēlo- 'modest'
ETYM: In Gaulish, there are PN with the element *uelio-* (e.g. *Uelio-casses*), but the length of the vowel *e* is unknown. Therefore, the connection with PCelt. *wēliyo- must remain conjectural.

REF: GPC II: 1761, DGVB 191, Delamarre 311, Falileyev 68, Evans 1967: 273ff.

***wello-** 'good, desirable' [Adj]
W: MW *gwell* 'better'
BRET: MBret. *guell,* MoBret. *gwell* 'better'
CO: Co. *gwell* 'better'
PIE: *welH- 'want, wish, choose' (IEW: 1137)
COGN: Skt. *vṛṇīté* 'chooses', Lat. *uolo*, Go. *wiljan*, Lith. *vélti* 'wish', OCS *volja* 'wish'
ETYM: The Brittonic forms presuppose *wello- < *wel-n-o-. It is possible that the Gaulish phrase *Aisus scrisumio uelor*, preserved in Marcellus of Bordeaux (Dottin 1920: 214), contains the 1 sg. Pres. of the deponent verb *uelor* 'I wish', see Delamarre 312. The interpretation of this Gaulish healing formula is difficult, though. Meid 1994: 44 interprets Celtib. *ERNA UELA* (Luzaga) as 'good reception' and relates *uela* to PCelt. *welo- 'good', but this is a mere possibility (as is his contention that the same element is contained in the first part of the probably Celtic name *Vela-genus*, Meid 2004: 126). The second element of the Gaul. ethnonym *Catu-vellauni* has also been related to this set of words (IEW 1137); it may reflect an old participle *-welH-mh$_1$no-, with *mn > *wn. In PIE, the laryngeal is often identified as *h$_1$ because of Gr. (Dor.) *léō* 'want, wish'.
REF: GPC II: 1630, Delamarre 312, Deshayes 2003: 303, LIV 618f., Meid 1994: 44, Meid 1996: 62f., Meid 2005: 126, MLH V.1: 120, 440f.

***wello-, *wallo-** 'deceit, error' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *fell* [o m and ā f] 'deceit, treachery, crime'
W: MW *gwall* [m] 'error, mistake'
BRET: MBret. *goall*, MoBret. *gwall* [m] 'damage, evil'
CO: Co. *gwall* 'accident, deficit'
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *foll* 'crime', *follach* 'negligent, neglect, denominative *follaigid* 'neglects, omits, fails to'. This would point to the ablaut pattern *wello- / *wollo-/ *wallo- in PCelt. These words have been related to Lith. *vìlti, vìlbinti* 'deceive', Skt. *valh-* 'puzzle (by riddles)', Gr. *elephairomai* 'deceive' (IEW 1140), in which case we should reconstruct PIE *(h$_1$)welh$_1$-(b^h)-. The geminate *ll in Celtic may be from *ln, but the loss of laryngeal is puzzling. It may have been generalized from *(H)wolHn- > *(H)woln- (by de Saussure's law), or, more likely, from the shape of the root in the infixed present stem *wl-ne-h$_1$- / *wl-n-h$_1$-.
REF: GPC II: 1567, Deshayes 2003: 296.

***wel-n-o-** 'bend' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fillid, -filli*
BRET: MBret. *goalenn* 'green twig', MoBret. *gwalenn* [f]
PIE: *wel- 'turn, wind' (IEW: 1140ff.)

COGN: Lat. *uoluo,* OCS *valiti* 'roll', Go. *walwjan* 'rotate, roll', ToA *walyi* 'worms'
ETYM: MoBret. *gwalenn* is a nominal derivative from the verb 'to bend, twist'. It may go back to PCelt. *wal-ennā < *wal-ensnā.
REF: Deshayes 2003: 296, EIEC 607.

***wel-o-** 'see' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *-fil* 'there is'
W: MW *gwelet* 'see' (GPC *gweld, gweled*)
BRET: OBret. *guilinn* [3p Pret.], MBret. *guelet*, MoBret. *gweled* [m] 'sight'
CO: Co. *gweles*
PIE: *wel-o- 'see' (IEW: 1136f.)
COGN: Lat. *uoltus* 'face, facial expression', Go. *wulþus* 'wealth'
ETYM: The semantic development of OIr. *fil* was from 'lo, behold' (Impv. of *wel-o- 'see') to 'there is'. OIr. *file* [d m] 'poet' is a derivative from this root (cf. Ogam Gen. sg. *VELITAS*). The original meaning was 'seer', PCelt. *wel-et-. Go. *wulþus* < PIE *wl-tu- shows the development of meaning from 'sight, appearance' to 'respect' and 'wealth' (cf. Croat. *ùgled* 'respect' vs. *glȅdati* 'see').
REF: KPV 669ff., GPC II: 1626, Deshayes 2003: 302, LIV 675, LP 331, EIEC 505, DGVB 191.

***wēlo-** 'modest' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *fial* [o] 'decorous, honourable, modest'
W: MW *gwyl* (GPC *gŵyl*)
SEE: *wēliyo- 'modesty'
ETYM: Hamp (1980a: 213) derives these words from PIE *wey- 'turn' (IEW 1120), cf. Lat. *uīlis* 'cheap, abundant' < PIE *wey-lo- (but against this etymology see de Vaan 2008: 678 deriving *uīlis* from *wes-li-, PIE *wes- 'to buy').
REF: GPC II: 1760, Falileyev 68, Hamp 1980.

***wēnā** 'troop, band of warriors'
GOID: MIr. *fían* [ā f]
PIE: *weyh$_1$- 'chase, pursue, suppress' (IEW: 1123)
COGN: Lith. *výti* 'chase', OCS *vojь* 'warrior', Skt. *viyánti* 'they pursue' [3p Pres.]
ETYM: DIL renders the meaning of *fían* as 'a band of roving men whose principal occupations were hunting and war, also a troop of professional fighting-men under a leader'. The Irish ethnonym *Féni* is probably related. The collective formation (PCelt. *wēnā) seems to be the same as in PCelt. *slowgā 'band, troop', and its synonym *worīnā 'band, troop'. I believe this word was much more likely to have been inherited than borrowed from ON *fiandi* 'enemy' (the etymology mentioned in DIL). The development of PIE *weyHneh$_2$ > PCelt. *wēnā would have been regular, cf. OCS *vojьna* 'war'.

However, an alternative etymology derives OIr. *fían* from PCelt. *wēdnā (see *wēdu- 'wild').

***wendo-** 'a single hair' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *find* [o m, earlier n] (DIL *finna*)
PIE: *wend^{h}- 'hair' IEW: 1148)
COGN: Gr. *íonthos* 'hair root, acne', OHG *wint-brāwa* 'eyelash'
SEE: *wenso- 'pubic hair'
ETYM: Celtic points to the thematic *wend^{h}o-, while Gr. *íonthos* is from reduplicated *wiwond^{h}o-.
REF: Mallory & Adams 2006: 177.

***wenk-ā-** 'bend' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *feccaid* 'bends, stoops'
PIE: *wenk- 'bend'
COGN: Skt. *vañc-* 'move (waveringly), *vakrá-* 'curved', OE *wōh* 'bent'
ETYM: Lat. *con-uexus* 'curving outwards, arching' is probably unrelated to these words, being derived from *weǵ^{h}- 'drive', cf. de Vaan 2008: 133.

***wenso-** 'pubic hair' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *fés* [Collective]
PIE: *wend^{h}-s- 'body hair, beard'
IEW: 1148
COGN: OPr. *wanso* 'first beard', Russ. *us'* 'moustache'
SEE: *wendo- 'a single hair'
ETYM: The PIE root seems to be *wend^{h}-, cf. PCelt. *wendo-. This means that PCelt. *wenso- is from *wend^{h}-so-, just like the BSl. cognates.

***wentā** 'place, town' [Noun]
W: MW *cad-went* 'battlefield'
PIE: *h$_{1}$wen- 'place' (?)
COGN: Gr. *eunḗ* 'bed', Alb. *vend* 'place'
ETYM: Cf. also the Ancient British toponym *Venta.*
REF: KPV 368, GPC I: 380, Sims-Williams 2006: 118f.

***wenyā** 'family, kindred' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fine* [iā f]
BRET: OBret. *coguenou* gl. indigena, MBret. *gouen(n)*, MoBret. *gouenn* [f] 'race, kind'
GAUL: *Veni-carus* [PN], *Ven-eti* [Ethnonym] (today *Vannes*)
PIE: *wenh$_{1}$- 'desire' (IEW: 1147)
COGN: OHG *wini* 'friend'
ETYM: The same root is attested in OIr. *fingal* 'slaying of a relative' (*weni-galā); cf. also the parallel compound PNs OIr. *Finchar*, OW *Guncar*, Gaul. *Uenicarus* < *weni-kar-o-. Some authors interpret Lepontic *uenia* as

'family' and derive it from the same root (cf. McCone 2006: 28, Solinas 1995: 372f.).
REF: DGVB 188, Delamarre 2003: 282, Uhlich 2002: 413, Schmidt 1987: 268, McCone 1993: 243f., Solinas 1995: 372f., Eska 1994/1995.

***wer-V-** 'find' [Verb]
GOID: OIr. *-fúar* [Pret.]; *fo-fríth* 'was found' [Pass. Pret.]
PIE: *werh$_1$- 'find' (IEW: 1160)
COGN: Gr. *heurískō*, Arm. *gerem* 'take prisoner'
ETYM: OIr. *-fúar* represents a reflex of the PIE reduplicated perfect (*we-worh$_1$-).
REF: EIEC 202, LIV 637.

***wergā** 'anger' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ferg* [ā f]
W: W *gwery* 'active, lively'
BRET: OBret. *guerg* gl. efficax
GAUL: *uergo-bretus* 'a magistrate' (Argenton sur Creuse, Caesar, *De bello Gallico* I.16.5)
PIE: *werǵ- 'anger, strength' (IEW: 1169)
COGN: Skt. *ūŕj-*, *ūrjā́-* 'strength, nourishment', Gr. *orgḗ* 'impulse, mood, anger, passion'
ETYM: Gaul. *vergobretos* has also been related to Gr. *érgon* 'work' < PIE *werǵom, so it is doubtful whether it belongs here. Skt. *ūrjā́* does not necessarily presuppose a root in laryngeal (*werHǵ-), cf. Av. *vərəzi.cašman-* 'with strong eyes'. Gr. *orgḗ* is from *worǵeh$_2$. The development of meaning from 'enmity' to 'anger' is unproblematic.
REF: GPC II: 1649, EIEC 208, LP 33, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 49, Delamarre 315, Lambert 1994: 137.

***werno-** 'alder, alder-tree' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fern* [ā f]
W: MW *gwern* [m and f], *gwernen* [Singulative] 'alder, mast of a ship'
BRET: OBret. *guaern*, MBret. *guern*, MoBret. *gwern* [f] 'alder, mast'
CO: OCo. *guern* gl. malus, *guernen* gl. alnus, Co. *gwern* 'mast'
GAUL: Gaul. *wernā > Fr. *vergne*, Pr. *verne*, Gaul. *Verno-dubrum* [Toponym]
PIE: *werno- 'alder' (IEW: 1169)
COGN: Alb. *verrë* 'Populus alba', Arm. *geran* 'alder'
REF: GPC II: 1644f., Deshayes 2003: 306f., Gamillscheg 889, EIEC 11, Sims-Williams 2006: 120f.

***wēro-** 'crooked' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *fiar* [o]
W: MW *gwyr* (GPC *gŵyr*)

BRET: MBret. *goar,* MoBret. *gwar* 'curved'
PIE: *weyh$_1$-ro- 'turned, twisted' (IEW: 1122)
COGN: OE *wīr* 'wire'
SEE: *wi-na- 'bend, enclose'
ETYM: The PIE root is *weyh$_1$- 'turn, twist', cf. OCS *viti*, Lat. *uieo*, etc.
REF: GPC II: 1781, Delamarre 2003: 298, LP 11, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 228.

***werro-** 'better' (?) [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *ferr* [o] 'better'
PIE: *werso- 'peak' (IEW: 1151f.)
COGN: Lat. *uerrūca* 'varus, pimple', OE *wearr* 'sill', Lith. *viršùs* 'peak', OCS *vrъxъ* 'peak', Russ. *vérx* 'peak'
SEE: *warrā 'post, prop'
REF: EIEC 416.

***werto-** 'worth, price' [Noun]
W: MW *gwerth* [m]
BRET: OBret. *uuert* 'worth', MBret. *guerz* 'sale', MoBret. *gwerzh* [f]
CO: Co. *guerdhe* 'sell'
PIE: *wert- 'turn' (IEW: 1156ff.)
COGN: Skt. *vártate* 'turns', OHG *werd* 'worth', Lat. *uerto* 'turn', Lith. *vir̃sti* 'to turn around', OCS *vьrtěti* 'to turn around'
ETYM: Some authors think that these Brittonic words were borrowed from Germanic, but it is equally possible that they are inherited. Attribution to the root *wert- 'turn' is probable if one starts with the meaning 'exchange' (a similar evolution of meaning occurred in Germanic). The same root is attested in OIr. *ad-ferta* gl. adversatur and OIr. *adbairt* 'adversary'. Schrijver (1996) relates these words to OIr. *gor* 'pious, dutiful', MW *gwar* 'tame, civilized' (see PCelt. *g^{w}ariyā 'duty').
REF: GPC II: 1646f., DGVB 329, Deshayes 2003: 307, Schrijver 1996.

***wertyā** 'mound' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fertae* [iā f] 'mound, tumulus'
PIE: *Hwer- 'cover, close' (IEW: 1160f.)
COGN: Skt. *vṛṇóti* 'close', Lat. *aperio* 'open', Lith. *at-vérti* 'open'
ETYM: MW *gwerthyr* [m] 'fort' (< *wert-ro-) and MW *gweryd* [m] 'earth, soil, grave' (< *wereto-) are derivatives from the same root. The identity of the initial laryngeal in PIE is uncertain. If Gr. *áoron* (Hesych.) 'a wooden or iron bar or bolt placed across gates on the inside' is related, then it was *h$_2$-. On this root in PIE see Lubotsky 2000.
REF: GPC II: 1647, Falileyev 1997.

***wesāk(k)o-, *wesakko-** 'grebe' or 'raven' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fiach, fiach* [o m] 'raven'

W: MW *gwyach* [f] 'grebe, *Podiceps*'
ETYM: OIr. *fiach* is disyllabic. W *gwyach* points to a geminate *-kk- in PCelt., but it may be an early loanword from Goidelic (although the meanings are different). Both words have been borrowed from some unknown non-IE language.
REF: GPC II: 1744.

***wesk^{w}ero-** 'evening' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fescor* [o m]
W: MW *ucher* [m and f]
PIE: *wesk^{w}er- 'evening' (IEW: 1173)
COGN: Lat. *uesper*, Gr. *hésperos*, Arm. *gišer*
ETYM: OIr. *fescor* is usually considered to have been borrowed from Lat. *uesper*, but Lat. origin is improbable for MW *ucher*. In light of that, the OIr. word may have been inherited as well. However, the vocalism of MW *ucher* is unclear. It seems to point to *owsk^{w}ero- < *ewsk^{w}ero-, which may have been metathesized from *wesk^{w}ero- (cf. also W *ugaint* from *wikantī).
REF: GPC III: 3697f., Beekes 1996.

***wesnālā** 'swallow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fannall* [ā f] gl. hirundo
W: OW *guennol* gl. hirundo, MW *gwennawl* [f]
BRET: OBret. *guennol* gl. herundo, MBret. *guennel*, MoBret. *gwennel* [f]
CO: Co. *gwennol*
PIE: *wesr/n- 'spring' (IEW: 1174)
COGN: Lat. *uēr*, Gr. *éar*, OCS *vesna*
ETYM: Cf. also Fr. *vanneau* 'lapwing' might, in principle, be from Gaul. *wannālo- (with the changed meaning), but there are other etymologies of this word (Gamillscheg 883). McCone (2005: 3) included OIr. *fannall* and MW *gwennawl* 'swallow' in a group of "obviously related words... that not only lack obvious cognates elsewhere in Indo-European but also have a distinctly non-Indo-European look". However, a PIE etymology seems probable, if one starts from the PIE word for 'spring'. The a-vocalism in Irish is unclear; it may be due to an assimilation *e...ā > *a...ā, but the genitive *fainle* (with palatalization) may also point to a (metathesized) proto-form *wasnelā. The stem *wesn- was generalized in Celtic, and the suffix *-ālo- was added to it. It is the same denominal suffix used for deriving adjectives as, e.g., in W *misol* 'monthly' (from *mis* 'month'), *saethol* 'sagittal' (from *saeth* 'arrow', etc. This suffix is less productive in Goidelic, but cf., e.g., OIr. *mebul, mebal* 'shame', *búal* 'water' (de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 224ff.). The stem *wesnā- is attested in Slavic (OCS *vesna*). The semantic development is rather clear: swallows are often conceived as 'messengers of spring', so 'swallow' is a spring-bird. This tradition about swallows was widely known in Antiquity, and is mentioned by many classical authors, e.g. Horace (Epistolae 1.7.13), Ovid (Fasti 2.853), etc.

REF: GPC II: 1638, Deshayes 2003: 305, McCone 2005: 3, Gamillscheg 883.

***wesr- / *wesn-** 'spring' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *errach* [o m]
W: OW *guiannuin* [m]
CO: OCo. *guaintoin* gl. ver
PIE: *wesr 'spring' (IEW: 1174)
COGN: Skt. *vasantá-*, Lat. *uēr,* OCS *vesna*, Lith. *vãsara* 'summer', Arm. *garun*
SEE: *wesnālā 'swallow'
ETYM: The Brittonic forms are derivable from something like PCelt. *wesantēno-, cf. Skt. *vasantá-*. The OIr. form points to *werrako- < *wesrako-; the word-initial *f- < *w- was lost regularly in environments involving lenition, and then generalized. It seems possible that the PCelt. form was a heterocliton in r/n inherited from PIE.
REF: GPC EIEC 504, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 135, 138, Falileyev 67f.

***wessi-** 'sow, young female pig' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *feis* [i f]
W: MW *gwys* (GPC *gwŷs* [f]
BRET: OBret. *guis,* MBret. *guis, gues*, MoBret. *gwis* [f]
CO: OCo. *guis* gl. scroffa
PIE: *wet- 'year' (IEW: 1175)
COGN: Skt. *vatsá-* 'yearling, calf', Lat. *vitulus* 'calf', Gr. *étos* 'year'
ETYM: OIr. *feis (féis)* is chiefly attested in archaizing poetry. PCelt. *wessi- must be from PIE *wet-ti- (for the evolution of meaning cf. Lat. *uitulus* < *wetelo- 'yearling', from PIE *wet- 'year').
REF: GPC II: 1788, DGVB 193, EIEC 24, Deshayes 2003: 313, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 148, Ó Flaithearta 1997.

***westā** 'food, feast' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *feis(s), fess* [?ā f] 1. 'spending the night, sleeping', 2. 'feast, food, provisions'
W: MW *gwest* [m and f]; *gwesti, gweston* [p]
BRET: OBret. *Or-guest* [PN]
CO: Co. *gwest* 'lodging'
PIE: *wes- 'graze' (IEW: 1171)
COGN: Hitt. *wesi-* 'pasture', Skt. *svásara-* 'pasture, meadow' (if from *su-vásar-a-), Lat. *uēscor* 'make use of, enjoy', OHG *wist* 'food', ToA *wäsri-* 'pasture'
ETYM: It is not certain whether the OIr. words under 1. and 2. belong together. OIr. *feis(s)* 1. is actually the VN of *fo-aid* 'spends the night, sleeps'. Cf. also OBret. *guest-hemisiou* gl. laticlauia and W *cy-westach* 'chambering, sexual intercourse'. We may be dealing with two PCelt. words,

*wes-tā 'food, feast' < *wes- 'graze' and *wessā 'sexual union, sex' < *wed^{h}-teh$_2$ (from *wed^{h}- 'lead, marry', cf. PCelt. *wed-o-, or from *h$_2$wes- 'spend the night', cf. PCelt. *wos-o-).
REF: GPC II: 1650, DGVB 189, EIEC 198.

***wesu-** 'excellent, noble' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *feib* [Dat.] 'in excellence'
GAUL: *Vesu-avus, Bello-vesus* [PN],
PIE: *wesu- 'excellent' (IEW: 1174)
COGN: Luv. *wāsu-* 'good', Skt. *vásu-*
ETYM: For possible Gaul. toponyms from this root see Sims-Williams 2006: 121f. OIr. *feb* must be from *weswā, while *fó* 'goodness' < *wosu-. OIr. *fíu,* W *gwiw*, MoBret. *gwiv*, Co. *gwyw* 'worthy, valuable' are also presumably related to this root. These forms might be directly derivable from *wesu- > *wihu- > OIr. *fíu,* W *gwiw* (Hamp 1974 reconstructs a vṛddhi *wēsu-, which is also possible, but in my opinion not necessary).
REF: GPC II: 1672, EIEC 235, 638, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 60, 220, Delamarre 318, Hamp 1974, Sims-Williams 2006: 121f.

***wēti-** 'withe' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *féith* [i f] 'some kind of twining plant'
W: MW *gwden, gwyden* [f] 'withe'
BRET: MBret. *gueden*, MoBret. *gwedenn* [f]
CO: OCo. *guiden* gl. *circulus,* MCo. *gusen* [Singulative]
PIE: *weyh$_1$t-i- 'willow, withe' (IEW: 1122)
COGN: Skt. *vetasá-* 'reed', OHG *wīda* 'willow', Lith. *vytìs* 'willow switch', OCS *větvь* 'branch', perhaps Lat. *uītis* 'vine'
ETYM: W *gwden* < *gwyden* can be from a derivative *wētina-, but *-en* can also be a petrified singulative suffix. The loss of laryngeal after *ey before consonant is regular, hence PIE *weyh$_1$ti- > PCelt. *wēti-. The PIE root is *weyh$_1$- 'weave, wind' (see *wi-na- 'bend, enclose').
REF: GPC II: 1607, Deshayes 2003: 302, EIEC 643, Delamarre 2003: 302, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 285.

***wet-o-** 'say' [Vb]
W: OW *guetid*
PIE: *weth$_2$- 'say'
COGN: Lat. *ueto* 'forbid', Hitt. *uttar* 'word, speech'
ETYM: Cf. also MW *dy-wedaf* 'say' < *dī-wet-, *gwadu* 'deny', OBret. *gwad* 'denial' < PCelt. *woto-. OIr. *as-fena* 'testifies' can be from *exs-wet-na- (cf. the verbal noun *aspenad*).
REF: KPV 679ff., LIV 694f., LP 297, GPC II: 1542.

***wet-o-** 'be acquainted with' [Vb]

GOID: MIr. *feithid, -feith* 'watches over, waits, observes'; *feiss, -fé* [Subj.]; *feiss, -fé* [Fut.]; *fáith* [Pret.]; *fessae, -fess* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *wet- 'be acquainted with, turn to (?)' (IEW: 346)
COGN: Skt. *vat-, vatema* [1p Pres. Opt.] 'may we be acquainted with'
ETYM: The original meaning of PIE *wet- could have been 'turn (to)' (cf. PIE *wets 'year') > 'get to know' > 'be acquainted with', but this is a mere speculation.
REF: KPV 675ff., LIV 694, LP 361f., LEIA T-57f.

***wēt(t)ā** 'stream, swamp' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *féith* [f] 'marsh, swamp'
W: MW *gwyth* [f] (GPC *gŵyth*) 'canal, nerve, vein, ditch'
BRET: OBret. *goed* 'stream', MBret. *goaz, guez*, MoBret. *gwazh* [f] 'stream, brook'
CO: OCo. *guid* gl. vena, MCo. *gwyth, goth*
ETYM: In OIr. there is also *féith* [f] which means 'sinew', but also 'kidney' (in the glosses); this is probably just a homonym of *féith* 'swamp' (as suggested by DIL). It is probably the same word as W *gwythi* [p] 'veins'. These words are usually derived from the root *weyh$_1$- 'twist, turn' (IEW 1122), but this is dubious on semantic grounds. PIE *weyh$_1$- 'wither' (IEW 1123) is a better candidate (cf. PCelt. *wiwo- 'withered'). The Brit. reflexes point to a double stop (*-tt-) in PCelt., but the OIr. form is derivable from PCelt. *wētā with a single *-t-.
REF: GPC II: 1790, DGVB 178, Deshayes 2003: 301, Hamp 1974-5.

***we-wlo-** 'lip' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bél* [o m]
W: MW *gwefl* [f]
BRET: MBret. *guefl* 'mouth'
CO: Co. *gwelv*
ETYM: The exact reconstruction of this PCelt. etymon is difficult, but the attested forms are doubtlessly related. Perhaps the original *wewlo- was a reduplicated form, created after the Common Celtic shift of *ew > *ow. It is assumed here that the OIr. word is the result of a dissimilation (*w...w > *b...w). This is clearly preferable than deriving *bél* from *beklo- (IEW 481, cf. PCelt. *bekko- 'beak, snout'), although this latter etymology is not impossible.
REF: LEIA B-29, GPC II: 1615.

***wextā** 'time, course, turn' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fecht* [ā f]
W: MW *gweith* (GPC *gwaith*) [f] '1. time, course, 2. work, act'
BRET: OBret. *gueid* 'time', MBret. *guez*, MoBret. *gwezh* [f]
CO: OCo. *gueid* gl. opus, MCo. *gweth, gwyth* 'time'
PIE: *weǵ^h- 'carry, drive' (IEW: 1118ff.)

COGN: Lat. *ueho* 'carry', Gr. *ókhos* 'cart', OHG *wegan* 'move', Lith. *vèžti*, OCS *vezetъ* 'carries'
SEE: *wegno- 'wagon'
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the PCelt. word is the past participle of the PIE verb 'to carry, convey' (Lat. *uectus*); the semantic development was from 'carried away' to 'passed, gone', to 'period of time'. This is possible, but not compelling. OIr. *fecht* is also used to denote an expedition ('usually with hostile intentions' according to DIL); in this latter sense it may be parallel to OW *guyth*, MW *gwyth* 'rage, fury', from PCelt. *wixtā < PIE *weyḱ- 'fight' (cf. PCelt. *wik-o-).
REF: GPC II: 1563, Deshayes 2003: 309.

***widu-** 'wood' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fid* [u m]
W: OW *guid* [Collective] 'trees', MW *gwydd* 'trees' (GPC *gwŷdd*); *gwydden* [Singulative]
BRET: OBret. *guid,* MBret. *guez*, MoBret. *gwez* [Collective] 'trees'
CO: Co. *guiden* [Singulative]
GAUL: *uidu-bia* (CGL IV 171, 49), *uidobium* 'sickle' (CGL III 368, 64, *(Marti) Uiduco* [Theonym, Dat.]
PIE: *wid^{h}u- 'wood' (IEW: 1117)
COGN: OE *widu, wudu*, Lith. *vidùs* 'interior'.
ETYM: Gaul. *vidubia, vidobium* 'hoe' (Fr. *vouge*) is from *widu- and the verbal root *b^{h}eyH- 'strike, cut' (PCelt. *widu-biyo-, cf. the parallel compound OIr. *fidbae* 'bill-hook', W *gwddyf* 'sickle'). Lat. *dī-uido* 'divide' is sometimes connected with this etymon (because woods mark the boundary of the inhabited territory), but it is actually from *(d)wi-d^{h}h$_1$-o- (de Vaan 2008: 174; the root is *d^{h}eh$_1$- 'make, put', cf. Lat. *facio*).
REF: GPC II: 1753, DGVB 190, LP 4, EIEC 598, Delamarre 319, Deshayes 2003: 308, Falileyev 68, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 94, 476, Uhlich 2002: 423.

***widu-biyo-** 'hoe, sickle' [Noun]
SEE: *widu- 'wood'

***widwā** 'widow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fedb* [ā f]
W: MW *gweddw* [m and f] 'widowed, widower, widow, unmarried'
CO: OCo. *guedeu* gl. vidua
PIE: *h$_1$wid^{h}eweh$_2$ 'widow' (IEW: 1127f.)
COGN: Skt. *vidhávā*, Gr. *eítheos* 'unmarried young man', Lat. *uidua*, OHG *wituwa*, Go. *widuwo*, OPr. *widdewū*, OCS *vъdova*
ETYM: The PCelt. form must be *widwā, not *widewā, as one would expect (Beekes 1992). Maybe it can be explained by early (Proto-Celtic) and irregular syncope from PIE *h$_1$wid^{h}eweh$_2$, or, more likely, we must

reconstruct an ablauting PIE paradigm (perhaps Nom. sg. *$h_1wid^huh_2$-s, Gen. sg. *h_1wid^h-uh_2-os > *widw-os, from which the Celtic stem could have been generalized). The word for 'widow' may be a derivative from the PIE root *h_1wid^h- 'kill' (Skt. *vídhyati*). The semantic development of *h_1wid^h(e)weh_2 would have been 'family of the killed one' > 'widow'.
REF: GPC II: 1613, Matasović 2004: 84, Tichy 1993: 1-16, Lubotsky 1994.

***wikantī** 'twenty' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *fiche, fichit* [Dat./Acc.]
W: OW *uceint*, MW *figgit* (GPC *ugaint*)
BRET: OBret. *ucent*, MBret. *uguent*, MoBret. *ugent*
CO: Co. *ugans*
PIE: *(h_1)wi(d)ḱmtih_1 'twenty' (IEW: 1177)
COGN: Skt. *viṃśatí-*, Gr. *eíkosi*, Lat. *uīgintī*, OE *twēgen-tig*, Alb. *një-zet*, Arm. *kʿsan*, ToA *wiki*
ETYM: For the phonetic development in Brit. cf. W *ucher* < *wesk^{w}ero- 'evening'. The PIE form *(h_1)wi(d)ḱmtih_1 may be the result of dissimilation from *dwi-ḱmtih_1 (for similar examples cf. Lubotsky 1994).
REF: DGVB 326, EIEC 404, Delamarre 2003: 755, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 435.

***wik-o-** 'fight' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fichid, -fich*; *féiss, -fé* [Subj.], *fiis, -fí* [Fut.]; *fich* [Pret.]; *fechtae, -fecht* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *amwyn, amwc* [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *amouez* 'set free'
GAUL: *Ordo-vices* [Ethnonym]
PIE: *weyk- 'fight, conquer' IEW: 1128f.)
COGN: Lat. *uinco* 'conquer', ON *vega* 'fight, kill'
ETYM: MW *amwyn* and MBret. *amouez* < *ambi-wik-o- (the simplex verb is unattested in Brittonic). For a possible PCelt. derivative *wixto- (MW *gwyth* 'rage', OIr. *fecht* 'expedition') see *wextā.
REF: KPV 683, LIV 670f., LP 364, LEIA D-140, Sims-Williams 2006: 122f.

***wimonā** 'sea weed' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *fem(m)ain* [? f]
W: MW *gwymon* [m] (GPC *gwymon, gwmon, gwimon*); *gwymonydd* [p]
BRET: OBret. *gueimmonou* gl. marinis herbis, MBret. *goumon* gl. alga, MoBret. *goumon, gouemon* [m]
CO: Co. *gumman*
ETYM: MIr. *femm* 'seaweed' might represent the underived n-stem (*wimon-), but this is far from certain because of the poor attestation of that word. The connection to PIE *weyb/p- 'shake, vibrate' suggested by

Pokorny (Lat. *uibrāre*, Skt. *vépate*, IEW 1131f.) is a mere possibility. These words were probably borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: GPC II: 1769, Deshayes 2003: 282.

***wimpo-** 'beautiful, comely' [Adj]
W: MW *gwymp*
BRET: MBret. *gwemp* 'excellent'
GAUL: *Uimpia* [PN], *uimpi* (?) 'pretty'
ETYM: More speculative etymologies derive these forms from PCelt. *wenk^{w}o- and relate them to PIE *wenh$_1$- 'desire', cf. Delamarre 320. In any case, since these words are attested only in Brittonic and Gaulish, an alternative PCelt. reconstruction is *wink^{w}o- (or *wenk^{w}o-, if from *wenh$_1$-*h$_3$k^{w}o- 'desirably-looking'). It has also been suggested that these Celtic words are related to ToA *wamp-* 'decorate' and ToB *wamer* 'jewel' (Adams, *s.v. wamer*).
REF: GPC II: 1769f., Delamarre 320, Schrijver 1995: 158.

***wi-na-** 'bend, enclose' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *imm-fen* 'hedge round, enclose, guard'
PIE: *weyh$_1$- 'weave, wind' (IEW: 1120ff.)
COGN: Skt. *vyáyati* 'wraps, envelops', Lat. *uieo*
ETYM: OIr. *imm-fen* is from *ambi-wi-na- (cf. its verbal noun *imbe*). MIr. *fiam* 'chain' (?) might, in principle, be from the same root and represent *wē-men (cf. Lat. *ūīmen* 'flexible branch used in wickerwork'), but this is quite uncertain due to the poor attestation and uncertain meaning of the MIr. word. The PIE root is reconstructed as *wyeh$_1$- in LIV 695.
REF: KPV 688f., LIV 695f., LP 362.

***wi-n-d-o-** 'find, experience' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *ro-finnadar*; *ro-fiastar* [Subj.]; *ro-fiastar* [Fut.]
W: MW *gwybot*; *gwn* [3s Pres.] 'know' (GPC *gwybod*)
BRET: MBret. *gouz(o)ut*; *goun, gon* [1s Pres.] 'know'
CO: Co. *godhvos* 'know'
PIE: *weyd- 'see, know' (IEW: 1125f.)
COGN: Skt. *vindáti* 'finds', Lat. *uideo*, Arm. *gitem* 'know'
SEE: *wēd-o- 'find'
ETYM: OIr. *ro-finnadar* is from *fro-wi-n-d-o-. In the perfect, the forms of this verb meant 'to know', cf. OIr. *ro-fitir* 'knows' (synchronically [3 sg. Pres.], but historically from the perfect stem); in Brittonic, the following forms are preterites, formed from the PCelt. perfect stem: MW *gwyr,* MBret. *goar,* MCo. *gor* [3 sg. Pret.] 'knew'; in KPV 693ff. these forms are listed under a separate entry. OIr. *fiado* [nt m] 'lord' (*feda,* Gen. sg. *fedot* in the archaic Cambrai Homily) represents PCelt. *wēdonts, originally 'knower', the present active participle.

REF: KPV 690ff., GPC II: 1745, LIV 665ff., LP 364f., Schrijver 1995: 152-156, Sims-Williams 1999.

***windo-** 'white' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *find* [o], ? Ogam *VENDO-GNI*
W: MW *gwynn* (GPC *gwyn*); *gwen* [f]
BRET: OBret. *guinn* 'white, shiny', MBret. *guinn* 'happy', MoBret. *gwenn* 'white'
CO: OCo. *guyn* gl. albus, Co. *guyn*
GAUL: *Uinda, Uindus* [PN], *Vindo-bona* [Toponym]
ETYM: Fr. *vandoise* denotes a white fish and is probably from Gaul. *wind-ēsyā. MoBret. *gwenn* is the preserved feminine form (*windā), as shown by the a-infection.
REF: GPC II: 1770, DGVB 192, Deshayes 2003: 304, EIEC 252, Gamillscheg 883, De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 46, Delamarre 320, Meid 2005: 210f., Ziegler 1994: 119, Sims-Williams 2006: 123f.

***winto-** 'wind, whistling' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fet* [ā f] 'a whistling or a hissing sound'
W: MW *gwynt* [m] 'wind'
BRET: MBret. *guent*, MoBret. *gwent* [m] 'wind'
CO: OCo. *guins* gl. ventus, Co. *gwyns*
PIE: *h_2weh_1-nto- 'wind' (IEW: 81ff.)
COGN: Lat. *uentus*, Skt. *vā́ta-*, Hitt. *huwant-*, OHG *wint*, ToB *yente*
ETYM: If the etymology of OIr. *fet* is correct, we have to assume Osthoff-like shortening in Celtic (*wēnto- > *wīnto- > *winto-), since PCelt. *wīnto- would yield OIr. *fít.
REF: GPC II: 1778, Deshayes 2003: 305, McCone 1996: 55, 63, 107.

***wiro-** 'man' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fer* [o m]
W: OW *gur*, MW *gwr* [m] (GPC *gŵr*); *gwŷr* [f]
BRET: OBret. *-gur,* MBret. *gour*
CO: OCo. *gur* gl. uir, MCo. *gour*
GAUL: *Uiro-cantus* [PN], *Viro-mandui* [Toponym]
CELTIB: *UIROS* 'man'
PIE: *wiHro- 'man' (IEW: 1177)
COGN: Skt. *vīrá-*, Lat. *uir*, Lith. *výras*, Go. *wair*
ETYM: Derivatives from this root include MW *gwron* 'hero' and Celtib. PN *Vironus* (< *wiro-no-) and, probably, MW *gwrdd* 'strong' (< *wiro-yo-). Germanic, Celtic, and Italic point to a short *i, with loss of the laryngeal, which is reconstructed on the basis of Lith. and Skt. forms.
REF: GPC II: 1693f., DGVB 201, EIEC 355, 548, LHEB 337, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44, 230, Delamarre 321f., Falileyev 76, Campanile 1974: 59, Sims-Williams 2006: 124f., MLH V.1: 452f.

***wīro-** 'true' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *fír* [o]
W: MW *gwir*
BRET: OBret. *guir,* MoBret. *gwir*
CO: OCo. *guir* gl. verus, *guirion* gl. uerax, MCo. *guyr, gwyr*
GAUL: *Co-uirus* [PN]
PIE: *weh$_1$-ro- 'true' (IEW: 1166)
COGN: Lat. *uērus*, OHG *wār*, OCS *věra* 'belief', OHG *wâr*
ETYM: MW *kywir* 'true' is an exact parallel to Gaul. *Co-virus*, with the probably PCelt. assimilation of *kom-wīro- to *kow-wīro- (McCone 1996: 49). PIE adjectives in *-ró- were mostly oxytona, so we would expect PCelt. *ī to be shortened by Dybo's law. However, there are other ro-adjectives that do not show the operation of Dybo's rule in Celtic (cf. *fūro- 'fresh').
REF: GPC II: 1666, DGVB 192, EIEC 98, 606, Delamarre 321f., Campanile 1974: 57, Delamarre 2003: 312, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 42.

***wīro-** 'milk' (?) [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fír* [o]
PIE: *weh$_1$r 'water' (IEW: 80f.)
COGN: Skt. *vā́r* 'water', Lat. *ūrīna* 'urine', ON *úr* 'rain', OPr. *wurs* 'pond', ToB *war* 'water'
ETYM: OIr. *fír* is a hapax, occurring only in the phrase *téora ferba fíra* 'three milch cows', which makes this etymology quite speculative. If it is correct, the possible cognates in other IE languages point to a PIE root-noun, with Nom. sg. *weh$_1$r (Skt. *vā́r*), Gen. sg. *uh$_1$r-os (Lat. *ūrīna*, OPr. *wurs*, ON *úr*). Celtic generalized the stem of the Nom. sg.
REF: EIEC 636, Watkins 1987, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 714ff.

***wisu-** 'poison' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *fí* [? ?]
GAUL: *visu-marus* 'clover' (Marcellus of Bordeaux)
PIE: *weys / *wis-os 'poison' (IEW: 1134)
COGN: Skt. *viṣá-*, Lat. *uīrus*, Gr. *ī́os*
ETYM: Gaul. *visu-marus* is interpreted as a compound originally meaning 'juicy' by Meid (1996: 10). The second element would be PCelt. *māro- 'great'. Clover was considered to be an antidote for poisons in Antiquity. The MIr. word *fí* is attested chiefly in poetic texts. DIL does not state its gender and stem, so the PCelt. reconstruction is only tentative (an u-stem is also possible). The OIr. form cannot be from the thematic *wiso-, since this would have given **feo (cf. MIr. *feo* < *wiwo- 'withered'), and Gaul. *visu-*, although attested late, gives additional support for reconstructing an u-stem. Note, however, that the attested forms would also be compatible with PCelt. *wīso-. However, the length of *ī* in Lat. *uīrus* is best accounted for by positing an original root-noun *weys / *wis-os; Lat. preserved the stem of

the nominative, whereas the other languages generalized the stem of the oblique cases. This leaves the length of *ī* in Gr. *īós* unexplained. It could be from an adjectival stem *wisyos (M. de Vaan, p. c.). Hydronyms such as Gaul. *Visera* > Fr. *Vesère* might belong here, if one starts from the basic meaning 'liquid' (cf. Skt. *veṣati* 'flows'), and W *gwyar* [m] 'blood' might be from a derivative *weysHro- > PCelt. *wēsaro-, but the semantic connection (? 'flowing' > 'blood') is not beyond reproach.
REF: GPC II: 1744, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 526, Meid 1996: 10ff., Zimmer 2000: 486, Matasović 2004: 130, Mallory & Adams 2006: 263.

***wiwo-** 'withered' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *feo*
W: MW *gwiw* (GPC *gwyw*)
PIE: *weyh$_1$- 'wither' (IEW: 1123)
COGN: Lat. *uiēsco* 'wilt', ON *visinn* 'wilted', Lith. *výsti* 'wither'
ETYM: The PCelt. form is from PIE *wih$_1$wó-. The short vowel may be due to Dybo's law (cf. also OIr. *feugud* gl. marcor).
REF: GPC II: 1792.

***wlanno-** 'blood red' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *flann* [o]
PIE: *welh$_2$- 'hit, wound' (IEW: 1144f.)
COGN: Hitt. *walahzi* 'strikes', Lat. *uolnus* 'wound'
ETYM: LIV (619) hesitatingly reconstructs the PIE root with *h$_3$ rather than *h$_2$. The PCelt. reconstruction *wlanno- is, in my opinion, preferable to Pokorny's *wlansno-, since this would yield OIr. **flán (cf. OIr. *grían* 'sun' from *g^{w}rensnā). We may assume that PCelt. *walsno- became *wlasno- > *wlanno- by 'liquid metathesis' between a labial and a dental cluster. But why did the laryngeal drop here? Or should we dissociate PCelt. *wlanno- and Lat. *uolnus* from PIE *welh$_3$-, which means 'strike, hit', not 'wound, blood'? Both would then have the same prototype (PIE *wlsno-).
REF: de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 268, LIV 619.

***wlati-** 'sovereignty' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *flaith* [i f, later m] 'sovereignty, ruler'
W: OW *gulat* [f], MW *gwlad* 'country'
BRET: OBret. *guletic* 'prince', MBret. *gloedic* 'count', MoBret. *gwlad* 'inheritance'
CO: OCo. *gulat* gl. patria, Co. *gulas*, *gwlas*
SEE: *walo- 'prince, chief'
ETYM: Gaul. PN *Ulattius* might be related, cf. also the Ethnonym *Ulatti*. OIr. *flaithem* [n m] 'ruler' represents PCelt. *wlati-mon-. PCelt. *wlati presupposes PIE *wlHtí- with shortening of the first vowel by Dybo's law (see *walo- 'prince, chief').

REF: GPC II: 1676, DGVB 193, EIEC 490, Delamarre 306, Falileyev 70, Deshayes 2003: 314, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 51, 285, Ellis Evans 1967: 369ff., Meid 2005: 207f., Remmer 2002-3: 195.

***wlidā** 'feast, banquet' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fled* [ā f]
W: OW *guled* [f], MW *gwledd*
BRET: MoBret. *gloé* (Gwened)
GAUL: *Ulido-rix* [PN]
PIE: *weld- 'desire' (IEW: 1137)
COGN: Gr. *éldomai* 'desire'
ETYM: The reading of the inscription containing the PN *Ulidorix* is uncertain, but the name could mean 'King of feasts'. The Insular Celtic forms are compatible with the reconstruction *wledā as well, but Gr. *éldomai* < *weldo- shows that they are from the zero-grade of the root, PIE *wldeh$_2$.
REF: GPC II: 1682f., Delamarre 324 163.

***wlik^{w}o-** 'wet' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *fliuch* [o]
W: OW *gulip*, MW *gulip, gwlyp* (GPC *gwlyb*); *gwleb* [f]
BRET: OBret. *gulip*, MBret. *gloeb, glueb*, MoBret. *gwleb*
CO: OCo. *glibor* gl. humor
PIE: *welk-wo- 'wet' (IEW: 1145)
COGN: OHG *welh* 'wet, mild', Latv. *valks* 'wet'
SEE: *wolko- 'rain, wet weather'
ETYM: W *gwlithen* 'stye, whitlow' may represent PCelt. *wlik-to-, another derivative from the same root (Fowkes 1945), cf. also W *gwlych* 'liquid, moisture' [m] < *wlik-so-. MoBret. *gwleb* preserved the feminine form, PCelt. *wlik^{w}ā.
REF: GPC II: 1685, DGVB 193, GOI 64, Falileyev 70f., Deshayes 2003: 314, Campanile 1974: 49, Fowkes 1945.

***wliskā** 'stick, rod' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *flesc* [ā f]
PIE: *wley-sk- 'stick' (IEW: 1143)
COGN: Go. *wlizjan* 'hit', Croat. *lijèska* 'hazel', Pol. *laska* 'stick, staff'
ETYM: The Slavic words have also been related to Lith. *lazdà* 'stick, staff', Latv. *lazda* 'hazel', OPr. *laxste* 'hazel' (Derksen 2008: 274), but the vocalism of these Baltic words cannot be reconciled with the PIE root *wloy-. Rather, it is possible that the words for 'stick, staff' (*wloy-sk-) and 'hazel' (*log-sdo-) influenced each other, and eventually became confused, in Balto-Slavic.

***wodwo-** 'cutting' [Adj]

GOID: OIr. *fodb* [o] gl. divisione
PIE: *wed^{h}H- 'strike' (IEW: 1115)
COGN: Skt. *ávadhīt* [3s Aor.], Lith. *vedegà* 'a kind of axe'
ETYM: OIr. *fodb* gl. mandubiae 'spoils' is interpreted by Pokorny (IEW 1115) as '*Waffenbeute*' ('weapon-spoils') and derived from the same PCelt. form. This may be so, but the semantic connection is far from obvious. For the PIE reconstruction cf. *wād-sko- 'press'.
REF: Mallory & Adams 2006: 280.

***wodwā** 'mole'
W: MW *gwadd* [f]
BRET: OBret. *guod* gl. talpa, MoBret. *goz* [f]
CO: OCo. *god* gl. talpa, Co. *goth*
ETYM: The a-vocalism in W *gwadd* must be secondary (as in *gwallt* 'hair' from *gwollt, cf. GPC II: 1543, 1569). Scottish Gaelic has *famh, fath* 'mole' which is presumably the same word. The connection with PCelt. *wodwo- 'cutting' seems dubious for semantic reasons, but it is at least conceivable that, originally, *wodwā meant 'a digger' vel sim.
REF: GPC II: 1543, Deshayes 2003: 289.

***wolko-** 'rain, wet weather' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *folc* [o m] 'heavy rain'
W: MW *golchi* 'to cleanse, wash'
BRET: MBret. *guelchi,* MoBret. *gwalc'hi, gwolc'h* [m] 'ablution'
CO: Co. *golhy*
PIE: *welk- 'wet' (IEW: 1145f.)
COGN: OIc. *valgr* 'wet, moist', Latv. *valks* 'wet'
SEE: *wlikwo- 'wet'
ETYM: The relationship of these words with PIE *wel(H)g- (Lith. *vìlgyti* 'make wet', CS *vlaga*, Russ. dial. *vológa*, Cz. *vláha* 'wetness', OHG *wëlk* 'wet, moist') is unclear. The acute in BSl. can also be the result of Winter's law, so we do not have to reconstruct the laryngeal in PIE. The two roots, *welk- and *welg- should be somehow related. Perhaps we can reconstruct the PIE root-noun *wōlg-s 'rain' (pronounced [*wōlks]), Gen. sg. *wolg-os, and assume that some languages generalized the voiceless velar from the Nom. sg. throughout the paradigm. For a similar development cf. PCelt. *druko- 'bad'.
REF: GPC II: 1446, LP 2, Deshayes 2003: 315, EIEC 639.

***wolnā-mon-** 'ruler' [Noun]
SEE: *walo- 'prince, chief'

***wolto-** 'hair' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *folt* [o m]
W: MW *gwallt* [m]

BRET: OBret. *guolt*
CO: OCo. *gols* gl. cesaries
PIE: *wol-t- 'hair' (IEW: 1138)
COGN: OCS *vlatъ*, OE *weald* 'wood'
ETYM: The same PCelt. etymon is perhaps reflected in Gaul. *Uolto-dagae* [PN], etc. See Delamarre 327f.
REF: GPC II: 1569, LP 2, DGVB 197, Delamarre 327f.

***worīnā** 'band, troop' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *foirenn* [ā f] gl. factio
W: OW *guerin*, MW *gwerin* [f and m] 'host'(GPC *gwerin* 'people')
BRET: OBret. *guerin* gl. in duas factiones, MBret. *gueryn* 'people'
PIE: *wori-no- 'flock, troop' (IEW: 1151)
COGN: OE *wearn* 'troop, crowd'
ETYM: There is some uncertainty with respect to vocalism in PCelt. A proto-form *warīnā would be possible if *-o-* in OIr. *foirenn* is secondary, but it is easier to assume that MW *gwerin* is dissimilated from *gwyrin (< *gworin by regular raising), cf. W *dylysc* and *delysc* < PCelt. *dolisko-. A connection with the root *swer- 'to resound' (IEW 1049f., LIV 557, cf. Skt. *svárati* 'resounds', ON *sverja* 'to swear') has been suggested (cf. Zimmer 2000: 518). The original meaning of *worīnā would presumably have been 'the group of warriors who have sworn allegiance (to each other)' However, this connection is difficult to accept, since there is no other evidence for s-mobile in this root.
REF: GPC II: 1642, EIEC 268, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 372, Zimmer 2000: 518.

***wos-o-** 'spend the night, remain' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fo-aid, -foí* 'spend the night, sleep with someone'; *fieid, -fia* [Subj.]; *fíf(a)id, -fíf(e)a* [Fut.]; *fiu* [Pret.]
W: MW *kyuarhos* 'wait, expect' (GPC *cyfaros*)
BRET: MBret. *gourtos* 'expect, wait for'
CO: Co. *gortos* 'wait for'
PIE: *$h_2$wes- 'remain, spend the night' (IEW: 1170f.)
COGN: Hitt. *huiszi* 'lives', Skt. *vásati* 'spends the night, remains', Go. *wisan* 'be, live', Arm. *goy* 'is'
ETYM: MW *kyuarhos* < *kom-fare-wos-o-; MBret. *gourtos* and Co. *gortos* < *ufor-ate-wos-o- (the simplex verb is unattested in Brittonic).
REF: KPV 702ff., GPC I: 682, LIV 293f., LP 365.

***wosu-** 'goodness'
SEE: *wesu- 'good'

***wox-tlo-** 'dispute' [Noun]
W: MW *gwaethl* [m] 'dispute, debate'

PIE: *wok^{w}- 'voice, word' (IEW: 1135f.)
COGN: Skt. *vā́k-*, Lat. *uōx*, OHG *giwahanem* 'recall', Arm. *gočem* 'call'
SEE: *wek^{w}o- 'face'
ETYM: OIr. *focal*, *focul* [o n] is presumably a Latin loanword (Lat. *uocābulum*; inherited *woxtlo- would have given **fochtul)The same root (*wok^{w}-) appears in OIr. *an-ocht* 'a metrical fault' < PCelt. *an-uxto- < *n-uk^{w}to-, parallel to Skt. *anukta-*.
REF: GPC II: 1552, EIEC 534f., de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 299.

***woxs-V-** 'wasp' [Noun]
W: MW *gwychi* [p] (GPC *gwychi, gwchi*)
BRET: OBret. *guohi* gl. fucos
CO: OCo. *guhi-en* [Singulative] gl. uespa
PIE: *wob^{h}seh$_2$ 'wasp' (IEW: 1179)
COGN: Lat. *uespa*, OE *wæsp*, OPr. *wobse*, Croat. *òsa*
ETYM: OIr. *foich* 'wasp' is a loanword from Brittonic.
REF: GPC II: 1607, DGVB 196, LP 19, Schrijver 1995: 160

***wragi-** 'needle' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *fraig* 'sharp instrument, ?needle'
PIE: *wreh$_2$ǵ^{h}- 'thorn' (IEW: 1180)
COGN: Gr. *rákhis* 'spine, backbone'
ETYM: The stem and gender of MIr. *fraig* are uncertain. The word occurs mostly in law tracts, and refers to a physician's instrument. Therefore, the PCelt. reconstruction is a mere conjecture.
REF: EIEC 575, Mallory & Adams 2006: 163.

***wrasto-** 'shower' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *frass* 'rain-shower, torrent'
PIE: *h$_1$wers- 'shower, rain' (IEW: 78ff.)
COGN: Hitt. *warsa-* 'fog, mist', Skt. *varṣ-* 'rain', *varṣā́-* 'rainy season', Gr. *hérsē* 'dew' (Hom. *eérsē*)
ETYM: OIr. *frass* can be the result of a regular 'liquid metathesis' between a labial and a dental (*warsto- > *wrasto-), in which case it preserves the zero-grade of the PIE root (*h$_1$wrs-to-).

***wreg-o-** 'do, make' [Vb]
W: MW *gwneuthur*; *goruc* [3s Pret.]
BRET: MBret. *groa, gra* [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. *gwra* [3s Pres.]
PIE: *werǵ- 'do, make' (IEW: 1168f.)
COGN: Gr. (Myc.) *wo-ze /worzei/*, Go. *waurkjan*
ETYM: The forms with *gwn-* in Welsh are due to the analogy with the verb *gn-iyo- with the similar meaning. The IE part of the etymology is difficult since *Schwebeablaut* (*werǵ- / *wreǵ-) has to be assumed (cf. also PCelt.

*wregi- 'wall, enclosure' < *$h_1$wreǵ- 'close', which may have influenced this root).
REF: KPV 707ff., GPC II: 1688ff., LIV 686ff., LP 336.

***wregi-** 'wall, enclosure'
GOID: MIr. *fraig* [i f] 'interior wall, wall of a house'
W: MW *ach-vre, ach-fre* [? m] (GPC *ach-wre*) 'wattled fence, palisade, under-thatch, defence'
PIE: *$h_1$wreǵ- 'close' (IEW: 1168)
COGN: Skt. *vrajá-* 'wattle, fence, stable', *vŗjána-* 'territory of a community', Gr. (Hom.) *érgō* 'enclose', *eérgō* 'encompass'
ETYM: W *achwre* is compounded from *ach* 'near, by' and *wre, which is not attested as a simplex. The PIE root shows evidence of *Schwebeablaut* (cf. Gr. *eérgō* which must be from *$h_1$werǵ-).
REF: GPC I: 10.

***wridā** 'root' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *frén* [? ā f], MIr. *frém*
W: MW *gwreidd* (GPC *gwraidd*) [m]
BRET: MBret. *gruizyenn,* MoBret. *gwriz(ienn)*
CO: OCo. *gwreiten* gl. radix
PIE: *wre(h_2)d- 'root' (IEW: 1167)
COGN: Lat. *rādīx*, Gr. *rhíza* 'root', *rhā́diks* 'branch, twig', ON *rōt*, Go. *waurts,* Alb. *rrënjë, rrëzë*, perhaps ToB *witsako* 'root'
ETYM: The development of OIr. *frén* < *wrēnā < *wrednā < *wridnā seems to be regular; the Brittonic words presuppose *wridā (Breton), or *wradi- (Welsh). The form *wradi- presumably has the secondary full grade of the root instead of the expected *wredi-. Some reflexes of this root in other IE languages require positing *wreh$_2$d- (cf. ON *rōt*, Lat. *rādīx*, Gr. *rhā́diks*), but both PIE *wreh$_2$d- and *wrh$_2$d- would give PCelt. *wrād-, so it seems that the laryngeal was lost in Celtic for some reason.
REF: GPC II: 1697, DGVB 179, EIEC 80, De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 243, 258, Vine 1999.

***wrig(g)ant-** 'vermin' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *frige* [nt f] 'some kind of vermin, flesh-worm'
W: MW *gwre* [f] 'acardis, mites' (GPC *gwraint* [p])
BRET: MBret. *gruech*, MoBret. *gwrec'h* [m] 'itch-mite'
ETYM: MIr. *frige* and W *gwre*, pl. *gwraint* are from *wrigant-, while MoBret. *gwrec'h* must come from *wriggant- (the cause of the gemination is unclear). Cf. also Gallo-Lat. *brigantes* 'vermin'. The connection with Lat. *uermis* 'worm' suggested by IEW (1152) is unlikely: the similarity is probably accidental. These Celtic words may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: GPC II: 1699, Deshayes 2003: 316.

***writ-ber-o-** 'come against, return' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fris-beir* 'opposes, resists'
W: MW *gwrthvryt* 'return'
SEE: *ber-o- 'carry'
REF: KPV 220f.

***writ-kom-far-sk-o-** 'ask' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *fris-comairc* 'asks for, asks questions of'
W: MW *gwrthgyfarch* 'address, inquire of, ask (in turn)'
SEE: *far-sko- 'ask'
REF: KPV 511f.

***writ-to-n-g-o-** 'renounce' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *fris-toing* 'forswears, abjures, renounces'
W: MW *gwrthdwng* [m] 'counter-oath'
SEE: *to-n-g-o- 'swear'
REF: KPV 648f., GPC II: 1718.

***writu-** 'against' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *frith-, fris-, fri* [+Acc.]
W: OW *gurt,* MW *wrth*
BRET: OBret. *gurth*
CO: Co. *(w)orth*
PIE: *wert- 'turn' (IEW: 1156)
COGN: Lat. *uersus, uorsus* 'against', ToB *wrattsai* 'against'
ETYM: The exact proto-form is a matter of some dispute; PCelt. locative *writi is possible if one accepts early apocope of *-i in Insular Celtic (see Schrijver 1994).
REF: GOI 514f., DGVB 203, EIEC 607, Falileyev 76, Schrijver 1994, Schrijver 1995: 158.

***wroyko-** 'heather' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fróich* (DIL *fráech*) [o m]
W: MW *gwrug* (GPC *grug*) [Collective]
CO: Anglo-Cornish *griglan*
GAUL: *brūcaria > Fr. *bruyère*
ETYM: The change of *wr- to *br-* in Gaulish may be due to the influence of VLat. (Lambert 1997). No clear IE cognates. The similarity with the Balto-Slavic words for 'heather' (Russ. *véresk, véres*, Croat. *vrijês* < *versъ < *werḱo-, Lith. *vìržis*, Latv. *vìrsis* < *wrHḱo-), may be accidental, but cf. also Gr. *ereíkē* 'heath, Erica arborea' (< *wereyḱ-). This is probably a loan from some non-IE language.
REF: GPC II: 1536, Gamillscheg 160f., Lambert 1997.

***w(u)lāno-, *w(u)lano-** 'wool' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *olann* [ā f]
W: OW *gulan* [m], MW *gwlan* (GPC *gwlân*)
BRET: MBret. *glan, gloan*
CO: OCo. *gluan* gl. lana, MCo. *glan, glawn*
PIE: *wlh$_2$no- 'wool' (IEW: 1139)
COGN: Hitt. *hulana-*, Skt. *ū́rṇā-*, Lat. *lāna*, Gr. *lẽnos*, Go. *wulla*, Lith. *vìlna*, OCS *vlъna*
ETYM: Some authors think that OIr. *olann* is a loanword from Brittonic (e.g. Falileyev, p. 70), which I find unlikely.The word initial *o-* in OIr. can be explained if we start from *ulanā, with a different syllabification than in Brittonic, which reflects *wlāno-; we should probably reconstruct both a feminine *ulanā and a neuter *wlāno- for Proto-Celtic (the feminine being an old collective), see Matasović 2005: 128. Hittite *h-* is the result of metathesis; there is no other evidence for the word-initial laryngeal in PIE.
REF: LEIA O-19f., GPC II: 1680, EIEC 648, Falileyev 70, Campanile 1974: 49, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 254, Schrijver 1995: 177, Matasović 2005: 128.

X

***xswib-ī-** 'move, recede' [Vb]
GOID: MIr. *scibid, -scibi*
W: MW *chwyfu* (GPC *chwifio, chwyfio, chwyfu, chwyfan*)
BRET: MBret. *fifual*, MoBret. *fiñval* 'move'
PIE: ?*ksweyb^{h}- 'make a swift movement' (IEW: 1041 (*swēy-))
COGN: Skt. *kṣipáti* 'throw', OCS *šibati* 'to whip'
ETYM: Sanskrit *-p-* is puzzling. It may be the result of assimilation to the initial *k-*. OE *swápan* 'sweep' and its Germanic cognates may be derived from the same root, if we assume that *xsw- > *sw-. In any case, the form of the PIE root is highly unusual, perhaps onomatopoetic.
REF: KPV 423, GPC I: 852, Deshayes 2003: 236, LIV 333, Schrijver 2003.

Y

***yalo-** 'clearing' [Noun]

W: MW *ial* (GPC *iâl*)
GAUL: *Eburo-ialum* (> *Ebreuil*), *Verno-ialum* (Verneuil) [Toponyms]
ETYM: Cf. also MW *an-ial* 'wasteland'. Pokorny's (IEW: 504f.) comparison with PSl. *jalъ 'waste, bare, unfruitful' (Russ. *jálovyj*, *jályj*, Cz. *jalový*) is possible under the assumption that PIE *yHC- would be reflected as PCelt. *yal- rather than *īl-. For the possibility that *wHC- likewise gives PCelt. *waC- rather than *ūC- cf. PCelt. *waxto- 'bad'.
REF: GPC II: 1999, Lambert 1994: 39.

***yālo-** 'praise, worship' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *áil, ál* 'request, act of asking'
W: MW *iawl* [?f] 'prayer, supplication, worship'
PIE: *(H)yeh$_2$lo- 'zeal' (IEW: 501)
COGN: Gr. *zẽlos* 'zeal', Croat. *jâl* 'envy'
ETYM: OIr. *áil* is usually used with the copula in phrases such as *is áil do...* 'it is desirable to...', cf. also the denominative verb *áilid* 'wishes'. Cf. also OBret. *iolent* [3 pl.] gl. precentur, W *iolaf* 'praise'.
REF: LEIA A-30f., GPC II: 2002f.

***yāno-** 'true, noble' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *án* [o] 'true, just'
W: MW *iawn* 'true, just'
BRET: OBret. *ion, eunt,* MBret. *effn*
CO: OCo. *eun-hinsic* gl. iustus, MCo. *ewn*
ETYM: OIr. *án* 'ardent, splendid' might or might not be a different word. In OBret. both *eunt* and *ion* are found with the same meaning; *ion* seems to be the older form. IE etymology is uncertain. Connection with PIE *h$_2$eh$_1$- 'be hot' (so reconstructed in LIV, cf. Pal. *hāri*, Av. *ātr-* 'fire', IEW 68) appears possible for OIr. *án* 'ardent', but not for the Brittonic words, which must be from PCelt. *yāno-.
REF: LEIA A-72, GPC II: 2003, DGVB 169, 227.

***yāntī** 'place' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *áit* [?ī f], *áitt* (DIL)
PIE: *yeh$_2$- 'ride, go' (IEW: 296)
COGN: Skt. *yā́ti* 'rides', Lith. *jóti* 'ride', OCS *jaxati*
SEE: *yātu- 'ford'
ETYM: The usual derivation of OIr. *áit* from PIE *pōntH- 'bridge, path' is not convincing, since the long *ō is unjustified. Bammesberger's (1998) proposal to derive *áit* from a vṛddhi formation *pōtniyā 'belonging to a female ruler, *potnī) is also quite unconvincing from the semantic point of view. The etymology proposed here is also provisory because of semantic difficulties. PCelt. *yāntī- would be the feminine form of the active participle of the verb *yeh$_2$- (cf. OIr. *birit* 'sow' < *b^{h}erontih$_2$). Note, however, that participles in *-nt- sometimes have passive, rather than active

meaning in Celtic, cf. OIr. *méit* 'size, quantity' < *mh_1ntih_2 (the root is PIE *meh_1- 'to measure'). In the one case, the semantic development is 'the measured amount' > 'amount' > 'size, quantity', in the other case it would be from 'the traversed area' to 'area' and 'place'.
REF: LEIA A-52, Bammesberger 1998.

***yantu-** 'zeal, jealousy' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ét* [o m] gl. aemulatio 'emulation, jealousy'
W: MW *add-iant, add-iat* [m] 'wish'
PIE: *yet- 'to place oneself firmly, establish oneself' (IEW: 506)
COGN: Skt. *yátate* 'put in place, line up', Lat. *nītor* 'to strive', ToA *yatatär* 'is capable'
ETYM: Gaulish name *Iantumarus* has an exact correspondance in MIr. *étmar* 'jealous'. The nasal is lost in the Gaul. PN *Ad-ietumarus*. It is probably analogical, introduced from the n-presents (although the verb from this root is unattested in Celtic). The etymology relating these Celt. words to Skt. *yátate*, Lat. *nītor* < *ni-yet-, etc., has been doubted on semantic grounds; it is not even mentioned by Mayrhofer and by LIV (277). Another possibility is to derive PCelt. *yantu- from PIE *yeh_2- 'desire, wish, beg' (IEW 501, LIV 274, A. Lubotsky, p. c.), cf. Skt. *yā́mi* 'I ask'. Original *yāntu- may have developed to *yantu- by Osthoff-like shortening.
REF: GPC I: 33, Delamarre 32f., Schmidt 1957: 222f., Meid 2005: 74, Evans 1967: 47, Wodtko *et alii* 2008: 395.

***yaro-** 'chicken, hen' [Noun]
W: OW *iar*, MW *yar, iar* [f] (GPC *iâr, giâr*); *ieir, gieir* [p]
BRET: MBret. *yar* [f]
CO: OCo. *yar* gl. gallina, Co. *yar*
GAUL: *Iaros* [PN]
ETYM: MIr. *eirín(e)* 'chicken' is related to these words, but details are unclear. All of these words might be related to Lat. *pīpio* 'to cheep', Skt. *píppakā-* 'a species of bird' and derived from something like *pipero- > PCelt. *fifero-. Of course, with such onomatopoetic roots, any comparison can be accidental.
REF: GPC II: 2000, LP 78, Delamarre 186, Falileyev 89, Campanile 1974: 105, Deshayes 2003: 760, Stokes 1894: 223, Schrijver 1995: 104f.

***yās** 'chariot' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *á*; *aaib* gl. axibus [Dat. p]
PIE: *yeh_2- 'ride, go'(IEW: 296)
COGN: Skt. *yā́ti* 'rides', Lith. *jóti* 'ride'
SEE: *yātu- 'ford'
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, OIr. *á* is an archaic root-noun derived directly from the PIE verbal root *yeh_2- 'to go'.
REF: Watkins 1978, LIV 275, LEIA A-4

yātu- 'ford' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *áth* [u m]
PIE: *yeh$_2$- 'ride, go' (IEW: 296)
COGN: Skt. *yā́ti* 'rides', Lith. *jóti* 'ride'
SEE: *yāntī 'place'
REF: LEIA A-99, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 290

yegi- 'ice' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *aig* [i f]
W: MW *ia* [m] (GPC *iâ*)
BRET: MBret. *yen* 'cold', MoBret. *yein*
CO: OCo. *iein* gl. frigus; *iey* gl. glacies
GAUL: *yegōnia > Fr. *Jouanne, Jogne* [Hydronyms]
PIE: *yeg- 'ice' (IEW: 503)
COGN: Hitt. *eka-* 'cold, frost, ice', ON *jaki,* Wakhi *yaz* 'glacier'
ETYM: MBret. *yen* and OCo. *iein* are from *yeg-no-, a derivative of the same root.
REF: LEIA A-28, GPC II: 1994, EIEC 135, 287, Delamarre 185f., Deshayes 2003: 760, Matasović 2004: 130.

yemono- 'twin' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *emon* [o m] 'twin, a pair (or triplet) born at one birth'
PIE: *yem(H)o- 'twin' (IEW: 505)
COGN: Skt. *yamá-*, Lat. *geminus*, Latv. *jùmis* 'pair'
ETYM: Celtic shares the derivation by means of the suffix *-no- with Latin. The initial *g-* in Lat. is irregular, probably by analogy with *genus* 'offspring'.
REF: EIEC 608, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 81, Schrijver 1995: 108.

yestu- 'boiling' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *es(s)* [u m] 'cataract, stream'
W: MW *ias* [f and m] 'boiling'
PIE: *(H)yes- 'boil' (IEW: 506)
COGN: Hitt. *is(sa)na-* 'dough', Skt. *yásyati* 'boils', Gr. *zéō* 'boil', ToA *yäs-* 'boil, excite sexually', OHG *jesan* 'to foam, ferment'
ETYM: Gaul. PN *Iestinus* might be related to this root, cf. also Gallo-Lat. *esta* 'foam' and MoBret. *go* 'boiled', if from *ufo-yes-o-, MBret. *goaff,* MoBret. *goiñ* 'boil, digest'.
REF: GPC II: 2001, Deshayes 2003: 277f., EIEC 77, De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 287, Schrijver 1995: 105.

yextV- 'speech, language' [Noun]
GOID: MoIr. *icht* [?u m] 'people, tribe'
W: MW *ieith* [f] 'language, nation, race' (GPC *iaith*)
BRET: MBret. *yez*, MoBret. *yezh* [f] 'language'

CO: Co. *yēth*
PIE: *yek- 'say, speak' (IEW: 503f.)
COGN: OHG *jehan* 'speak', Lat. *iocus* 'joke'
ETYM: The stem and gender of Early MoIr *icht* are uncertain (it is a rare word). If it was a feminine i-stem, then the PCelt. reconstruction *yexti- would be probable. A possible Gaulish cognate of these Insular Celtic forms is found in the inscription on the Châteaubleau tile (Lambert 1998-2000), where on line 2 we read *iexsetesi*, which might mean 'you will say' (McCone 2006: 101). This might be the 2 pl. future of a denominative verb from the root *yext-. Skt. *yā́cati* 'ask, solicite, entreat' is unrelated (LIV, *s. v.* *yek-).
REF: GPC II: 1999, LIV 276, Deshayes 2003: 761, Schrijver 1995: 106.

***yo** 'which' [Relative particle]
GAUL: *dugiionti-io* 'who worship(?)' (Alise St. Reine)
CELTIB: *iom* [Acc. s]; *iomui* [Dat. s]; *ios* [Nom. s] (Botorrita I)
PIE: *yo- 'which' (IEW: 283)
COGN: Skt. *ya-*, Gr. *hós*
ETYM: In OIr. the relative pronoun is preserved as the aspiration of the verbal root in leniting relative clauses, chiefly with subject antecendents (see Schrijver 1997: 105). PIE *yo- may be a thematicized formation from the demonstrative stem *$h_1$ey- (Lat. *is, ea, id*), in which case the correct PIE reconstruction is *$h_1$yo-.
REF: GOI 323f., Schrijver 1997: 105ff., MLH V.1: 136ff.

***yorko-** 'roebuck' [Noun]
W: MW *iwrch* [m]; *(i)yrch, ywrchod* [p]
BRET: OBret. *iorch* gl. caprea, MBret. *yourch*, MoBret. *yourc'h* [m]
CO: OCo. *yorch* gl. caprea
GAUL: *íorkos* 'roebuck' (probably Galatian)
PIE: *(H)yorko- 'goat' (IEW: 513)
COGN: Gr. *zórks* 'gazelle, roedeer'
ETYM: The vowel of W *iwrch* is unexplained. It would be regular in the plural, as the result of raising, so perhaps the stem of the plural was generalized. The attested plural *(i)yrch* then must be analogical.
REF: GPC II: 2043, EIEC 155, DGVB 227, Delamarre 191, Deshayes 2003: 762.

***yowanko-** 'young' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *óac* [o], *óc* (DIL)
W: MW *ieuanc* (GPC *ieuanc, (-ng), ifanc, iefanc*)
BRET: MBret. *youanc*, MoBret. *yowank*
CO: OCo. *iouenc*, MCo. *yo(wy)nk*
GAUL: *Iouinc-illus, Iouinca* [PN]
PIE: *$h_2$yuh$_1$-nḱ-o- 'young' (IEW: 510)

COGN: Skt. *yuvaśá-* 'young', Lat. *iuuencus* 'young cow', OE *geong* 'young'
ETYM: The change of (Early PCelt.) *yuwanko- to *yowanko- is regular, cf. *supno- 'sleep' > *suwno- > *sowno- (OIr. *súan*). PIE *$h_2$yuh$_1$nḱ-o- is a derivative from *$h_2$yu-h$_1$en- 'young, possessing vital force' (Lat. *iuuenis*, Skt. *yúvan-*, Lith. *jáunas*, and OCS *junъ*). The root is *$h_2$oyu- 'vital force, lifetime' (Skt. *āyu-*), cf. also the parallel formations of OIr. *oítiu* [d f] 'youth' and Lat. *iuuentūs* < *$h_2$yu-h$_1$n-tuHt-.
REF: LEIA O-3, GPC II: 2013f., EIEC 655f., Campanile 1974: 68f., Deshayes 2003: 762.

***yownī** 'time, opportunity' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *úain* [ī f] 'opportunity, time, period, reign'
PIE: *yowni- 'seat, place' (IEW: 512)
COGN: Skt. *yóni-* 'seat, home, womb'
ETYM: Since it is limited to just two branches (Celtic and Indo-Iranian), and the meanings do not match completely, this is a conjectural etymology. If true, it presupposes that the meaning 'place' was changed to 'right place and time, opportunity' in Celtic. But note that Vendryès considers *úain* to be a by-form of *óin*, which is the verbal noun of *oidid* 'lends, grants'. If this is correct, the original meaning of *úain* would have been 'leasure, free time'.
REF: LEIA U-4.

***yoyni-** 'rushes, reed' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *áin* [?i, Gen. s *áine*]
PIE: *yoyni- 'reed' (IEW: 513)
COGN: Lat. *iuncus*, ON *einir* 'juniper'
ETYM: Lat. *iuncus* represents *yoyni-ko-, while the underived i-stem seems to be preserved in OIr. Cf. also Lat. *iūniperus* 'juniper-berry'. The shape of this PIE root and its distribution only in western dialects suggests that it is a loanword from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA A-35, Mallory & Adams 2006: 162.

***yugo-** 'yoke' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *cuing* [i f]
W: OW *iou*, MW *iau, yeu* [f and m]
BRET: MBret. *yeu, ieo*, MoBret. *yew* [f]
CO: Co. *ieu, yew*
GAUL: *Ver-iugus* [PN]
PIE: *yugo- 'yoke' (IEW: 508f.)
COGN: Hitt. *iukan*, Skt. *yugá-*, Gr. *zygón*, Lat. *iugum*, OCS *igo*, Lith. *jùngas*, Go. *juk*, Arm. *luc*
ETYM: The Brittonic forms might be borrowings from Lat. *iugum*, while OIr. *cuing* presupposes *kom-yungi-, with *-n- from the present tense of the verbal stem (cf. Lith. *jùngas*), but the verb is unattested in Celtic.

REF: LEIA C-273, GPC II: 2002, LP 29, EIEC 655, Falileyev 94, Deshayes 2003: 761, Ellis Evans 1967: 357f.

***yūsko-, *yusko-** 'soup, broth' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *úsc, úsca* 'lard, fat'
W: MW *isgell* [m] 'soup'
CO: OCo. *iskel* gl. ius, Co. *isgal*
PIE: *yuHs- 'broth' (IEW: 507)
COGN: Skt. *yūṣ-*, Lat. *iūs,* OCS *juxa*
ETYM: The Brit. words might be loanwords from Lat. (so in GPC, but Lat. *iūscellum, the alleged source of these words according to GPC, is not attested; the closest match is *iusculum* (OLD, *s. v.*) which means 'broth' and is scarcely attested in the whole Lat. corpus).
REF: GPC II: 2037, LEIA U-30, EIEC 84

***yustyo-** 'just' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *uisse* [io]
PIE: *yows- 'right, regular' (IEW: 512)
COGN: Lat. *iūs* 'justice, right', Av. *yaoš*
ETYM: Willi (2002) argues against this etymology and relates OIr. *uisse* to Lat. *iūbeo* 'order' (PIE *Hyewd^{h}-). If this is correct, OIr. *uisse* would be derivable from *(H)yud^{h}tyo- > PCelt. *yussyo-, and ultimately from the past passive participle (*(H)yud^{h}to-). If the original meaning of this root in Celtic was 'to order', *yussyo- would be 'what is ordered', i. e. 'just'. Possible other reflexes of PIE *(H)yud^{h}- include elements of personal names, e.g. OW *Mor-iud* and OBret. *Iud-nimet*, as well as W *udd* 'lord' (but Lambert 1994a: 227f. derives these from Lat. *iudex* 'judge').
REF: LEIA U-22, GPC IV: 3699, EIEC 345, 410, Willi 2002.

***yutV-** 'pap, porridge'
GOID: OIr. *íth* gl. puls
W: OW *iot,* MW *iwt, iwd* (GPC *uwd*)
BRET: MBret. *yot, iot,* MoBret. *yod* [m]
CO: OCo. *iot* gl. puls, Co. *yôs*
ETYM: Gallo-Lat. *iutta, iotta* 'a kind of soup, porridge' is presumably borrowed from the Gaulish equivalent of these Insular Celtic words. The long *í* in OIr. is analogical, probably having developed under the influence of *ith* 'fat' (GOI 39), or *ithid* 'eats'. It is not well attested, so that its gender and stem are unknown (DIL). The alternation of *o and *u in Brittonic perhaps points to PCelt. variant forms with various vowels in the final sylllable. Perhaps we should reconstruct both *yuti- and *yuto-. Pokorny's PIE etymology (p. 507), relating these words to PIE *yewH- 'soup, broth' (Gr. *zýmē*, OCS *juxa*, etc.) is unconvincing from both formal (no trace of laryngeal in Celtic) and semantic point of view (but cf. PCelt. *yūsko-,

*yusko- 'soup, broth'). In all probability, this word is a loanword from some non-IE source.

REF: GOI 39, LHEB 55, Campanile 1974: 68, Falileyev 93f., Deshayes 2003: 761.

APPENDIX

THE NON-INDO-EUROPEAN ELEMENTS IN THE CELTIC LEXICON

Although standards for mentioning possible Indo-European etymologies are rather liberal in this dictionary, there is still a large number of words in the reconstructed Proto-Celtic lexicon that cannot be attributed to any PIE root, and that are, therefore, quite likely to have been borrowed from some non-IE source. In some cases, there are a number of probable cognates in the neighbouring IE dialects (usually Italic and Germanic), but the reconstructed shape of the root distinctly shows non-IE features, which again makes it probable that the Celtic etymon in question was borrowed from some non-IE substratum language, perhaps shared with Italic and/or Germanic.

A number of such words, for which a substratum origin can be assumed, have reflexes only in Brittonic and Goidelic. This can, of course, be the consequence of the poor attestation of Gaulish, Lepontic, and Celtiberian, but in principle we cannot exclude the possibility of substrates shared by Insular Celtic languages, but not by the Continental Celtic.

The following is an alphabetical list of Proto-Celtic forms for which a substrate origin can be assumed; in each case it is indicated whether the etymon in question is attested in Continental Celtic, and whether it has likely cognates in the neighbouring IE dialects (Germanic and Italic).

1. *alten- 'razor'
2. *amaro- 'wailing, crying'
3. *anderā 'young woman' (probably attested in Gaulish)
4. *bando- 'peak, top' (attested in Gaulish; possible cognates in Germanic)
5. *banwo- 'young pig, piglet' (attested in Gaulish)
6. *baski- 'bundle' (probable cognates in Italic)
7. *birro- 'short' (attested in Gaulish)
8. *blVdV- 'wolf, large predator'
9. *bodyo- 'yellow' (attested in Gaulish, probable cognates in Italic)
10. *brano- 'raven' (attested in Gaulish)
11. *bratto-, *brattino- 'mantle, cloak'
12. *brokko- 'badger' (attested in Gaulish)
13. *bunno- 'awl, bittern'
14. *bussu- 'lip' (probably attested in Gaulish)
15. *butā 'house, dwelling, hut'
16. *druko- 'bad'
17. *durno- 'fist'
18. *esok- 'salmon' (attested in Gaulish)

19. *g^{w}eno- 'smile'
20. *gulbV-, *gulbīno- 'beak' (probably attested in Gaulish)
21. *gurmo- 'dun, dark'
22. *kag-o- 'get, receive' (probable cognates in Italic)
23. *kagyo- 'pen, enclosure' (possible cognates in Germanic)
24. *kalmiyo- 'skilful, skilled'
25. *kani- 'good, nice'
26. *karbanto- 'war chariot' (attested in Gaulish)
27. *kasninā 'garlic, leek' (probably attested in Gaulish)
28. *katrik- 'fortification' (probable cognates in Germanic)
29. *kayto- 'wood' (cognates in Germanic)
30. *klamo- 'sick, suffering from leprosy'
31. *klukā 'stone, rock'
32. *knū 'nut' (probable cognates in Italic and Celtic)
33. *koligno- 'pup, small animal'
34. *koret- 'palisade, stone wall' (possible cognates in Germanic)
35. *korkkyo- 'oats' (probable cognates in Germanic)
36. *kotto- 'old' (probably attested in Gaulish)
37. *krittā 'body, frame, shape'
38. *krok(ke)no- 'skin' (probably attested in Gaulish)
39. *krumbo- 'round, curved' (probable cognates in Germanic)
40. *krundi- 'round, compact'
41. *krutto- 'round object, womb'
42. *k^{w}ezdi- 'piece, portion' (attested in Gaulish)
43. *lēro- 'diligent'
44. *liro- 'sea, ocean'
45. *lomanā 'rope, thong'
46. *lubī/ā 'herb, plant' (probable cognates in Germanic)
47. *lukot- 'mouse'
48. *luxtu- 'content, crowd'
49. *makinā 'bellow' (probable cognates in Germanic and Baltic)
50. *maylo- 'bald' (possible cognates in Germanic)
51. *mazdyo- 'stick' (cognates in Italic and Germanic)
52. *mesal-kā 'blackbird' (cognates in Italic and Germanic)
53. *menādo- 'awl'
54. *metto- 'decay, blight, shame'
55. *mokku- 'pig'
56. *molto- 'ram, wether' (probably attested in Gaulish)
57. *ninati- 'nettle' (probable cognates in Germanic and Baltic)
58. *nino- 'ash-tree' (possibly attested in Gaulish)
59. *nūsso-, *nowsso- 'first milk, colostrum'
60. *rem(r)o- 'fat, thick'
61. *rendi- 'point, peak'
62. *rowk(k)- / *ruk- 'tunic, mantle' (cognates in Germanic and Slavic)

63. *rūnā 'secret' (possible cognates in Germanic)
64. *sēbro- 'demon, spectre'
65. *sfrawo- 'crow' (possible cognates in Germanic, Baltic, and Italic)
66. *sido- 'elk, stag'
67. *skamo- 'light' (possible cognates in Germanic)
68. *skublo- 'bird of prey' (probably attested in Gaulish)
69. *slad-yo- 'hit, slay'
70. *slattā 'stalk, staff' (possible cognates in Germanic)
71. *swanto- 'treasure, what is desired'
72. *smēro- 'berry'
73. *subi- 'strawberry'
74. *sukko- 'pig'
75. *tago- 'strangle, choke'
76. *torrV- 'belly'
77. *trussko- 'dirty, leprous'
78. *trusto- 'noise, cry'
79. *wesakko-, *wesākko- 'grebe, raven'
80. *wēt(t)ā 'stream, swamp'
81. *wimonā 'sea weed'
82. *wriggant- 'vermin' (possibly attested in Gaulish)
83. *wroyko- 'heather' (possible cognates in Balto-Slavic)
84. *yoyni- 'rushes, reed' (probable cognates in Italic and Germanic)
85. *yutV- 'pap, porridge' (possibly attested in Gaulish)

The number of substrate words in Proto-Celtic is actually surprisingly low. Only 85 out of the total 1490 Proto-Celtic words can be ascribed to a non-IE substrate, which is under 6%. This number is probably slightly higher, since several of the IE etymologies proposed in the dictionary might turn out to be false, but even so, it probably does not exceed 10%. Since many of the nouns listed above have probable cognates in other Western Indo-European languages (primarily Italic and Germanic), we might argue that there was no pre-IE substrate exclusive to Celtic, i. e., there was no common substrate in Western Europe from which Celtic, and only Celtic, borrowed words. There are, of course, many words in Welsh and Irish with obscure, presumably non-IE etymology, but it is rather surprising how few of those words go back to Proto-Celtic, or Proto-Insular Celtic (if one believes in that). Again, this may point to the conclusion that there was no single substratum language (or a group of closely related languages) prior to the arrival of the Celts in the British Isles. Judging by the amount of language diversity before the Roman conquests in other parts of Europe, for which we have more data (e.g. for Spain or Italy), this is not so surprising.

It is not surprising that most of the non-IE words in Celtic are nouns, since nouns are much more often borrowed than verbs, or words belonging to other word classes. It is also understandable that nouns of substrate origin

often denote birds, plants, and small animals.

On the formal side, one should note that substratum words in Celtic often have geminates and the vowel *a in the root. Both of these features have been recognized as characteristic of substratum words in other European language groups, especially in Germanic. What is more surprising is the fact that words of non-IE origin in Celtic have the vowel *u in the root much more often than could be attributed to chance (24 out of 85 words, or more than a quarter of the total). Moreover, the donor language(s) seem not to have had a length contrast in their vowel systems. The only long vowels that appear in the roots of non-IE loanwords in Celtic are *ē (which can be from the diphthong *ey) and *ū (in two instances, once alternating with *ow). Finally, labiovelars are extremely rare (they occur in only two words), which probably means that the donor language(s) lacked them. The significance of these findings is yet to be evaluated in the realm of the Celtic linguistics.

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